

FRONTISPIECE



Green

Garner

*First Landing of Columbus
in America*

1492

S E L E C T I O N
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,
BY THE MOST ENTERPRISING
NAVIGATORS AND TRAVELLERS,
FROM THE DAYS OF COLUMBUS
TO THE
LATE VOYAGES OF CAPTAINS PARRY, ROSS, BACK, AND OTHERS,
THEIR PROGRESS AND DISCOVERIES
IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD,
FORMING TOGETHER
A COMPLETE EPITOME OF ALL THE MOST INTERESTING VOYAGES AND TRAVELS
THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE FROM THOSE EARLY DAYS
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Illustrated by Steel Engravings.

"Integrity without knowledge is weak and useless, and knowledge without integrity is dangerous and dreadful."—RAMBLER.

BY
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EDITOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF EUROPE, BATTLE OF WATERLOO ETC.

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P R E F A C E.

THE spirit of discovery which has lately animated the British nation, has produced effects highly beneficial to the country in the important points of navigation and commerce. Faithful details of modern navigators and travellers tend, not only to discourage ruinous and unprofitable researches in future, but to lessen the dangers and distresses of those parts which are within the limits of commerce, as well as to rectify the errors of former navigators in fixing the situation of important places.

The successive acquisitions which have resulted from the late voyages of discovery, have rendered a new SELECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS absolutely necessary, as they exhibit at one view an extensive display of the world. We are naturally attracted to whatever is new and extraordinary; we transport ourselves, as it were, in thought, to distant regions; we identify ourselves with the navigator, we share in his dangers, his pains, and his pleasures, and become his inseparable companions by the diversity of the objects which attract our attention, and gratify our curiosity. It affords an inexhaustible fund of improvement, to

observe the influence of different climates upon the passions of mankind; to consider the revolutions of persons and things; to contemplate the uncultivated mind in various regions where the absurdest prejudices usurp the place of reason; and cruelty, vice, and folly, are sanctified by the venerable name of religion. By placing the situation of our own country in a contrasted point of view, they will see how much they are indebted to civilization, to the embellishments of science, to the purity of rational religion, to Providence, for many peculiar blessings, and to their brave ancestors for that system of civil and religious liberty to a great extent by them transmitted to posterity.

Modern navigators have not only perfected preceding discoveries, but have enriched geographical knowledge with a large addition of their own. It may be said that the considerable number of new discoveries which have been made in the course of ten or twenty years past, by various enterprising navigators and travellers, have opened to us a *new world*; we have, therefore, paid particular attention to the narratives of Parry, Ross, Back, and others.

In this collection of *Voyages and Travels*, both ancient and modern, we have selected all the most valuable and interesting parts, "*as a florist would the choicest productions of a garden; for he who would fill his hive must gather honey from every flower, and poor is that weed which yields not a particle of fragrance.*"

SELECTIONS
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.



CHRYSTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in the Genoese territory, and appears very early in life to have evinced a taste for the science of navigation, and the study of cosmography. We have but little account of his early years. At the age of fourteen he went to sea, and subsequently settled at Lisbon, where he married.

From natural reason, from the testimony of sailors, and from the authority of authors, Columbus was induced to undertake the discovery of the West Indies. He laid his proposals for attempting to carry his design into execution before the State of Genoa; they were rejected by the Republic, and the Portuguese treated him with so much duplicity, that he went himself to Spain, and sent his brother Bartholomew into England, in the hope of meeting with better success at one or other of these courts. By both, his schemes were at first slighted, but ultimately the court of Spain was induced to listen to him, and having

appointed him High Admiral of the Seas, and Viceroy of the Islands and Continents he might discover, and granting to him and to his heirs several important privileges, he sailed on the 3rd of August, 1492, attended by three small vessels, on his long-meditated expedition.

The Santa Maria was commanded by the Admiral himself, the Pinta by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the Nina by Vincent Yanez Pinzon. This fleet was manned by ninety, or as some say by one hundred and twenty men; and weighed anchor at Palos.

The disasters or rather accidents which occurred at the commencement of the voyage disheartened the superstitious sailors; but Columbus cheered the drooping spirits of his men, and happily reached the Canaries on the 11th. He left them on the 6th of September, and here his voyage of discovery may be said to commence; and here too his anxieties may be said to be redoubled, in consequence of the agitated and turbulent state of the crews. They did not expect success from the expedition, and when they found themselves far from their native shores, and on an unknown sea, their discontent became at once dangerous and ungovernable. Their hope of seeing land was repeatedly disappointed, and a Columbus only, could so far have encouraged them, as to prevent their taking measures, which would prejudice the important enterprise in which they were engaged.

On the 11th of October those on board the Admiral's ship saw a green rush, and a rock fish swim by the vessel; the sailors of the Pinta discovered a cane floating, and took on board a staff curiously

wrought; and the crew of the *Nina* perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries. These objects clearly indicated the approach of land. When night approached, and the Admiral retired to his cabin, he thought, on looking out upon the ocean, that he perceived a light, it appeared to him to move; and he conjectured it was a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman, as it seemed to vanish and appear by turns. The next morning the *Pinta*, being far a-head, gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor, at the distance of two leagues, but the pension promised by the Spanish court, to him who should first give notice of the approach to land, was awarded to the Admiral, who had first perceived the light. So that within seventy days after leaving Palos, Columbus anchored at his newly discovered island, which was about fifteen leagues in length, and to which he gave the name of St. Salvador. The inhabitants were numerous, and ran down to the shore, filled with wonder and admiration at the sight of the ships, which they conceived to be some unknown animals. The Admiral went on shore, with his boat well armed, and having the royal standard of Castile and Leon displayed, accompanied by the commanders of the other two vessels, each in his own boat; carrying the colors which had been allotted for the enterprise, and which were white, with a green cross and the letter F on the one side, and on the other the names of Ferdinand and Isabella crowned. He took formal possession of the island for their Catholic Majesties, and perceiving the Indians to be peaceable, he distributed presents amongst them, with which they were highly delighted.

Few of these people were above thirty years of age, they were of a middle stature, well shaped, of an olive color, with thick lank black hair, in general cut short above their ears. Their countenances were open, and their features regular; the bodies of some, and faces of others, were painted black, white and red; they were entirely naked; their javelins were made of wood, their points being hardened in the fire, and armed with a piece of fish bone.

Their canoes were all of one piece, hollowed like a tray from the trunk of a tree, some of them would contain 40 or 45 men; they were worked with paddles formed like a baker's peel, or the implement which is used in dressing hemp; they were dipped into the water and pulled backwards and forwards as if digging.

Jewels or metals of any kind were not seen amongst them, except some small plates of gold which hung from their nostrils, and the natives by their signs informed the Spaniards these little plates came from the south and south-west, where there were many countries and islands.

On the 13th of October, the Admiral coasted the island in his boats, and the natives ran down to the shore in multitudes to observe him, calling to their countrymen to come and look at the people who were come down from heaven. Having discovered a good harbour, but finding no land so inviting as to induce him to make any longer stay, he returned to his ships, and taking seven Indians with him to serve as interpreters, he set sail for other islands he had seen in the distance, and which appeared green and full of inhabitants. On the 15th of October, he touched at another island, to

which he gave the name of St. Mary of the Conception; and afterwards continuing his course westward, he anchored near another and a larger island, to which he gave the name of Fernanda. Before he reached this island he took up an Indian whom he found at sea in a small canoe, and who it appeared was bound from St. Salvador to Fernanda, to give intelligence of the arrival of Columbus and his crews. On the 19th, the Admiral sailed towards an island which in beauty of appearance far exceeded those he had yet discovered, and to this island he gave the name of Isabella. The country seemed to abound with every thing which could delight the eye or charm the ear. The lovely singing birds hopped from bough to bough, and flew in such flocks as to darken the air; rivers, meadows, groves and hills were scattered over this delightful country. Here the Spaniards killed an alligator, called by the Indians Yrana. Having examined the nature and produce of the island of Isabella, Columbus set sail for Cuba, and on Sunday the 28th October, he arrived off its northern coast, and came to an anchor in the mouth of a large river, the banks of which were richly shaded by thick and tall trees, which were covered with blossoms, and adorned with fruit entirely unknown to the Europeans. Columbus afterwards sailed up another and yet larger river, the banks of which were well inhabited, but the natives fled at his approach, carrying with them every article which it was in their power to remove. The Admiral was well aware that if the inhabitants thus continued to avoid him, he should never be able to learn the nature and extent of the country, and fearful of encreasing their alarm by landing a number of men,

directed two Spaniards, attended by an Indian of St. Salvador, and another of Cuba, (who had ventured to come on board with his canoe,) to travel up into the country, and to endeavour by every possible kindness to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time, he ordered the ships to be laid on shore, that their bottoms might be careened. It was observed in this place, that all the fire-wood used was from a tree in every respect resembling the mastic, but much larger than those of Europe. The mountains to which the inhabitants had so precipitately retreated, appeared of a round or conical form, entirely covered with trees, and with an infinite variety of beautiful plants. By the 5th of November, when the ships were repaired and ready to sail, the two Spaniards, who had been dispatched into the interior, returned, and gave the following account of their expedition:—

They said that they had travelled 12 leagues up the country, that they then came to a town, consisting of fifty pretty large houses, constructed of timber, of a round form, and thatched with straw, resembling so many tents or pavilions. They imagined the place might contain 1000 inhabitants, as all that belonged to one family dwelt together in one house. The principal natives came out to meet them, led them by the arms into the town, and gave them one of the large houses to reside in. They were seated on very curiously made stools, which almost resembled some living creature, with four very short legs; the tail was lifted up, and was as broad as the seat, for the convenience of leaning against; the front was carved into the resemblance of a head, having golden eyes and ears. The

Spaniards being seated on these stools, or duchi, the natives came, one by one, and, with prodigious respect, kissed the hands of their imagined visitors from heaven. The women were equally desirous of showing attention to the Spaniards, who received for refreshment some boiled roots, not unlike chesnuts in taste.

The king of the country, his son, and one servant, accompanied the Spaniards to their vessels, and were received by the Admiral with every demonstration of honor. The two Spaniards related that in their excursion, they observed a number of birds, among which were partridges and nightingales, but no quadruped, except a kind of dog, which could not bark. The natives were able to manufacture the cotton which grew in great abundance on their trees, but for the yarn they had no other use than making it into hammocks, and short aprons for the women. The Indians cheerfully exchanged large quantities of cotton for a thong of leather. They had no gold, pearl, or spices, but pointed to the east, where they intimated was a country plentifully stored with them. In consequence of this information, Columbus, having prevailed, or rather perhaps, having seized upon twelve Indians to accompany him, sailed for Bohio, so called by the natives. He was, however, for some time kept back by contrary winds, and in the interval, Martin Pinzon, who had been informed by some Indians, whom he had concealed in his ship, that Bohio abounded in gold, treacherously deserted the Admiral, and relying on the superior swiftness of his vessel, sailed in the night, in order to anticipate his success, and with the hope of engrossing to himself the treasure of the wealthy island of Bohio.

Columbus was still detained in Cuba, where he discovered another harbour, to which he gave the name of St. Catherine. At last the Admiral was enabled to sail for Bohio, and anchored in a port in the island, to which he gave the name of St. Nicholas; he found the harbour large, deep and safe, and encompassed with trees, but he could obtain no intercourse with the natives. Observing, as he sailed along the island, that it in many respects bore a strong resemblance to Spain, he called it Hispaniola.

Being very desirous of opening some communication with the natives, he sent three Spaniards on shore, but the people fled at their approach, and the sailors were only able to seize on one young woman, who was brought before the Admiral, and next day dismissed, loaded with presents, and accompanied to her dwelling place by three Indians, and as many Spaniards. Eleven men, well armed, were also sent on shore, with directions to explore the country; after travelling four leagues they found a town, consisting of 1000 houses, but the inhabitants fled at their approach, nor could they be induced to come near the Europeans till assured by the other Indians that the strangers came down from heaven. To the constant enquiry of "Where is gold to be procured?" they like the other islanders pointed to the eastward. At this news Columbus set sail, and between Hispaniola and a small island on the north coast, called afterwards Tortuga, he took up, in a very rough sea, an Indian who was struggling with the waves in a little canoe, and giving him some presents, landed him on Hispaniola. This man informed his countrymen how well he had been treated, and several of them

came on board, but they brought nothing with them except some small grains of gold; evincing by their signs that there was a great quantity of that precious metal up the country. On the 18th of December, the cacique, or king of that part of the island, came to pay the Admiral a visit; he was a young man, and was carried in a palanquin, attended by about two hundred people. He went on board accompanied by his train, but proceeded to the cabin where the Admiral was at dinner with only two attendants; he tasted some of the provisions and wine which were offered him, and then sent them to the Indians who remained on deck. They were very grave, used few words, and spoke very deliberately. Various things were given to them, with which they were much pleased, and observed, that the king of the country where Columbus resided must needs be a very powerful monarch, since without fear he had sent his subjects so far from heaven. The Admiral was presented with a curious girdle, and the visit of the cacique having terminated, he was attended homewards with the same state in which he had arrived.

On Monday the 24th December, the Admiral put to sea again, and sailed to a promontory called Punta Santa, where he anchored, and retired at night to rest, which he had not enjoyed for two days before; his example was followed by his crew, who contrary to his orders, left the helm to an inexperienced sailor. This instance of neglect proved fatal. At midnight the vessel was carried on a ridge of rocks, before any person was aware of the danger. Columbus, on hearing the cries of the person at the helm, ran on deck, but the orders he then gave were unfortunately not attended

to, and his only resource was to proceed with his crew on board the other vessel. The next morning, the same friendly cacique who had visited him in his cabin was informed of the disaster, and immediately, with tears in his eyes, he ordered his people to repair to the wreck in their canoes, and obey the orders of the Admiral ; by their prompt assistance, the valuable cargo was carried on shore, and deposited in houses appointed for that purpose. The cacique afterwards paid Columbus another visit, and observing how fond the Spaniards were of gold, promised to send for some from a place called Cebao. One Indian came with a piece of gold which weighed four ounces, and receiving a hawk's bell in exchange, ran off in the full persuasion that he had cheated the Spaniard.

Columbus, upon further examination, became so pleased with Hispaniola, that he resolved to plant a colony there ; many of his men voluntarily offered to remain ; and the cacique was disposed to give every facility to the erection of a fort, since he hoped that his new friends would protect him from the invasion of the Caribbee Indians ; and Columbus in order to demonstrate the importance of European friendship, gave orders, in the presence of the cacique, whose name was Guacianagari, for firing a great gun at the wreck, through which the ball penetrated, and fell into the water on the other side, to the utter amazement of the Indians, who believed that their guests knew how to dart the thunder of heaven, and, therefore, yet more earnestly implored their protection. In seeming compliance with this request, Columbus ordered a small fort to be built with the timber of the wreck,

furnished it with provisions, ammunition, small arms and cannon ; manned it with a garrison of thirty-six men, and gave the command of it to Roderick D'Escovedo, Peter Gutierres, and James D'Arana. His enquiries after the *Pinta*, and her covetous commander, Pinzon, were fruitless, and fearing that some misfortune might happen to the only ship he had now under his command, he resolved to set sail for Spain in order to inform their Catholic Majesties of the discoveries he had made. In his farewell address to those Spaniards who remained at Hispaniola, Columbus proved that he was a good as well as a great man. He desired them to give thanks to a merciful Providence, who had carried them to such a country to plant his holy faith ; to continue to place their trust in the great Almighty ; to deal *honestly* with the Indians, to learn their language, and to do all they could to secure their friendship. On the 4th of January he set sail from the port, to which he had given the name of the Nativity, because he had landed there on Christmas-day, and because he began there to build the first christian colony in the New World he had discovered. The flats along which he now sailed, formed an extent of six leagues, and ran about three leagues out to sea. Having passed these shoals, he sailed towards a high mountain, which he called Monte Christo. When sailing eastward from Monte Christo, a sailor from the round top discovered the caravel *Pinta* coming down westward, right before the wind ; Captain Pinzon came on board the Admiral's vessel, and endeavoured by every art in his power to excuse his conduct, but it was evident enough that what he said in his defence was either frivolous or untrue, and that the desire

of gaining a greater quantity of gold had alone influenced his conduct. Columbus, however, thought it more prudent to disguise his own sentiments, and the expedition proceeded on its course. On the 13th of January, being off Cape Enamorado, or the Lover's Cape, the Admiral sent his boat on shore to examine the nature of the country. The natives appeared fiercer than any they had yet met with. They were armed with bows, arrows and other weapons, and seemed inclined to commence hostilities; but by the mediation of a St. Salvador Indian, they were brought to a kind of conference. One of the men ventured on board the Admiral's ship; his face was daubed with charcoal, and his hair, which was very long, hung in a bag made of parrot's feathers. The man, having answered several questions, partly by signs, and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, was set on shore, with presents of glass beads and bits of red and green cloth, that he might persuade his countrymen to bring gold in exchange for such trifles, as the other Indians had done. When the people landed with this man, they found fifty other Indians among the trees, near the shore, all armed. They resolutely refused to trade with the Europeans, who could only procure two bows and arrows,—more they would not part with; they even appeared as if they would seize the Spaniards, who were thus compelled to act upon the defensive; a skirmish followed, in which the Indians were defeated. The bows of these people were made of a wood resembling yew, and almost as large as those of England and France; the arrows of small twigs, which grew from the ends of the canes, massive and very solid, about

the length of a man's arm and a half; the head of the arrow was made of a small stick, hardened in the fire, about three-eighths of a yard long, tipped with a fish's tooth, or sharpened bone, and smeared with poison. On this account, Columbus called the bay where he then was, Golpho de Flechas, or Gulph of Arrows; the natives called it Samana. The country appeared to produce quantities of fine cotton, and the plant named axi by the Indians, which is their pepper, and is probably a species or variety of the Capsicum. On the 16th of January, the ships sailed for Spain, and all went well with them, till they were within 263 leagues to the westward of Ferrol, when a tremendous gale arose, the sea running mountains high, and the vessels tossed about at the mercy of the waves. During the storm, the ships were separated, and the seamen of each concluded the others had perished. The crews betook themselves to acts of devotion; and the people in the Admiral's ship cast lots who should go on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Guadaloupe, which fell upon Columbus. They afterwards drew for another to go to Loretto, and for a third to watch all night at the shrine of St. Olive of Moguer. The storm still increasing, they all made a vow to go barefooted and in their shirts to some church of our Lady, at the first land they might come to. In the relation which Columbus himself gives us of this dreadful tempest, we are charmed with his genuine piety, and astonished at his presence of mind and his intrepidity. Whatever may be the dangers that surround him, the good man will never tremble, and the remembrance of virtuous actions will brighten the last moments of his precarious existence. Columbus

was every moment expecting a watery grave, and his anxiety to give a chance that his discoveries might not have been made in vain, was natural and intense ; to use his own words in his account to their Catholic Majesties,—“ With this view, (that his discoveries might not be lost,) as briefly as the time would permit, I wrote upon parchment, that I had discovered the lands I had promised ; likewise how many days were employed on the voyage, the direction in which I had sailed, the goodness of the country, the nature of the inhabitants, and how some of your Highnesses’ subjects were left in possession of my discoveries ; which writing I folded and sealed up, and superscribed to your Highnesses, promising a reward of 1000 ducats to whoever might deliver it sealed into your hands ; that in case it might be found by a foreigner the promised reward might induce him not to communicate the intelligence. I then caused a great cask to be brought to me, and having wrapped the writing in oil-cloth, which I surrounded with a cake of wax, I placed the whole in the cask, I then carefully closed up the bung-hole, and threw the cask into the sea, all the people fancying it was some act of devotion. Apprehending that this might never be taken up, and the ship coming still nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the first, which I placed on the poop, that when the ship sunk, the cask might float upon the water, and take its chance of being found ”

Sailing on in such extreme danger, on the break of day February the 15th, one of the sailors saw land, the pilot judged it to be the rock of Lisbon, but it proved to be one of the Azore Islands, where they with difficulty cast anchor, four days afterwards.

The inhabitants of the island were astonished to find the vessel had weathered the storm. Learning the great discovery Columbus had made, they seemed much rejoiced, they brought fresh provisions, and informed the sailors that there was in that neighbourhood a hermitage, dedicated to the blessed Virgin. The Admiral and his crew resolved to perform their vow by walking thither barefoot. To fulfil this penance, he sent his boat on shore with one half of the company, with orders to return immediately, that the rest might succeed, but the first company had no sooner undressed themselves than they were made prisoners by the Governor. Columbus, having in vain waited for the return of this party, began to suspect foul play. For some time he in vain demanded the liberation of his people; at last they were restored to him, and after a stormy passage he was compelled to cast anchor in the Tagus. The king of Portugal was very desirous of detaining Columbus in his service, and attempted to convince him that as he was once in the Portuguese navy, his discoveries should of right be annexed to the Crown of Portugal; but the Admiral was of quite a different opinion, and departed from Lisbon on Wednesday the 13th of March, and came to an anchor at Palos, on the 15th of March, 1493, after an absence of seven months and twelve days. He was there received by all the people in solemn procession, giving thanks to God for his prosperous voyage and glorious discovery. It so happened that about the time Columbus arrived at Palos, Pinzon appeared with the *Pinta*, in Galicia, and designed to have gone by himself to Barcelona, to inform the court, which then resided there, of the successful issue of the voyage; but he received the King's

commands not to think of approaching his presence without Columbus, whose officer he was; and this mortifying disappointment made such an impression on him, that he withdrew to the place of his birth, and shortly after died of grief and vexation. Columbus arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, and was received by the King, the Queen, and the whole court, in the most solemn manner. The streets could not contain the multitude who pressed to see him, the Indians and the curiosities he had brought. Their Majesties ordered the royal throne to be placed in public, and when the Admiral advanced, they rose, and the King gave him his hand to kiss, and desired him to sit beside him. Columbus then gave an account of his voyage, his discoveries, and his hopes of finding still more important countries; showed the Indians as they appeared in their own islands, and gave them a specimen of every thing he had brought from the New World. When he had done speaking, their Majesties rose, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up towards heaven, returned thanks to God, after which *Te Deum* was performed. Columbus was gratified by new patents, which confirmed and enlarged his privilege; and an ambassador was dispatched to Pope Alexander the 6th, to desire him to exert his apostolic authority, and grant to the Spanish Crown an exclusive title to the lands which had been, or which might be discovered. This request was instantly complied with. It seems hardly necessary to say that Columbus was almost adored in Spain, and wherever he went was followed by the benedictions and acclamations of a grateful people.

SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS



UNDISMAYED by former difficulties, and eager for fresh discovery, Columbus did every thing in his power to hasten the equipment of a fleet, of which he was to take the command, and which was to convey him again to the West Indies.

Thousands of persons were anxious to embark in this second expedition ; some from a love of knowledge, some from a spirit of adventure, but many more from a thirst of gain,—the gold of the New World was ever present to the imagination of the avaricious, and if a thought of danger sometimes crossed their minds, the charm of inexhaustible wealth more frequently occupied their thoughts.

Columbus, however, resolved to take no more than 1500 persons with him, amongst whom were many labourers and artificers. Cows, horses, asses, and other animals, the seeds of different kinds of grain, and various plants, were taken on board ; and on the 25th of September 1493, the Admiral, with a fleet of seventeen ships, weighed anchor at Cadiz. On the 5th of October they arrived at Gomera, where the Admiral gave orders for every thing of which the fleet might stand in need, to be provided with all possible dispatch. On Monday the 7th October, the Admiral continued his voyage ; having first delivered sealed orders to the

commander of every ship, with injunctions not to open them, unless separated by stress of weather. In these he gave directions for the course they were to steer for the town of the Nativity, but which course he was unwilling should be known without urgent necessity.

On the night of Saturday the 26th of October, the body of St. Elmo, with seven lighted candles, was seen from the round top, which was followed by torrents of rain, and frightful thunder and lightning. These lights, seamen affirm to be the body of St. Elmo, and they firmly believe, there can be no danger from those storms in which the phenomenon occurs. This phenomenon we are told is now well-known to be electricity. On the 2nd of November, Columbus was aware of a great alteration in the winds, and a violent shower of rain falling, he imagined they could not be far distant from land. The following day, a high mountain was observed about seven leagues to the westward. He named this mountainous island Dominica, because it was discovered on a Sunday. Three other islands were seen about the same time, and the people assembling on the poop, returned thanks to the Almighty for their wonderful preservation and success, having sailed 800 leagues in twenty days. Finding no convenient anchorage at Dominica, the Admiral stood over to another island, which he called Marigalante, after his own ship. He then sailed to another island, which he called St. Mary of Gaudaloupe; about two leagues distance from its coast, they saw a high rock, ending in a point, whence issued a stream of water, as thick as a large barrel, which made so great a noise in its fall as to be heard on board his ships; yet many said it was only a

white vein in the rock, for the water was so white and frothy in consequence of its rapid fall. The inhabitants of Guadaloupe fled as the Spaniards came on shore, but some children being left, the sailors tied a few baubles to their arms, in the hope they might allure the natives. Here they found geese, similar to those of Europe, a number of large parrots, and other birds; pompious, ananes or pine apples, bows, arrows, and many other things; but they did not attempt to carry any article away. They were a good deal surprised to find an iron pan in one of the houses, or at least they thought it was iron, though it was probably only a piece of native rock or fire stone. The next day, Columbus sent two boats on shore, with orders to view the natives, if possible; they returned with two young men, who by their signs informed the Spaniards, that they were born on another island, and were prisoners to the natives of Guadaloupe, who were called Caribbees. The boats again going on shore, brought back six women. The Admiral gave them a few presents, and then sent them on shore, though they ardently desired to remain. These women again returning to the ships, Columbus obtained information from them, which induced him to believe there were many islands, and a large continent towards the south; and he would have immediately left Guadaloupe, but one of his captains, and several men, had gone on shore without leave, and were not returned. Several people were sent on shore to look after the stragglers, and make their observations on the country. They found abundance of cotton, some trees which in taste and smell resembled cinnamon, and also frankincense, sandus, aloes, and

mastic. They likewise saw nightingales, daws, partridges, geese, herons, kites, and falcons.

Columbus also landed, and found great quantities of cotton, spun and unspun; many human skulls, and bones hung up in baskets; and observed that the natives were better accommodated with lodging and provisions than those of the other islands he had discovered.

The men who were missing having returned, and having been severely punished, the fleet weighed anchor on the 10th of November.

Several small islands were seen; amongst others, Antigua, Montserrat, and St. Martin. The Spaniards here seized four men and three children, but as they were putting off with them from shore, a woman from a canoe, shot an arrow with such force that it passed through a strong target. On the 21st of November the fleet arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north side of Hispaniola, when the Admiral came to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his people were sent on shore in a boat, when, to their great surprise, they saw, at a little distance, the bodies of two men, with a rope about their necks, made of a kind of broom, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in the form of a cross; they could not say if they were Europeans, but they considered it as an ill omen. When the Admiral came near the town of Nativity, some Indians in a canoe came to the fleet, inquiring for the Admiral, but refused to come on board till they saw him. From them he learned, that some of the christians left there, died of distempers; and the rest were separated, and gone to other countries; but though Columbus suspected foul play, he, for the present, concealed his sus-

picious, and the same evening he dismissed the messengers with a present of baubles, made of tin, and other trifles, for the cacique, Guacanagari, and themselves. The next day Columbus landed, when, to his great concern, he saw nothing but ruin and desolation; the houses and fort were burnt, and nothing left belonging to the christians but a few ragged cloathes. As he had ordered the Spaniards at his leaving them, if any thing happened, to throw the gold into a well he had made in the fort, he commanded that well to be cleansed, but no gold was to be found there. He soon after found the bodies of eleven Spaniards, who seemed to have been dead about a month; however, while he was thinking upon this unhappy circumstance, with a mind filled with grief and oppressed with consternation, he was visited by a brother of the cacique's; by him and by his companions, he was informed of the fate of the European settlers, who had fallen victims to their own misconduct; and by fighting on their side, the friendly and generous cacique had been most severely wounded.

The prodigious fatigue and anxiety, which Columbus experienced in establishing the colony and city of Isabella, so materially impaired his health, that his own journal lay for a considerable time untouched; and it was with difficulty he could issue the necessary orders to his numerous followers. When somewhat recovered, he determined to visit the mines of Cibao, but his visit to them was not remarkable for interest or for incident; and upon his return, he resolved to prosecute his discoveries by sea, beginning with the coast of Cuba, as he was uncertain whether it was an island or a continent.

On Saturday the 3d of May 1494, he stood over for the island of Jamaica, which he discovered on the following day, and which he considered more beautiful than any island he had visited in the West Indies. Having undergone innumerable hardships and dangers, but acting, under every event, with his accustomed piety and resolution; having ascertained to his satisfaction, that Cuba was an island, and not the continent which he so anxiously longed to discover; and having steered amidst the dangerous shoals of the West Indies, and received the almost adoration of the natives of countless islands, the Admiral was compelled by severe illness to relinquish any further hope of immediate discovery, and to seek repose at his new colony of Isabella.

Here, he had the delight of finding his brother Bartholomew, who had returned from England with the grant of all his demands; but hearing that his brother had been equally successful at the Spanish court, and had actually made the discoveries, he, with the permission of their Catholic Majesties, and with a small reinforcement, set sail for Hispaniola.

Accompanied by his brother, the Admiral, when he was somewhat recovered, commenced a journey into the interior, chiefly with a view of chastising the insolence of Don Pedro Marguerite, who had not only himself revolted, but had induced a vast body of Indians to take up arms against the European settlers. What, however, could 200 infantry, 20 horse, and about as many dogs, hope to achieve against an army of 100,000 Indians? and yet, such was the effect of discipline and courage, and such the dread of the musketry, that the Spaniards obtained a most decisive victory, and

for a time, at least a single christian might range through the island of Hispaniola, without fear, and in perfect safety.

Now that the people were reduced to subjection, many particulars relating to their customs, their religion, and the produce of the island, were either better understood, or for the first time made known. The country was found to contain mines of copper, of amber and of azure ; it produced ebony, cedar, frankincense, cinnamon, ginger, long pepper, abundance of mulberry, and many other useful trees.

The natives paid the greatest reverence to their cemis or idols, and when going to pay them respect or worship, were very desirous of avoiding the christians.

It happened once that some Spaniards rushed into one of the houses, where the worship of the cemi was going on, when presently the idol began to cry out ; by which it appeared to be artificially made hollow, having a tube connected to it, leading to a dark corner of the apartment, where, concealed under boughs and leaves, was a man, who spoke through the cemi, exactly what he was desired by the cacique. Most of the caciques also have three stones, to which they and their people shew great devotion ; one of them, they say, assists the growth of grain, another is of service to women in their accouchements, and the third procures rain or fair weather.

Having reduced the island to peace and order, and completed the town of Isabella, Columbus resolved to return to Spain, and acquaint their Catholic Majesties with all he had done. He reached Spain without having met with any remarkable incident on his voyage,

and immediately repaired to Burgos, where he was received by the King and Queen with every demonstration of affectionate respect.

The Admiral then presented to his Sovereign many curious productions of the Indies.

Though Columbus entreated their Majesties to lose no time in fitting out vessels and dispatching every necessary succour to the Indies, it was some months before a fleet, under the command of Pedro Fernaudez Coronel, could be got ready and finally permitted to sail ; and for himself, though he used every endeavour in his power, it was yet the 30th of May 1498, four months after the departure of Coronel, before he could complete every arrangement for his own departure, and sail from the bay of San Lucar de Barameda.

THIRD VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.



ON the 30th of May 1498, the Admiral, with six vessels, again committing himself and his crews to the superintendance of an over-ruling Providence, sailed, for the third time, towards the shores of Hispaniola.

On Tuesday the 31st July, after sailing for several days west, he altered his course to a more northerly direction, and shortly afterwards discovered the island

of Trinidada, which is off the coast of Paria, a main land, and at the mouth of the great river Oronoko. For a time Columbus was at a loss whether to consider this land to the westward of Trinidada, as the great or only part of the great continent he had been so eager to discover; and though he sent several boats out to reconnoitre, and the men returned fully impressed with the belief of its being some part of a vast continent, yet, owing, most unfortunately, to the indifferent state of the Admiral's health, and to his anxiety to reach Hispaniola, his attention could not be sufficiently directed to a country which *he* alone discovered, and which in common justice, should have received its name from the most enterprising navigator of that, or of any succeeding age.

Sailing to the westward, along the coast of Paria, the Admiral fell off, gradually, towards the north-west, being drifted by the currents, which are strong and dangerous in those seas. Becoming fearful that his provisions might fail, he stood to the eastward, for St. Domingo, in which harbour he arrived August 23d.

It would be well for the honour of the Spanish nation, and for that of Ferdinand and Isabella, if a veil could be drawn over the subsequent life of Christopher Columbus;—nothing but misfortune and ingratitude appear from henceforth to have been his lot. On his arrival in Hispaniola, he found the new colony in a most disturbed state. The Spanish provision having failed, the people began to utter the most violent complaints, and a bold spirit was soon found to urge them on, to the most wanton acts of cruelty and rebellion. Such was the conduct of Francis Rolden, who, offended

at some imagined slight which he had experienced from Don Bartholomew Columbus, determined to revolt on the first colourable pretence.

A plot was laid by Roldan against the life of Bartholomew, which was happily frustrated, and nothing afterwards remained but for the conspirators to take up arms. Such was the state of this miserable and infant colony, when the great discoverer of America arrived there.

But it was not from the arts and arms of Roldan alone, that Columbus was to meet with vexation and disappointment. His enemies at court were powerful and numerous, and their representations, backed by the crafty and deceitful Roldan, were gradually undermining his reputation. Under pretence of enquiring into the state of the colony, a man, named Bovadilla, was sent out to St. Domingo, invested with most extraordinary powers, and authorised to supersede Columbus in the supreme command. The Admiral happened to be at the Conception at the moment of the arrival of Bovadilla at St. Domingo, who immediately took possession of the palace, and appropriated every thing found there to his own use. The new Governor at once proved himself to be both a plunderer and a tyrant; and it will hardly be credited that, without the slightest provocation, he had the temerity to arrest and load with irons both the Admiral and his brother.

As a culprit then are we to follow Columbus from Hispaniola to Spain, and to hear the cold apology which their Catholic Majesties deigned to make, when, after his innocence was perfectly established, they were compelled to set him at liberty.

A new voyage of discovery was soon projected, which Columbus was at first averse from entering upon; yet being fully persuaded that the first discovery ought to be pursued, and that new countries would yet be found to enrich and extend the Spanish empire, he finally consented to take the command, and sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1502.

FOURTH VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.



WHEN Columbus departed upon his fourth voyage, it was his intention to have proceeded direct to the continent of Paria, and he hoped to have been so fortunate as to discover some strait, which should have connected the two oceans, and which he concluded must be somewhere about Veragna, or Nombre de Dios; but his original intention was unavoidably frustrated, and he was compelled to steer almost direct for St. Domingo.

About the time Columbus arrived off the coast of Hispaniola, the Spanish ships were waiting to convey Bovadilla and the mutineers to their native country, that their conduct might undergo a strict examination, and that, if guilty, they might suffer the heavy punishment

they deserved. It is a singular circumstance that Columbus requested that these ships might not weigh anchor for a few days, and that he might be permitted to come immediately to anchor, as he apprehended the approach of a violent storm. Both these requests were refused. The ships sailed, and Bovadilla and the rebellious colonists found a watery grave; not more than three or four vessels out of eighteen weathered the frightful hurricane. The Admiral's brother, Bartholomew, was saved by standing out to sea, like an able sailor; while Columbus himself was secure by approaching as near as he was permitted to the land. His men having recovered from the fatigue and anxiety they endured during this violent storm, the Admiral proceeded to coast the isthmus of Darien, with the fertility of whose shores he was so delighted that he resolved to plant a colony on the river Belem, in the province of Varagna, and to leave his brother as commander there. But the misfortunes of the Admiral were not to end with his third voyage,—he was still to experience the mutinous insolence of his followers, and to drink the bitter cup of misery to its last dreg, on a foreign and a hostile shore. His efforts to reach Hispaniola previous to his return to Spain, to solicit succours for his new colony, were retarded by the ungovernable state of his own crew, and by a succession of tremendous weather.

The history of this fourth voyage is entirely unproductive of entertainment or instruction. We read with sorrow of the detention of Columbus at Jamaica, and execrate the base design of the two Porras, who would have left Columbus in his distress; would have

blighted his fair fame, and have urged his sovereign to have taken from him his property, if not to have robbed him of his life. After near a year's residence in Jamaica, during part of which time the Admiral had obtained some provisions from the Indians, by once predicting an eclipse of the moon, and telling them it happened in consequence of their ill treatment, he sailed for St. Domingo, where he arrived the 13th of August 1504; and in the spring of the following year, after a tremendous passage, reached the coast of Spain.

In May 1505, he waited on the Catholic Monarch; but it was not now as formerly,—he was received, indeed, with respect, but not with cordiality. He had laid the foundation stone of Spanish greatness, and since this was effected, the grandeur of the enterprise was forgotten,—the rewards so repeatedly promised were to be withdrawn,—the grants to be annulled,—and a miserable pension was to have satisfied the discoverer of America. But death was fast approaching, and Columbus breathed his last, before the Spanish nation could complete its shame, or he receive so gross an indignity. Columbus expired on the 20th of May 1506, at Valladolid; his remains were afterwards removed to Seville, where they were interred, by order of the Spanish Monarch, and the following inscription engraven on the tomb:—

“Columbus gave a New World to Castile and Leon.”

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.



OF AMERICUS VESPUCIUS but little is known with certainty, and that little does not redound to his credit. He himself would have us believe, that he undertook four voyages, but the actual accomplishment of even one of these voyages is doubted; and there is very strong reason for thinking that the dates of these supposed voyages have been industriously falsified, on purpose to ground a pretension, for his having discovered the continent or main land of Paria, prior to the third voyage of Columbus, in 1493. And Harris, in his *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, tells us that “Americus Vespucius, by the interest of Bishop Fonseca, the *enemy* of Columbus, was made chief Pilot of Spain, and to him all journals of discovery were communicated, from which he constructed elegant maps, helping out, by his fancy, whatever was deficient in his materials, so as to exhibit things in graceful proportions; and the only thing wanted in his cosmographic delineations, was a strict regard to truth. But they answered well his purpose, as, besides securing him a good place and competent salary, they enabled him to impose his own name on the New World, before he had discovered one foot of its coasts.” In justice, however, to Vespucius, it must be acknowledged that, Harris gives no authorities.

The relations of the first voyage of Vespuccius, in which it is stated that he discovered America, are so exceedingly vague, that it is altogether impossible to give any interesting detail of it. This very circumstance, in our opinion, rather confirms than lessens the idea so generally entertained, of the inaccuracy of the date.

Vespuccius is said to have taken three other voyages, in which he neither saw nor related any thing remarkable; in short, if the name of America had not been given to the New World, that of Americus Vespuccius would never have been known. He is supposed to have died in 1516, and to have been buried on one of the Azores. He would not have been so briefly noticed here, had there been in his life one single event which was not problematical, or which might not have been made the subject of minute and useless contention.

FERDINAND CORTEZ.



THE Spaniards, who since the year 1492 had discovered the New World, under the guidance of Columbus, and subjected to the crown of Castile, the principal islands of the Antilles, made frequent cruizes from thence in search of new countries, and to barter European toys for American gold.

In 1517, Francisco Hernandez, of Cordova, sailed from Ajaruco, now called the Havannah, and discovered the eastern cape of the peninsula of Yucatan. But he was slain by the Indians in this expedition, and the small remnant of his forces returned to Cuba. Some gold they had stolen from a temple and brought home with them, excited the cupidity of Diego de Velasquez, the governor, who next year fitted out four vessels, of which, with 240 men, he gave the command to Juan de Grijalva. When they arrived at a little island, called by them St. Juan de Ulva, the Mexican governors, confounded at the sight of men so strange, and of vessels so large, determined to wait upon the king, and inform him of these extraordinary occurrences. But that they might convey to him a more perfect idea of the particulars, they caused the vessels, artillery, arms, dress and appearance of the new men to be represented, in some measure, by their painters,

and then repaired to court with the paintings, and some small glass balls they had obtained from the Spaniards.

Montezuma, the king, was much disturbed by the accounts which were given him, and after holding a most serious consultation with some neighbouring chiefs, it was agreed that he who had landed on that shore, with so great an army, could be no other than Quetzalcoalt, the God of Air, who, after having by his beneficence acquired the esteem of other nations, was, as expected, come to reside amongst them. But before the embassy which Montezuma dispatched to this supposed divinity could arrive at the sea coast, the Spaniards had left the country, and soon after returned to Cuba, with a great quantity of gold.

Velasquez was much displeased that Grijalva had not planted a colony in a country which was represented as being equally beautiful and happy, and he determined upon immediately sending out another expedition under the command of Ferdinand Cortez, to perform what had been so foolishly omitted by Grijalva.

CORTEZ was born at Medellin, in Estremadura, in the year 1485 ; and was of noble parents. His military genius diverted him from study, and led him, like other gallant youths, to seek his fortunes in far distant countries. He possessed much talent, discernment and courage ; was dexterous in the use of arms ; fertile in expedients, steady in enterprise, and patient in adversity ; but his ardour was not always tempered by justice, and he was sometimes hurried by passion, to commit actions which cast a dark shade over the otherwise brave and generous Cortez.

No sooner had Cortez received his appointment from Velasquez, than he published a proclamation to enlist soldiers. Men the most eminent in the country, for rank or office, were emulous to range themselves under the banner of Cortez; and from amongst them, we must single out Gonzale de Sandoval, scarcely twenty-two years of age when he embarked with the expedition, he was yet entrusted by Cortez with the most difficult and dangerous service; he founded colonies; he commanded the garrison of Vera Cruz; was for some time governor of Mexico; and in all his employments his equity was conspicuous. He was, we are told, constant and assiduous in labour; obedient and faithful to his superior; kind and humane to the soldiers, and free from avarice.—He perished in the flower of his age,—regretted and beloved.

On the 10th of February 1519, Cortez weighed anchor at Ajaruco: his armament consisted of eleven vessels, and 508 soldiers, 109 seamen, 16 horses, 10 pieces of cannon, and 4 falconets.

Arriving at Cozumel, they proceeded along the coast of Yucatan to the river Chiapa, in the province of Tabasco; advanced into the country, and after several skirmishes with the Indians obtained a complete victory over them on the plains of Ceutla.

In memory of this, their first success, the Spaniards founded a small city, which they called *Madonna della Victoria*. Cortez, in the name of his sovereign, took solemn possession of the country. The ceremony of taking possession was a curious one, but perfectly consonant to the manners of the time. He put on his shield, unsheathed his sword, and gave three stabs with it into

a large tree in the principal village, declaring that if any one opposed his possession, he would defend it with that sword.

Cortez then assembled the great men of the province, and by working upon their credulity or their fears, he persuaded them to submit to his government, or to appear to do so ; and they listened with wonder to the first truths of christianity, as imparted to them by Olmedo, the chaplain of the expedition, through the medium of Aguila, the interpreter. They afterwards presented to Cortez, in token of their obedience, a variety of articles of dress, some pieces of gold, and twenty female slaves.

Among these slaves was a beautiful girl of noble family. Her father died, leaving only this child. The mother married again, and had one son by her second husband. That the whole of the inheritance might come to the child of this second marriage, the mother was induced to declare that her first-born was no more ; and to make this appear credible, the girl was sold, or delivered up to some merchants, at a moment that a slave of theirs had lost a child. These merchants gave her away to their neighbours of Tabasco, by whom she was, as we have seen, delivered over to Cortez, unsuspecting that she would be the instrument, by her speech, of the conquest of their native land.

Besides the language of her own country, she understood the Maja language, and in a short time learned a little of the Spanish ; she was instructed in the tenets of the christian religion, and was baptised by the name of Marina ; she was faithful to Cortez and his companions ; was their interpreter ; saved them repeatedly

from danger and from death, and exhibited instances of fidelity and generosity, rarely equalled, and but very seldom surpassed. When under the protection of the all-powerful Spaniards she visited her own country, her mother, conceiving she would remember only the wrongs she had suffered, came to her bathed in tears and covered with confusion. But the lovely Marina had forgotten the injury, and only knew that the suppliant was her parent. Marina received and caressed her afflicted mother; and thus did she, who in the vast Mexican empire was first baptised a christian, practically fulfil the noblest but most difficult duty of one, that of returning good for evil.

It is easy to imagine the perplexity into which Montezuma was thrown by the arrival of the Spaniards. He ordered that his gods should be consulted, and he is reported to have received instructions from them on no account to admit these strangers to his court. He determined, therefore, to send an embassy to Cortez, to request his acceptance of a present worthy of his imperial diadem, and to urge the immediate departure of the Europeans from his shores.

The present consisted of various works of gold and silver, more valuable in consequence of the workmanship than of the metal. Among them were gems admirably set, and figures of lions, tygers, apes, and other animals; thirty loads of the finest cotton, in part interwoven with the most beautiful feathers; most exquisite works of feathers, and many other things; but what were most valuable and curious, were two wheels, the one of gold, the other of silver,—that of gold representing the Mexican century, with the image of the

sun engraved in the middle, and round it figures in bas-relief; the one of silver represented the Mexican year, was larger than the one of gold, had the figure of the moon in the middle, and was surrounded also by figures in bas-relief.

The delivery of this present was accompanied by a speech from the ambassador, in which he politely requested Cortez to leave the country.

The situation of the Spaniards at this moment was by no means an enviable one. Notwithstanding the representation of Cortez, Montezuma was inflexible, —the inconvenience of heat and insects was beginning to be most sensibly felt, and the ships were in some danger from the north wind, to which they were exposed. Montezuma reflected not, that the love of gold increases in proportion as you obtain it, and his liberal presents to Cortez and his officers, and to the Spanish Monarch himself, only served to fix the Europeans in their desire to remain, and to enrich themselves in this new world. The day following the final audience of the Mexican ambassadors, not a native was to be seen on all the coast; the provisions which they had brought with them, and which they had destined for the Spaniards, (had they complied with Montezuma's request,) were carried away, and had the natives then attacked them, the power and name of Spain might have been from that time unknown in Mexico.

But an all-wise Providence ordained it otherwise. —A petty chief, who held his territory under Montezuma, was for some reason offended with his sovereign, and seeking at this moment the assistance of the Spaniards, laid the foundation of their future conquests,

and the eventual subjugation of his country. This man, who was called the Lord of Chempoalla, was of the nation of the Totonacas ; he invited Cortez and his little army to his capital, which was about 23 miles distant, was large, and surrounded by beautiful gardens ; here he had an interview with the chief, and afterwards, an interview with another chief, in the presence of the Lord of Chempoalla. They both complained of the wrongs they suffered from the Mexicans, and Cortez offered them his assistance, as he told them he was sent to succour the distressed.

In the midst of these conferences they were surprised by the arrival of five Mexican noblemen, attended by a large retinue, who warmly expressed the indignation of Montezuma, at these treacherous chiefs having dared to receive the strangers, and demanded twenty human victims to be given up, and sacrificed to their gods, as an expiation for their offence.

Emboldened by the spirit, and listening to the advice of Cortez, the chiefs seized upon the Mexicans, and imprisoned them. So far then had Cortez aided the rebel lords, and he now desired to ingratiate himself with the Mexicans, by procuring the release of the very men whose captivity he had occasioned ;—this he effected, and the Mexicans returned home, full of their gratitude to the Spanish General.

The inhabitants of these tributary states, conceiving themselves no longer bound to pay tribute to the Mexicans or in any way to acknowledge their authority, gathered in multitudes round their christian friends, and while the new and joyous song of liberty yet echoed along their mountains, recognised the authority of

his Catholic Majesty, and submitted to his representative.

This affair being concluded, Cortez founded the city of Vera Cruz. It was situated in the country of the Totonacas, and the General himself, assisted by his own people and the natives, soon erected a fortress capable of resisting the Mexicans, and thus established the first Spanish colony in North America.

By this time two of the lords, whom Cortez had liberated, were returned to Mexico; and Montezuma, appalled by the daring courage of the Spaniards, prepared to send them another embassy, and more presents,—and the ambassadors were ordered to complain of the strict alliance which Cortez had entered into with the insurgents,—paying him the compliment to assure him, that it was only in consequence of his residing among his rebellious subjects, that a large army had not been sent to chastise their insolence.

Fearful lest the presents of the Mexicans should induce Cortez to desert him, the Lord of Chempoalla presented eight virgins to Cortez, as wives for himself and his officers; but Cortez declined receiving the women till they had been baptised. “No,” said the Lord of Chempoalla, “never shall they or we desert our gods, from whom we receive all we have or hope for.” Enraged by the answer, Cortez ordered an immediate attack upon their temples, which they, with equal intrepidity, were ready to defend. The enthusiasm lasted but for a moment: the arms and the threats of the Spaniards were triumphant, and the intimidated Chempoallese, amidst a torrent of tears, and with averted eyes, could only be said to have *heard* the rapid step of

the Spaniard, as he ascended into the temple, and the heavy fall of the idol, as it sunk beneath the blow.

We have now to record an action of Cortez, which will strike with wonder and astonishment. He ordered his pilot to pierce one or two of the vessels, so as to render them unfit for service, and induced him to report that they were all equally damaged; and thus, with the consent of his people, he brought all the sails, cordage, and tackle on shore. "Thus," says the ingenious and learned Robertson, "by an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing equal in history, five hundred men agreed, of their own free will, to shut themselves up in an enemy's country, full of powerful and unknown nations, deprived of every means of escape, having no other resource left than their own perseverance and valour."

After this, Cortez, without loss of time, prepared for his expedition towards Mexico. He marched through different countries, and was received by some of their chiefs with an appearance of cordiality, and by others with open hostility. Still, however, he drew nearer to the immense territory of Montezuma, whose conferences with his nobles and tributary kings, only suggested the sad expedient of another and more costly embassy to the invader. But the march of the Spanish general was not delayed by the entreaties of Montezuma. At every step, the Spaniards witnessed the grandeur of the Mexican empire, and the humiliation of its sovereign. Making a virtue of necessity, Montezuma prepared to meet and welcome the Europeans; and, with a truly royal train, he commenced his journey. Cortez was apprised of his approach, and in a short time he appeared. He

was immediately preceded by three nobles, each holding a golden rod, as the insignia of royalty. Montezuma himself was in a litter, covered with plates of gold, and borne by four nobles. Above him was a parasol of green feathers, embroidered with fancy works of gold. From his shoulders hung a mantle adorned with the richest jewels of gold and precious stones. On his head a thin crown of gold; shoes of gold, tied with strings of leather, worked with gold and gems; he was accompanied by a hundred lords, more richly drest than the other nobles, but barefooted. When the king and the Spanish general saw each other, both alighted; Cortez from his horse—the monarch from his litter.

Cortez approached: around the neck of the ill-fated Montezuma, he placed a cord of gold, on which were strung glass beads. The personal attendants of the king would not permit Cortez to embrace their sovereign; and after the Spaniard had received a few words from the king, in acknowledgment of his complimentary address, the interview terminated.

Imagine, now, the Spaniards in the heart of the kingdom and city of Mexico, viewing with astonishment the wealth which abounded, and the happiness which seemed to reign there. Their eager hope of riches was damped for a moment by the reflection of their distance from their native shore, and the uncertainty of what might be their destiny. Onwards they marched, till they arrived at the palace prepared for their reception. Montezuma was already there. He took Cortez by the hand, led him into a large hall, made him sit down on a foot-stool covered with fine tapestry of cotton, and close to a wall also covered with

tapestry, embroidered with gold and gems, and taking leave of him, said : “ You and your companions are now in your own house, refresh and repose yourselves ; I will return shortly.”

The moment Montezuma had retired, the indefatigable Cortez hastened to inspect the quarters appropriated to his soldiers ; and having satisfied himself that they were well provided for, and having adopted every defensive measure he judged expedient, he awaited a most magnificent entertainment, to himself and his officers, which was given and served up by the nobility of Mexico.

When that was over, Cortez received another visit from the king, who, in a long speech, first adverted to the ideas the Mexicans had formed of the Spaniards ; next requested Cortez to look around him, and observe that his walls and roofs were not of gold, and that his riches were not so unbounded ; and finally, alluding to a prediction which had obtained belief in Mexico, and which was, that certain people from the east should one day come and be the lords of the country, he declared his obedience to the king of Spain, and accepted his friendship.

The following day, (9th of November, 1519,) Cortez visited the king. The conference was long, and on different subjects ; but the attempt to induce Montezuma to embrace christianity was unsuccessful, though he faithfully promised that the royal table should no longer be polluted with human flesh.

Having obtained permission to walk through the city, Cortez and his officers were enabled to ascertain its size and strength. Little did the unsuspecting

Montezuma imagine, that the knowledge the Spaniards were then gaining would accelerate his own destruction ; or that, with every appearance of cordiality, the Spaniard was laying a deep scheme for his dethronement. The many and great buildings, neatly whitened and polished ; the lofty towers of the temples, scattered through the four quarters of the city ; the canals, the trees, the gardens, formed an assemblage of objects so lovely, that the Spaniards were never tired of looking on them.

When the Spaniards ascended the Grand Temple, they found Montezuma there. Cortez, turning to the King, said, "I wonder, prince, that a monarch so wise as you are can adore those abominable figures of the devil as gods." "If I had known," answered the King, "that you would have spoken disrespectfully of our gods, I should not have yielded to your request." Cortez apologized for his expression, and desired to withdraw. "Go in peace," said the King, "for I will stay here to appease the anger of the gods you have offended by your blasphemy."

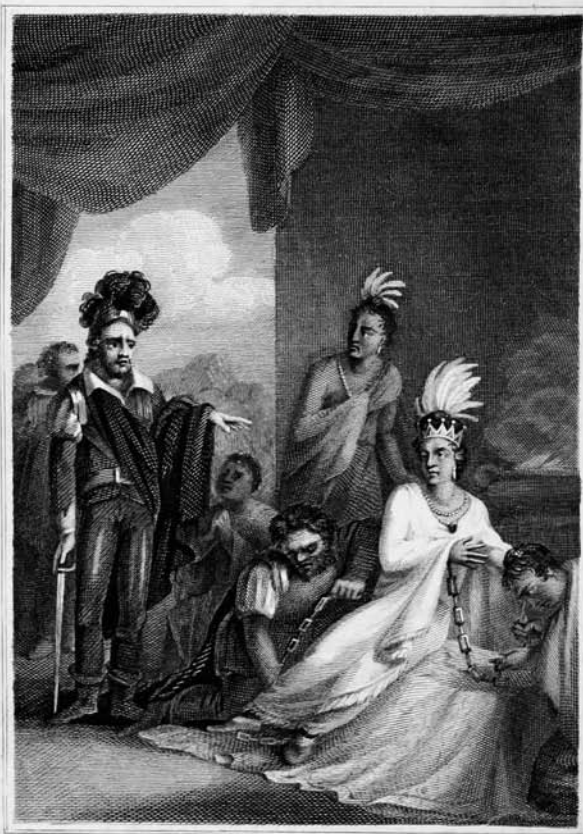
Six days had hardly passed since the arrival of the Spaniards in the city, before Cortez formed the daring and extraordinary resolution of imprisoning its monarch,—a resolution suggested by apprehensions for his future fate, and by his past uniform experience of success.

For the execution of this dangerous plan, Cortez put all his troops in motion, and stationed them at proper places ; and then, attended by several officers, he repaired, at his usual hour, to visit Montezuma. The credulous monarch received him as he had been

accustomed to do, presented him with one of his daughters, and offered in marriage the daughters of other Mexican lords to the Spaniards who accompanied their General. All on the part of Montezuma was kindness and consideration,—on what possible pretence, then, could he be imprisoned?—Cortez said there had been an insurrection at Vera Cruz, and that an officer of Montezuma's was not only privy to, but instigated the rebellion. "He shall be delivered into your hands," said the King. "No," answered Cortez, "the best proof you can give of your sincerity, is to quit your palace, and, for a time at least, to reside with us." To this astonishing proposal the King returned a flat and positive refusal. One of the Spanish officers, more impetuous and unfeeling than his companions, declared that the King should either be compelled to accompany them, or be at once put to death. Montezuma enquired what the Spaniard said. Donna Marina, with equal mildness and discretion, replied, "As your subject, I desire your happiness, but as the confidant of those men, I know their secrets, and am acquainted with their character. If you condescend to do what they require, you will be treated by them with all the honor which is due to your royal person: if you persist in your refusal, your life is in danger."

Montezuma was alarmed; he feared least he should perish before his guards could come to his assistance: he resigned himself to the protection of Cortez, and left his palace never to return to it.

For a time he was treated with respect and attention. He was allowed to see his subjects, to receive and answer their petitions; and at last he received permis-



MONTEZUMA, KING OF MEXICO PUT IN IRONS.

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sion to hunt, to go upon the lake, and to frequent, at the accustomed hours, the temples of his gods.

Fifteen days had passed since the miserable king had delivered himself into the hands of the Spaniards, when two messengers returned, with the alledged authors of the conspiracy at Vera Cruz. Upon their examinations they said, that whatever had been done against the Spaniards, had been by the express command of Montezuma, and that he should be considered as the cause of the death of the two Europeans.

No sooner was the confession made, than Cortez ordered that these unhappy men should be burnt alive, declaring that Montezuma could not have been concerned in the transaction. He then returned to the king's apartment, accompanied by three or four officers and a soldier, who carried irons in his hands, and without omitting, even upon this occasion, the usual ceremonies, he told him, that the delinquents had confessed their guilt; that they accused him as being the author of it; that they were condemned to death, and that only in consideration of the kindnesses he had rendered to the Spaniards, was his life spared; "but I cannot," continued Cortez, "avoid making you feel a part of the punishment which you merit for your crime." He then commanded the soldier to put the irons upon his legs, and without deigning to hear a word from him, he turned about and departed. The king was so stupified at this outrage, that he had neither the power to make resistance, nor words to express his affliction. His domestics threw themselves at his feet, endeavoured to ease the weight of the irons with their hands, and signified their grief in silent

tears. This bold action was hardly performed, when Cortez proceeded to execute another, not less presumptuous. He commanded the conspirators to be led to punishment; they were conducted by the Spaniards themselves, all armed, and formed in order of battle. The fire was kindled, and amidst prayers to their gods, they sunk, victims to christian tyranny. As soon as the execution was over, Cortez went to the apartment of the king, saluted him with expressions of affection, and ordered his fetters to be taken off.

The joy of Montezuma was in proportion to the anguish he had previously felt: he embraced Cortez with the utmost affection, and shewed extraordinary complaisance to the Spaniards and his own vassals. The King was then told, that he might, whenever he pleased, return to his own palace; but he was unwilling to avail himself of this permission, on account of the danger the Spaniards would be in whenever he abandoned them; but it is more probable that a sense of his own personal danger prevented him, as he could not be ignorant how much he had offended his people by his weak and pusillanimous conduct. There were some, however, who viewed the punishment of the conspirators with horror and indignation, and were ashamed to witness the miserable situation to which Montezuma was reduced. Cacamatzin, King of Acolhaacan, sent to the King of Mexico to tell him, that he should remember he was a monarch, and that he should not make himself the slave of strangers. But finding that Montezuma refused to listen to his advice, he determined himself to make war upon the Spaniards. Cacamatzin, having assembled his coun

sellors, and the most respectable people of his court, boldly exclaimed, "It is now time to fight for our religion, for our country, for our liberty, and for our honor, before the power of those men is increased by reinforcements from their own country, or new alliances in this." War was resolved upon, and preparations for it were commenced with the utmost secrecy.

It was in vain that Cortez attempted to avert the coming storm. Montezuma himself became alarmed, and resolving, if possible, to prevent the war, he gave orders that the person of his nephew Cacamatzin should be seized, and that he should be brought without delay to Mexico. When he was brought there, he was immediately delivered up to Cortez, by him dethroned, and the crown given to his brother. The General, encouraged by his various successes, told Montezuma that it was now time for him and his subjects to acknowledge the authority of the King of Spain. Montezuma, in pronouncing himself the subject of another monarch, was so affected that his voice failed, and tears were substituted for words. Cortez then told the King, that since he acknowledged the dominion of the King of Castile over those countries, it would be expedient for him to manifest his submission by the contribution of some gold and silver. Montezuma, with truly royal munificence, gave up the treasure of his father Axaza. The whole of the wealth which fell into the hands of the Spaniards amounted to so much, that, after deducting a fifth part for the King of Spain, Cortez had not only enough to pay all his debts, but a considerable sum left for future expences. But the Mexican priests and nobles could ill brook the indig-

nities to which they were repeatedly subjected. They so warmly represented their degraded situation to Montezuma, that they roused even his weak spirit, and he determined to tell the Spaniards that they must leave his kingdom. Cortez pretended that he was ready to depart, and declared that the Mexicans should find that they would leave the kingdom the moment that he could be supplied with the necessary timber to build vessels, and people to assist him in so doing. Eight days after this interview, Montezuma sent for Cortez a second time, and told him that it was unnecessary for him to build vessels, as eighteen, similar to those in which he had arrived, had just cast anchor in one of the Mexican ports. Little did Cortez imagine that this armament, under the command of Pansilo Narvaez, was sent by Velasquez against Cortez himself, as a rebel vassal and traitor to his sovereign. He received this unexpected blow in the presence of Montezuma, but no change was visible in his countenance or his manner; he calmly told the King, and his own companions, that he was happy in being able to announce a reinforcement from Cuba.

How dreadful was the situation of Cortez at this moment, threatened on the one hand by the Mexicans, whom he had oppressed and irritated, and observing on the other an army levied against himself, composed of his own countrymen, and far superior to his own in force. But his sagacity, his activity, industry and courage diverted all the evils which hung over him. Narvaez disembarked with his army on the coast of Chempoalla, the lord of which country, believing they came to unite with Cortez, received them with every

possible demonstration of respect. In a few days, however, the truth was known to Montezuma and to his people. Every effort to bring about an accommodation between the two European armies was ineffectual. Cortez left Mexico in order to seek assistance from those on whom he thought he could more firmly depend. The senate of Tlascala did not choose to comply with his request for men, but they sent him a considerable quantity of provisions. At length, having made new proposals to Narvaez, and distributed some gold among the partizans of this arrogant general, Cortez entered into Chempoalla at midnight, with 250 men, and attacked Narvaez, made him prisoner, and obtained a most complete victory. Soon after the news of this victory, Cortez received information, that in consequence of an attack of his captain, Alvarado, upon the Mexicans, in which several were murdered, the common people were so irritated, that they treated the Spaniards as mortal enemies of their country, assaulted their quarters with impetuosity, undermined the palace, burned their ammunition, and were only repelled by the repeated fire of the artillery and musketry.

In this situation the Spaniards found themselves in Mexico, when Alvarado sent advice to Cortez, requesting him to hasten his return, unless he chose to let them all perish. Cortez returned to Mexico; on the day on which he entered the city there was no movement made by the people, but the day after they began to sling and shoot so many stones at the Spaniards, that they appeared, as Cortez says, like a tempest, and so many arrows, that they covered the pavement of the

court and the terraces of the palace ; and the number of the assailants was so great, that they covered all the ground of the streets. Cortez, with 400 of his own men, and some Tlascalans, (a considerable body of whom had joined him as he was returning to Mexico,) attacked the assaulters, but the Spaniards were surrounded, and in the most imminent danger. The contest was long and bloody, but in the end the Europeans were triumphant. The following day, the 26th of June, the assault was more terrible, and the fury of the Mexicans still greater ;—the Spaniards defended themselves with twelve pieces of artillery, and again did innumerable Mexicans lie weltering in their blood. Experience had made Cortez sensible that the greatest annoyance his troops met with was from the stones thrown from the terraces of the houses, to avoid which in future, he ordered three machines of war to be constructed called mantas: each of these would carry twenty men, were covered with a strong roof, furnished with wheels to make them easy to move, and little windows or port-holes for the discharge of their guns.

The distress of Montezuma at this period was extreme ; in sad and silent meditation he passed his time, and at last determined to send for Cortez, and again implore him to depart his capital. Cortez, seeing it was impossible to render himself master of the city, agreed to depart, though he felt no small regret at being compelled to abandon the undertaking he had begun. Hardly was the conference ended, when “ arms” was cried through every quarter of the city. The Mexicans had made a general assault upon the

Spaniards ;—in vain did Montezuma present himself to his enraged people ; in vain did he inform them that he had just received an assurance from the Spanish general, that he and his troops were preparing to leave the place : the Mexicans were enraged beyond controul, and, covered with wounds inflicted by his own subjects, the wretched Montezuma was carried to his chamber. The warlike machines of which we spoke being at length finished, Cortez resolved to attack the great Temple, which was fortified, and garrisoned by 500 noble Mexicans ; and in a tremendous conflict the Spaniards were again successful. Day after day were these attacks renewed, and though occasionally with advantage on the side of the Mexicans, yet upon the aggregate they suffered most severely. On one of these days, probably the 30th of June, died the Emperor Montezuma. His good and bad qualities may be gathered from his actions ; he was circumspect, magnificent and liberal, but his mind was debased by superstition, and almost every noble quality which he might possess was lost in the dread he felt at the name and conduct of the Spaniards.

In the mean time, the Mexicans continued their attack with still greater ardour ; and Cortez, though he always came off victorious, saw that the blood of his own soldiers was but ill compensated by the successes he obtained. He called a council of war, and suggested to his officers the necessity of immediately evacuating the country. The question was, in what manner should they depart and at what time ? It was determined they should march by night, and the 1st of July was fixed upon for this memorable event—memo-

rable indeed, and unlucky to the Spaniards, in consequence of the dreadful slaughter which they sustained, and which caused them to give it the name of *noche triste*, by which it is still known in their histories.

Cortez ordered a bridge of wood to be made, which could be carried by fifty men, and over which he proposed to pass the ditches. He then desired that all the treasures they had collected might be brought forward: having parcelled it out, he earnestly recommended that it should then be abandoned,—for in the hurry and confusion of their retreat, he rightly imagined that without it there would be a much better chance of saving their lives. Unwilling, however, to relinquish that which had cost them so much labour to attain, and without the prospect of which they would not have endured so much, many of the soldiers loaded themselves with their heavy burden, and perished—victims to their avarice. Every thing being arranged for the departure of the army, the vanguard being committed to Sandoval, the rear entrusted to Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortez himself, with a corps of reserve, taking the command of the centre, the Spaniards and their allies commenced their march.

Hardly was the first ditch passed, before the cry of “to arms—to arms” was heard, and echoed by the priests; and in an instant the Spaniards were surrounded. Then were heard, amidst the deep darkness of the night, the loud cries of the combatants, the lamentations of the prisoners, and the languid groans of the dying: all was confusion, tumult, wounds and slaughter. The second ditch was filled with dead bodies,—Alvarado passed over the heap. At the third

ditch he found himself so furiously charged by the enemy, that, fixing a lance at the bottom of the ditch, and grasping the end of it with his hands, he vaulted to the opposite side. This leap, considered as a prodigy of agility, obtained for that place the name, which it yet preserves, of Santo d'Alvarado, or Alvarado's leap. Dreadful was the loss sustained by the Spaniards in this unhappy night: four hundred and fifty of them fell under the sword of the Mexican, and four thousand of their auxiliaries were numbered amongst the slain; and bitter were the tears which Cortez shed, when, seated on a stone at Popotla, a village near Tlacopan, he learned the full extent of his misfortune.

The Spaniards continued their retreat; but on the second day they saw in the plain of Tonan an immense army, consisting probably of troops of different nations, assembled at the desire of the Mexicans. Retreat was impossible, and victory would have been a miracle; every soldier believed his last hour was come; but the spirit of the brave Cortez was not to be subdued, and his good genius had not yet deserted him. Having formed his little army, he addressed his troops, and, with a countenance full of fire, he exclaimed,—“ In such a difficult situation are we placed, that it is necessary either to conquer or to die! Take courage, Castilians! and trust that He who has hitherto delivered us from so many dangers, will preserve us also in this.” But vain were the words, and useless was the example of Cortez: the numbers of the Spaniards diminished; the enemy advanced; the life of Cortez, however, was yet preserved, and it was decreed that this bold, decisive and extraordinary man was at this moment of

despair to turn the scale, and lead his troops to victory. He remembered to have heard that the Mexicans went into disorder whenever their general was killed or their standard taken. He availed himself of this knowledge; he saw the general of the army with which he was engaged carried in a litter, in the midst of his troops, clothed in a rich military habit, with a plume of feathers on his head, and the standard, as was customary, tied to his back. He addressed his principal officers; he commanded them to follow him; he pierced through the ranks of the enemy—reached the litter—the general fell; the standard was seized by the exulting Spaniards, and the beautiful plume graced the brow of the intrepid and victorious Cortez.

Thus terminated the famous battle of Otompan; and from this time to the commencement of the siege of Mexico, little occurred which can interest or which is deserving of record. The numerous wars in which the Spaniards engaged, their alternate success and discomfiture, are given at considerable length by different historians; but they will not find a place here, for the detail of them would neither amuse nor instruct. Having either conquered or entered into alliances with several nations in the vicinity of Mexico, Cortez determined to attempt the conquest of that country and city.

As a preparatory step to the subjugation of the city of Mexico, he took possession of that of Tezcucuo, and there made the requisite arrangements for the siege of the former place. His army is said to have consisted, allies included, of 200,000 men; and he had the precaution to order several small vessels, or, as they

were called, brigantines, to be built, which were to be launched on the lake of Mexico; and from their skilful management, he flattered himself he should derive considerable assistance at the approaching siege. By the skilful arrangements and prompt movements of Cortez and his allies, the citizens of Mexico were cut off from the prospect of succour, and a general attack upon the capital was resolved upon.

With upwards of 80,000 men, the Spanish general marched towards the city; 80,000 more, under different commanders, were to attack it in another direction. His numerous and well-marshalled army, flanked by the brigantines, marched along its road; but they soon met with a deep and broad ditch, and an entrenchment more than ten feet high: the Mexicans opposed the passage, but the Spaniards forced their way. The valour of Cortez was conspicuous;—the city was entered by each detachment, but the Spaniards and their allies were at last compelled to retreat. A second time was the city entered: the beautiful buildings of the Mexicans were burned; but the Spaniards were unable to effect a lodgment, and again were forced to retire.

While succours were daily diminishing to the besieged, the Spanish army was receiving fresh augmentation; the different cities on the lake joined with Cortez. Day after day Cortez entered into the city,—he hoped to fatigue and weary the Mexicans into a surrender: he expected, when they saw so many thousands constantly entering the capital, that they would not dare to continue the defence; but the Spanish general was mistaken,—with his liberty the Mexican was determined to lose his life, and tens of thousands of this

brave unhappy nation must fall before the empire or city of Mexico will yield to European arms. Twenty days had now elapsed since the Spaniards made their first attack on the city, and several officers and soldiers were tired of attacks which appeared of no real service, and conjured Cortez to order one grand assault, which they hoped would put them in possession of the wealth they desired, and end their arduous labour.

The General gave a reluctant consent ;—well had it been if he had had firmness enough to refuse what in his heart he so thoroughly disapproved. The Mexicans opposed them as usual, but then feigning cowardice they retired ; the Spaniards pursued them ; soon they heard the formidable sound of the horn of the god Painalton, which was blown by the priests in times of peculiar necessity and distress ; the Spaniards were surrounded ; they attempted to retreat,—many succeeded, some were taken and instantly sacrificed. Cortez was a prisoner, and for a moment all was over ; but Christoval de Olea, a soldier of his guard, rushed to his relief : with one stroke of his sword he cut off the arm of the Mexican who held him, and Cortez was again at liberty.

Forty-five days had now passed since the commencement of the siege : every overture for peace was rejected ; frequent and new entries were made in the city ; even the Spanish women who accompanied the army fought like common soldiers ; and at last three out of the four great divisions were in the possession of the besiegers.

By this time Cortez was well assured that the common people were desirous of a capitulation, and that

the nobles and king (whom they had elected after the death of Montezuma) were alone solicitous for holding out; he was also informed of the miserable state to which the city was reduced by famine.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the General resolved not to let a day pass without attacking the city. When the Mexicans beheld the allies of Cortez busied in assisting him in pulling down their houses, "Demolish, ye traitors," they cried, "lay those houses in ruin, for afterwards ye will have the labour of repairing them." Rapid were the advances which each day beheld towards the complete reduction of Mexico, and vain were the efforts of Cortez to bring about an accommodation. When but one Mexican remained, that man would continue to defend his altar and his country;—and with this proud defiance were the ambassadors of the Spanish general returned to the European camp. Four days passed without hostilities; Cortez then re-entered the city, and met a large crowd of miserable beings—men, women and children, emaciated, and dying from hunger. Still his negotiations for peace were fruitless, and a dreadful slaughter of the Mexicans took place;—12,000 perished, and the allies of Cortez absolutely revelled in the blood of their wretched victims. The following day the Spaniards and their friends again appeared among their enemies. The Mexicans had now hardly a place to set foot upon, except indeed it were upon the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens: distracted, maddened by their situation, several of the common people urged Cortez to go to a spot where many nobles were encamped, and entreat them to surrender. With but little hope he

went :—they happened to be some of those who could no longer endure the severity of the siege : in the most piteous accents they implored him to put them to death,—surrender they would not, and they had no hope of persuading the king to an accommodation.

We now come to the last sad scene. The Emperor of Mexico was dead to the voice of peace, and the blood of his devoted subjects was now literally to flow in torrents,—the water of every ditch and canal was now to run purpled with gore, and the ground was to be strewed with the bodies of the slain. Hideous were the groans which resounded through the city : without arms, bereft of strength, tottering and emaciated, the spectre Mexican sunk a lifeless corpse ere the sword of his enemy had even touched his miserable body. The very stench arising from so many putrid carcasses compelled the besiegers to retire, but on the following morning they returned :—again were the king and nobles inexorable, and another massacre commenced ; the artillery of the Spaniards scattered the citizens of Mexico—the allies of the Spaniards rioted in the gore of thousands. The king escaped : he embarked on board a vessel in the lake ; he was pursued and taken ; with him were captured his queen, and several persons of rank ; he entreated that his consort might be well used, that she might receive the respect due to her rank ; he appeared before Cortez, and with true nobility of mind he thus addressed him :—

“ I have done, brave general, in defence of myself and my subjects, every thing which the honor of my crown and regard for my people demanded ; but, as my gods have been against me, I see myself now de-

prived of my crown and my liberty. I am now your prisoner,—at your pleasure dispose of my person, and” putting his hand on a dagger which Cortez wore at his girdle, he added, “with this dagger take that life from me which I have not lost in the defence of my kingdom.”

The taking of the capital happened on the 13th of August 1521, and the siege lasted seventy-five days. 100,000 Mexicans perished by the sword, and 50,000 died from disease and famine.

It is almost impossible to narrate the horrid cruelties which marked this famous siege. Those miserable Spaniards who were taken alive by the Mexicans were sacrificed to their gods: they were led, or rather driven to the summit of the temple, with plumes of feathers on their heads, and fans in their hands; they were compelled to dance to the sound of their music, and then their hearts were torn from their bodies, and presented, yet palpitating, to the infernal deity, while the hideous yells of myriads of savages approved the deed. The limbs of these miserable victims were sent to the most distant parts of the vast Mexican empire, to invite the natives to arms; and the appeal was not made in vain,—at every successive sacrifice, the god of Mexico, through his priests, reiterated his promise of assistance, and the lives of the Europeans were declared to be drawing towards a close:—but it pleased the all-wise disposer of events to ordain it otherwise, and ultimately to give to Spain those treasures she was so eager to acquire. That the acquisition of such immense riches has not increased the mental energy of the proud Spaniard, can hardly admit a doubt: wealth is not the

criterion of national or individual happiness, and whatever lessens the necessity for moderate bodily and mental exertion, sinks us in the scale of rational beings, unfits us for real enjoyment in this life, and diminishes the hope we are taught to cherish of happiness and immortality in another.

The fate of the capital decided that of the empire, and the provinces submitted one by one; but the vast additions which Cortez had made to the wealth and territory of Spain could not secure him from the malice of his enemies, and attempts were made, not merely to dispossess him of his property, but to remove him from his command and secure his person. The vile and insidious machinations were unsuccessful to their full extent; but yet Cortez, after his visit to his native land, returned to Mexico with powers very inferior to those which he ought to have enjoyed, and must have felt, like Columbus, that when no longer of any service, his exploits were forgotten, and his rewards miserably inadequate to the dangers he had so fearlessly encountered. He died, in Spain, on the 2d of December 1547, in the 62d year of his age. Some years previous to his death he was created a marquis, and styled the Marquis del Valle de Oaxaca. He was brave, kind-hearted and (in the early part of his life) generous; but he had, at least so far as military affairs were concerned, great obstinacy in his disposition: he was an excellent horseman, and dextrous in the use of arms: he left several children to inherit his vast but hard-earned treasure, and directed that his remains should be taken to the new world and there interred.

The kingdom of Mexico was much more extensive

than all the adjacent kingdoms taken collectively, and the finest district of the whole country was the vale of Mexico. A considerable part of the vale is occupied by two lakes, the upper one of sweet water, the lower one brackish, communicating by a canal, and in circumference not less than ninety miles. Mexico was particularly distinguished by the excellence and variety of its timber; Hernandez mentions and describes above 100 different species of trees: it also afforded a number of plants, which yielded profitable resins, gums, oils and juices. The ancient quadrupeds common to Mexico were lions, tigers, wild cats, bears, wolves, foxes, stags, and a number of others. The state of civilization among the Mexicans, when they were first known to the Europeans, was much greater than that of the Spaniards when they were first known to the Phœnicians.

It is the opinion of some learned writers, that the Mexicans and people of Anatrucac (a name given to Mexico and the parts adjacent, were descended from Naphtahim, son of Mazraim, and nephew of Ham. These descendants of Ham left Egypt not long after the confusion of tongues, and travelled towards America; and the reasons on which this opinion is grounded are the conformity of these American nations to the Egyptians in the construction of their pyramidal edifices, the use of hieroglyphics in the mode of computing time, and other circumstances of less moment, but which lead to a similar conclusion. Others again combat this hypothesis, but substitute in its place nothing but ingenious conjecture, which may be equally devoid of truth.

It was mentioned in the commencement of the ac-

count of Cortez, that the Mexicans sent to Montezuma drawings of his ships, and of the different things he brought into the country. In the wooden prints or copper-plates of their paintings, which have been preserved by authors, every figure, whether of men, quadrupeds or birds, as well as every representation of inanimate nature, was extremely rude. Of their picture writing some singular specimens have been preserved. The style is the same in all: they represent things, not words, exhibiting images to the eye, not ideas to the understanding.

For the notation of numbers, the Mexican painters had invented artificial marks, or "signs of convention." The figure of a circle represented unit, and in small numbers the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expressed by a peculiar mark, and they had such as denoted all integral numbers from 20 to 80,000. They divided their year into 18 months, each consisting of 20 days, amounting in all to 360; but as they observed that the course of the sun was not completed in that time, they added five "waste days," which were not computed in any month, and during which they passed their time in idleness and festivity.

Religion among the Mexicans was formed into a regular system, with its train of priests, temples, victims and festivals. The gods inspired only terror, and their delight was vengeance. They had some confused idea of an original independent being, whom in their language they called *Teotl*. They believed the soul to be immortal, and gave credit to a kind of transmigration. The most extraordinary idol of the Mexicans

was formed by certain seeds pasted together with human blood. The sacrifice of human victims was horrid ; at the consecration of two temples, 12,210 were put to death.

The marriage and funeral ceremonies among these savages were curious. The parents were the persons who settled all marriages, and none could take place without their consent. Before the union was concluded, the augurs were consulted, who decided upon the happiness or unhappiness of the proposed match ; if they said the marriage would not be productive of happiness, the match was broken off. If the sentence were favorable, the young woman was demanded of her parents, by certain old women, who went at midnight to their house, and who were at last told if the young lady would marry the man who professed to be her admirer. On the day appointed for the nuptials, the fair was led to the residence of her intended father-in-law ; she was there received by the bridegroom, his parents, and four women bearing torches. At meeting, the bride and bridegroom offered incense to each other, and the bride was then led to the hall or chamber prepared for the nuptials ; there the priest tied a piece of the gown of the bride to the mantle of the bridegroom, and in this the ceremony of marriage chiefly consisted. Feasting and dancing followed. The new married pair remained in the chamber four days, praying and fasting, and the consummation of the marriage did not take place till the completion of that time.

The funeral rites were very superstitious, and persons were appointed expressly for conducting them: the body of the deceased was clothed in garments suitable

to his station, a jug of water and pieces of paper, with instructions how to pursue his journey into the other world, and a domestic animal, killed purposely to be his companion, were all placed by his side. Every thing was then burned together, (or the body of the animal killed to accompany his master, was sometimes buried,) the ashes were then collected, and with a valuable gem, all put into an earthen pot, which was deposited in a ditch. At the end of about 80 days, they made oblations of bread and wine over it.

To the education of their youth, the Mexicans paid particular attention; drunkenness was severely punished, and an habitual regard to truth was most sedulously inculcated.

In the cultivation of the farms, the men were assisted by the women; in the farm-yards they had thrashing floors, and granaries. To the preservation of their woods, the Mexicans were very attentive, nor were they neglectful of commerce, which was but little embarrassed or impeded by the variety of languages which were spoken; for the Mexican tongue was the most prevalent, and was every where understood. The arts of poetry and oratory were much exercised by the Mexicans; their music was imperfect, but their dances, in which they delighted, were eminently graceful; they were skilled in sculpture, and the usual materials of their statues was stone and wood. They valued themselves on the works they executed by the castings of metals, and on those mosaic works, which were made of the most delicate and beautiful feathers of birds. Their food and drink consisted of preparations of maize, cacao, chia, and the French bean. They had

different kinds of wine. Their dress was simple, and their household furniture mean and coarse.

Having thus given a brief description of Mexico as it was, it may not be amiss to speak of it in its more modern state.

The population of all the Spanish provinces in North America, does not exceed six millions. The revenues of New Spain are very considerable, but subject to great deductions; it is almost impossible to ascertain what they really are; after every expence has been paid, perhaps from 14 to 15 millions of dollars. The richest silver mines belonging to the Spaniards, are those of Guanajuato, between 21·30 and 22·30 N. lat. and 103 and 105 W. long. The present city of Mexico, though inland, is of immense commerce between Vera Cruz on the East, and Acapulco on the South. The yearly cold of Mexico, though just within the tropic of Cancer, exceeds the heat; the rainy season extends from the middle of May to the middle of September. The streets of the city are well opened, running in right lines from east to west, and from north to south. Great improvements have lately taken place in the cleanliness and police of the town; the city is lighted and paved. The cathedral is a grand structure, the work of 94 years. The manufactory of cigars, employing more than 5000 people, is a modern and magnificent edifice. The population of the city may be somewhere about 140,000 souls. Mexico boasts a royal university, and has various public seminaries for the education of youth. The environs of Mexico are richly cultivated with flax, hemp, cotton, tobacco, &c. and at the distance of five leagues, is the desert of the

Carmalites, in an inclosure of about a league in circuit; the retreat of the most austere monks there being in solitary cells.

Such is the rapid view we have been enabled to take of the conquest of Mexico, and such its present state; and thus, it has been said, in conducting the Spaniards, a polished nation of Europe, to overturn the rude monarchy of the Mexicans in America, did Providence punish the latter, for the injustice, cruelty and superstitions of their ancestors. But, there the victors, in one year of merciless massacre, sacrificed more human victims to avarice and ambition, than the Indians during the existence of their empire devoted to the worship of their gods;—there, it has been sarcastically, but perhaps with truth remarked, the legislative art of Europe corrected the bloody policy of American tribes, and introduced the ministry of justice, by despoiling Indian caziques of their territories and tributes, torturing them for gold, and enslaving their posterity;—and there, the mild paternal voice of the religion of Jesus was suborned, to terrify savages with the malice of a strange, and by them unprovoked Deity; and her gentle arm lifted up to raze their temples and habitations, to ruin every fond relic and revered monument of their ancestry and origin, and divorce them in anguish from the bosom of their country.

PIZARRO.



FROM the time that Nugnez de Balboa discovered the great Southern Ocean, and the first hints of the rich countries with which it might open a communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising man in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of these unknown regions. Several armaments were fitted out to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama ; but the leaders of them were utterly unfit for a task which required so large a share both of talent and courage. In consequence of the frequent failure of these expeditions, the desire for discovery considerably abated, and at last it became the prevalent opinion that Balboa had been incorrect in his assertions of the existence of such countries, and been miserably deceived by the tales of ignorant Indians.

But there were three persons in Panama whose ambition and cupidity were alike excited, and who would not be deterred from prosecuting adventures, which others considered hopeless and chimerical. The names of these men were—Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque.

PIZARRO was the illegitimate child of a gentleman of noble family, by a very low woman, and when arrived at years of discretion, he was commanded by his father

to follow the mean occupation of keeping hogs, an employment ill suited to the genius of the young and enterprising Pizarro; he abruptly relinquished his charge, enlisted as a common soldier, and having served some years in Italy, embarked for America, where he early distinguished himself. His mind was daring, his constitution robust; he was foremost in every danger, patient and unsubdued under the greatest hardships, and though so illiterate that he could not read, yet he seemed born to command. He united perseverance with ardour, and was as cautious in executing, as he was bold in forming his plans.

Almagro had as little to boast of in his descent as Pizarro. The former was a foundling, and Pizarro was illegitimate. Almagro was a soldier; he had all the valour and perseverance of Pizarro, but he also possessed openness, generosity and candour: in Pizarro, what he might possess of these virtues, was mingled with the craft and address of a politician; he would penetrate the purposes of others, and warily conceal his own.

Hernando de Luque was a priest, and, by means of which we are ignorant, had amassed considerable riches, and eagerly desired to attain more.

These were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires in the world, and their union for this purpose was authorised by Pedrarias, governor of Panama. Each engaged to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise. Pizarro, the least wealthy, was to take the more laborious part, and to command in person the armament destined to proceed first on the expedition. Almagro was to act as commissary, and to fol-

low with recruits ; and Luque was to remain at Panama, and transact whatever business might be necessary there.

To ratify this engagement, Luque celebrated mass, —divided a consecrated host into three, gave one part to Almagro, another to Pizarro, and reserved one for himself. The attempt was begun with a force better suited to the humble condition of the associates than to the magnitude of the enterprise. With a hundred and twelve men, and on board a miserably small vessel, Pizarro sailed. He beat about for several days, touched at various places on the coast of Terra Firma ; found the country wild and inhospitable ; had to lament the loss of many brave companions, who fell in skirmishes with the natives, or sunk under diseases ; and was at length compelled to retire to Chucama, opposite to the Pearl Islands, where he expected to be joined by troops from Pauama. Almagro had also sailed, and his short expedition was as cheerless and unproductive as that of Pizarro. At last the two commanders met : Almagro represented that, in the course of his voyage, he had observed a country which appeared more promising than any he had yet visited ; and with this slender hope, it was determined, that Almagro should again return to Panama, and there endeavour to raise a body of men who would be willing to explore this apparently happier clime.

With a very small addition to their numbers, Almagro rejoined Pizarro, and these sanguine projectors resolved not to abandon the undertaking. But this second expedition, if it may be called so, was almost as unsuccessful as the former one ; and Almagro again

returned to Panama. There he could procure no assistance; but the mind of Pizarro was ill calculated to abandon what had been once undertaken, and he resolved to go boldly forwards. Drawing a line on the sand, he desired those who wished to leave him to pass over it. Thirteen were true to their commander,—the remainder passed the line.

To these gallant men (whose names the Spanish authors delight to record) is Spain indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions. They fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona. Almagro and Luque were at Panama: they were loud in their calls for assistance, and the colony exclaimed against the infamy of exposing brave men engaged on the public service to perish like criminals on a desert island. The cry for succour was irresistible, and a wretched reinforcement, but without one landman, was at length permitted to be sent. In the meantime, Pizarro and his companions were on the desert and unhealthy island: often did they cast their eyes over the wide blue waters towards Panama. They prayed for help: the sun sunk to rest, and they remained unassisted; it rose again, and its splendour was lost upon the dispirited adventurers. At last, when months had elapsed, when the voice of despair had succeeded to the whisperings of hope, when they had determined to trust their lives in a frail boat, rather than remain where they were, then, when agony was pictured on every countenance, at that very moment they discerned the distant masts of an approaching vessel;—it brought assistance, and the exultation of the Spaniards was in proportion to their despair.

Instead of returning to Panama, Pizarro induced his own followers, and the crew of the vessel which had just arrived, to embark, and stand out to sea ; and, more fortunate in this than any of their former efforts, they discovered, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, the coast of Peru. After coasting for some time, they landed at Timbez, about three degrees south of the line, distinguished by its stately temple and palace of the Incas, or sovereigns of the country.

The Spaniards found the natives far advanced in civilization ; and they feasted their eyes on the immense quantity of gold which was every where and in every thing. But, as the governor of Panama still continued averse from sending supplies, it was long before the utmost efforts of Pizarro, who had even gone to Spain for the purpose, could obtain any force at all adequate to the subjugation of so large and powerful an empire as that of Peru ; and it is not without astonishment that we find him, February 1531, preparing to sail with three small vessels and 180 soldiers.

As the season for embarking was now properly chosen, and the navigation between Panama and Peru better known, it would naturally be supposed that something like good fortune would attend the undertaking ; but it was not till they reached the province of Coaque, and till they had become masters of treasure to the amount of more than 30,000 pesos, that the hopes of the adventurers can be said to have revived. But now every man was eager to proceed, and the wealth which Pizarro sent to Panama and Nicaragua induced several persons from those provinces to join his standard.

At the time the Spaniards invaded Peru, the domi-

nions of its sovereigns extended from north to south above 1500 miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its width, as it was bounded by the Andes, was much less considerable. The country was originally inhabited by detached tribes of savages, many of whom united together when no circumstance seemed to indicate any common effort towards improvement, in consequence of the singular appearance of a man and woman of majestic form, and decently clothed, on the banks of the lake Tiliaca. They declared themselves children of the sun, sent by their benevolent parent, who beheld with pity the miseries of the human race, and induced a vast number of the natives to accompany them to Cuzco, where they settled, and began to lay the foundation of a city.

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo were the names of these extraordinary personages. Manco instructed the men in agriculture and various useful arts, while Mama taught the women to spin and weave. Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas, or Lords of Peru. Manco Capac, and his successors in their as yet confined dominions, exercised absolute authority. As their territories increased, they seemed only desirous of adding to the happiness of their subjects. The blood of the royal family was held sacred,—intermarriages with it were forbidden; and if we may believe the traditions of Peru, it was not the love of conquest which influenced each succeeding Inca, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization and the knowledge of the arts.

About the time of which we are now treating, a dreadful civil war had long desolated the plains of the

once peaceful and happy Peruvian. One of their Incas had married the daughter of a neighbouring monarch, whose country he had subdued;—by her he had one son, named Atahualpa; and when he died, he left the immense and valuable kingdom of Quito to this young man, from whose grandfather he had conquered it. The very marriage of this Inca with a foreign princess was contrary to the long established laws of Peru; and when it was found that the late monarch had left Quito to Atahualpa, and the rest of his dominions to Huascar, who was his eldest son, and whom he had by another of the royal race, great and almost universal was the discontent. Huascar commanded his brother to give up the government of Quito. Atahualpa steadily refused; he had gained over a large body of veterans, who had accompanied his father to Quito. Each prepared for war. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws—Atahualpa was victorious. Conscious of the defect in his own title, he attempted to exterminate the royal race; but he spared the life of the unfortunate Huascar, that by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more firmly establish his authority.

Pizarro landed at Peru when the country was in this state. Huascar solicited his aid. Pizarro perceived at once the situation in which he might place himself: he pushed forward while intestine discord prevented opposition: he directed his course to Caxamalca, a small town, near to which Atahualpa was encamped. The Inca sent him a valuable present, and Pizarro declared he was now advancing to give his assistance to Atahualpa.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on the one side of which was a house which was called by the Spanish historians the palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the sun, the whole surrounded with a stony rampart, or mound of earth. He then sent his brother Ferdinand and Hernando Soto with pacific messages to the Inca's camp, who returned astonished at the wealth which abounded there, and which promised a rich harvest for such needy adventurers. On their return to Caxamalca, they related every thing which they had seen to Pizarro, and it was now that he determined to imitate the least estimable action in the life of Cortez : he resolved to seize the person of the Inca. He availed himself of the unsuspecting simplicity of the Inca ; he went to the interview appointed with Atahualpa, attended by his soldiers : every thing was arranged, and after waiting some time, the monarch appeared. First, however, came four hundred men, dressed in a uniform, as harbingers to clear the way ; then the Inca approached, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colours, and lined with plates of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones : the great officers of his court were there, and nearly thirty thousand men covered the vast plain.

As the Inca drew near the Spaniards, Vincent Valverde, the chaplain, advanced with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other, and delivered a long discourse, which was almost unintelligible ; but of which the Inca, through the interpreter, understood enough to know that he was called upon to surrender his crown to the majesty of Spain. The reply of the

Inca was temperate: he would not renounce the god of his fathers; he could not conceive that the empire of Peru could belong to any but himself; and he desired to know where the priest had learned such extraordinary things? "In this book," said Valverde, giving him the breviary. "This," said the Inca, "is silent, it tells me nothing," and threw it with disdain on the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, christians! to arms!—the word of God is insulted!—avenge this profanation on those impious dogs."

The signal for assault was given by Pizarro. At once the martial music struck up, the artillery and musquetry commenced a heavy fire, the infantry rushed on, sword in hand;—the Peruvians, confounded and affrighted, fled on every side. Now was the moment. Pizarro advanced to the royal couch, and from it and the midst of the bodies of some faithful subjects, who had died in his defence, he dragged the wretched Inca to the Spanish quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued the unhappy Peruvians with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity: above four thousand of them were killed, and not one European either killed or wounded, except Pizarro, whose hand was slightly scratched. The plunder was rich beyond expression, and the Spaniards now passed the night in all the extravagance of joy.

Deplorable was the situation of the captive monarch, and his spirit sunk under him. By residing with the Spaniards he soon discovered their ruling passion, and offered a ransom which astonished them.

The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen in breadth,—he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro did not hesitate a moment; he accepted the proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise. The subjects of the *Luca* were fearful of endangering his life, by projecting any plan for his liberty, and they remained passive; complying with the orders of their sovereign, in collecting the treasure for his ransom, and receiving the Spaniards, now reinforced by Almagro and his followers, with all possible respect. It happened, however, that some of the Spaniards visited the place where Huascar was confined, who immediately offered an infinitely larger treasure, if they would but set him at liberty and restore him his crown. Atahualpa, fearful that the avaricious Europeans might listen to his proposal, privately dispatched orders that his brother might be put to death; and his commands were obeyed with scrupulous punctuality.

In time, the vast treasure was collected, and the Spaniards were clamorous to possess it. The festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the partition of this enormous sum; and though assembled to divide the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit and cruelty, the transaction began with a solemn invocation of the name of God, as if they could have expected the guidance of Heaven in distributing the wages of iniquity. No less than eight thousand pounds sterling of our money fell to the share of each horseman, half that sum to each foot

soldier, and Pizarro and his officers received dividends in proportion to their rank,—all this, too, after having set aside what was due to his Catholic Majesty, and making a handsome present to the soldiers of Almagro.

Sixty of these late indigent adventurers were now desirous of returning to their native country; and Pizarro, in the hope that a sight of their riches would allure others, less opulent, but more hardy, permitted them to depart.

The Inca now loudly demanded his liberty; but nothing was farther from Pizarro's thoughts. It was not in the nature of the Spanish commander to weigh the justice or injustice of any action; he was seeking to amass wealth, and by what means he acquired it was of very trivial importance. It appeared to him that the Inca's death would much better serve his purpose than setting him at liberty. Almagro, too, feared that while the Inca lived, the soldiers of Pizarro, to the exclusion of his own, would receive new treasure, under the pretence of ransom, and therefore he eagerly solicited Pizarro to murder the helpless and unoffending monarch of Peru.

A curious incident accelerated the Inca's fate. During his confinement, he frequently expressed his admiration of the European arts, but what he admired most was that of reading and writing. For a long time he deliberated with himself whether this was a natural or acquired habit; and with a view to determine the point, he desired one of the soldiers to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. He shewed this to the Spaniards who accidentally entered his chamber, asking its meaning,—they all gave him the same

answer. At last Pizarro came in: he was asked: he blushed, and confessed his ignorance. The Inca was full of amazement and contempt; and from that instant the fate of Atahualpa was decided. He went through the ignominy of a mock trial, which, with a strange infatuation, Pizarro thought expedient; and after hearing himself pronounced guilty of crimes which he had never committed, he was, by this infamous tribunal, sentenced to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of the sacred function, confirmed the sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Valverde endeavoured to prevail on his victim to embrace christianity: he promised him a mitigation of his punishment if he would do so: Atahualpa consented, and instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake.

Let it, however, be recorded, for the honor of the christian faith, for the glory of the Spanish nation, that there were men who raised their voices against this brutal, sanguinary execution. Ferdinand Pizarro was gone to Spain; Soto was on a distant command; but yet some, even among the lawless followers of the now infamous Pizarro, vehemently protested against such appalling wickedness. But the cry for execution was louder than the voice of mercy, or the calls of justice: whatever was deemed advantageous, was held to be lawful, and the life of Atahualpa was sacrificed to this most execrable of doctrines.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty, hoping that a young man might prove more passive and obedient, in his hands, than an independent monarch, born to

command, and accustomed to obedience. But the Peruvians, in consequence of the long civil war which had desolated the country, and the recent execution of the Inca, were now, they supposed, set free from all law, and broke out into the most extravagant excesses.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the colonists at Panama, when Ferdinand Pizarro arrived there, and displayed his treasures; and when he reached Spain, the immense quantities of gold and silver, which he had imported, filled the kingdom with astonishment. His brother's powers were confirmed and enlarged; Almagro received the honors he had so long coveted—the title of Adelantado, or Governor, was bestowed upon him, with an immense jurisdiction; and Ferdinand was admitted into the military order of St. Jago.

The most virulent dissensions between Pizarro and Almagro now broke out, and it was with difficulty that they were prevailed upon to accede to a hollow reconciliation. Almagro pretended that some part of the country which was now in the occupation of Pizarro, and particularly the city of Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, belonged of right to him;—Pizarro denied the fact. The consequences of a rupture would in all probability have proved fatal to both commanders; therefore, after much discussion, it was arranged that Almagro should undertake the conquest of Chili, and that if he did not find in that province an establishment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro should yield up to him a part of Peru.

While marching through his vast and extended government, and reflecting upon the inconvenience of such a place as Cuzco for its capital, Pizarro was struck

with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac. There, on the banks of a small river, of the same name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbour in the Pacific Ocean, he founded a city, which he destined to be the capital of the province. He gave it the name of Ciudad de los Reyes. By this name it is still known among the Spaniards, in all their formal and legal deeds; but by foreigners it is called Lima, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley in which it is situated.

In consequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro entered Chili, and though the Chilese attacked him with great courage, he penetrated far into the interior, collected some quantity of treasure, and was only arrested in his progress by a summons from Peru, which was now the theatre of an unexpected revolution.

Manco Capac, who was nearly related to Huascar, was now the nominal Inca of Peru; but though permitted to reside at Cuzco, he was, in fact, the prisoner of Pizarro. He observed, with real pleasure, and a faint glimmering of hope, that the invaders considered themselves secure, and wandered at their leisure through his dominions. He obtained permission to attend a great festival, which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. There he met with many of his nobles, and there he raised the standard of Peruvian liberty. With an army which the Spaniards have perhaps exaggerated to two hundred thousand men, he attacked his enemies. He commenced the siege of Cuzco; he recovered possession of one half of his

capital: emboldened, and full of ardour, he continued his hostilities:—Almagro appeared, and upon him was every eye now fixed:—to which party was he friendly? Would he assist the Peruvians to gain possession of Cuzco, which he conceived to belong to him, and then turn upon his new allies? or would he join the Spaniards? Unacquainted with the detail of events, he advanced with caution: he negotiated with the Inca for a while, he then attacked and routed him: he approached Cuzco, surprised the place,—his claim of jurisdiction was acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name.

Two or three persons only were killed in this first act of hostility, but it was speedily followed by scenes yet more bloody. Pizarro was at Lima while these occurrences took place at Cuzco, and had entirely defeated the Peruvians, who had attacked him there; so that on receiving a considerable reinforcement under Alonso de Alvarado, he sent it to the relief of the Spaniards at Cuzco. It was with infinite surprise that these people beheld their own countrymen posted in hostile array, on the banks of the river Abancay; and it must have been with deep mortification that they found themselves suddenly attacked by Almagro, and their leader and his principal officers made prisoners.

Had Almagro then attended to the counsel which was offered him, Pizarro would have ceased to exist, and the Spanish monarchy in South America might have been lost for ever. But, with a mixture of timidity and humanity, Almagro rejected the daring advice, and knowing that arms alone must now decide the quarrel, he quietly awaited at Cuzco the arrival of Pizarro.

When the Spaniards at Lima were informed of what had happened at Cuzco, and when Pizarro was told that one of his brothers was slain, and the other two were prisoners, his grief hardly knew any bounds ; but such immoderate sorrow was unavailing, and he soon turned his thoughts to victory and revenge. He clearly perceived it was not his interest to proceed at that moment to offensive operations ; he negotiated with Almagro, and he protracted the negotiation so long, that months wore away without a final agreement.

In the meanwhile, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado escaped ; and fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the elder Pizarro scrupled not at one act of perfidy more, to obtain the release of the other. He proposed that himself and Almagro should continue in quiet possession of such countries as they then possessed, till his brother Ferdinand Pizarro, whom he stipulated should be released, could go, accompanied by some of Almagro's friends, to the court of Spain, and request its assistance in the adjustment of their several differences. But no sooner was Ferdinand at liberty, than Pizarro openly declared, it was in the field and not in the cabinet their disputes were to be settled ; and that it must now be determined who should be master of Peru.

Bold in every measure, the faithless Pizarro dispatched a considerable force towards Cuzco, and gave the command of it to his two brothers. He well knew their hatred towards Almagro, and he felt assured that they would second his designs, and aid his wishes, however cruel they might be. Almagro awaited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco ; he was

compelled, by age and infirmity, to resign the command of his little army to Orgognez. He was defeated: the glory, if it could be called the glory, of the victory was stained by cold-blooded massacre, and Almagro was a prisoner.

A vast multitude of Indians had collected together to witness this engagement, and had determined the moment it was over to fall on whichever side might prove victorious; but they quietly retired when the battle was over, and there is not a more striking instance of the ascendancy which the Spaniards had acquired over the inhabitants of the New World, than this want of courage to attack and extirpate them at a moment of such advantage.

Almagro remained several months under all the anguish of suspense. It was true, his fate was decided; but it was some considerable time before the Pizarros dared bring to a trial and execute so formidable an antagonist. After sentence was pronounced, Almagro, in the most touching language, entreated the Pizarros to spare his life; but the brothers remained inflexible, and Almagro, when he found his fate inevitable, met it with the fortitude and dignity of a veteran.

It was long before the court of Spain was informed of what was passing in Peru, and, unfortunately for the Pizarros, the first intelligence was carried there by some of Almagro's officers. It was in vain that Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived shortly after them, endeavoured, by the splendour of his appearance and the urbanity of his carriage, to dispel the unfavourable impressions: the fact, that the governors of infant and rising colonies had been at war with each other, was

indisputable ; but who was in the wrong was not so easy a matter to determine, and it was yet more difficult to decide upon a line of conduct for the future. After mature consideration, it was deemed advisable to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary powers, who, after hearing each party, should be authorised to establish that form of government which to him might appear best for the parent state, and most conducive to the welfare of the colony.

While this person, whose name was Vaca de Castro, was preparing for his departure, events of great moment happened in Peru. Pedro de Valdivia reassumed Almagro's scheme of conquering Chili; and the government of Quito was taken from Benalcazar, and given by Pizarro, with his accustomed partiality and disregard of justice, to his brother Gonzalo. The new governor, having understood from the Indians that there were countries to the east of Peru abounding with cinnamon and other valuable spices, immediately set out on a journey of discovery, accompanied by three hundred and forty soldiers, and about four thousand Indians. Calamitous indeed was the issue of this expedition, and rendered more so by the infamous treachery of a man named Orellana. Allured by the hopes they entertained of soon meeting with these rich countries, the Spaniards travelled on till they reached the banks of the Coca, or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Marignon. There, with incredible labour, they constructed a bark: the command was given to Orellana; it was manned with fifty men, and they were ordered to procure provisions and explore the country. Hardly was Orellana embarked before

he fancied himself independent of his commander, and resolved never more to return to him. In a vessel thus hastily constructed of green timber, without provisions, without a compass or a pilot, did the rash and treacherous Orellana bend his course down the waters of the Napo. Soon he reached the immense channel of the Marignou. Turning with it towards the coast, he continued in that direction ; after a long series of dangers, he arrived at the ocean, reached in safety the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua, and sailed for Spain. In his native country he dwelt with apparent enthusiasm on the riches of the countries he had visited. He had seen, he said, nations so wealthy, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold ; and a republic of women, equally warlike and powerful. But the voyage, when stripped of every romantic adventure or embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as the most memorable occurrence of that age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

Dreadful was the anguish of Gonzalo and his companions, when they did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and the Marignou. They were now twelve hundred miles from Quito ; and in their long march homewards, it is impossible to describe the misery they endured. Four thousand Indians perished in this expedition, and, if we deduct the fifty Spaniards who were in the boat with Orellana, we are told that only eighty returned to Quito.

But it was not to repose that Gonzalo returned :—

on entering Quito, he received news of a sad and fatal event.—The conduct of the elder Pizarro had long estranged from him many who were once his friends; the wrongs of Almagro were not forgotten, and his son yet survived:—of a graceful appearance, bold, open, and generous, he seemed born to command: his education had been excellent, and his accomplishments gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers, who, disgusted with the partiality of Pizarro, and disdainful to continue longer burthensome to the young and hospitable Almagro, formed a plan for overturning the government, and putting its chief to death. Such was the scheme of those who were called Almagrians, and Pizarro heeded not the voice which warned him of his danger.

On Sunday, the 26th of June 1541, at mid-day, Herrada, the tutor of the young Almagro, accompanied by eighteen conspirators, completely armed, entered the palace. At that moment Pizarro was not, as usual, surrounded by attendants. The conspirators advanced: Pizarro defended himself with skill and courage; some faithful friends were yet by his side, and died in his defence; his half-brother, Alvarado, fell dead at his feet:—weary, and hardly able to hold his sword, the Governor received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground, and expired. As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran into the streets, waving their bloody swords, and proclaiming the death of the tyrant.

But the power of Almagro did not long continue:—Vaca de Castro arrived; he erected the royal standard,

and in one, but one bloody engagement defeated the Almagrians, and put their leader to death.

During these violent convulsions in Peru, the Emperor (Charles V.) and his ministers were employed in endeavouring to devise means for restoring the public tranquillity there. One evil in particular called for an immediate remedy: the natives of the Spanish colonies in America were treated with such inhumanity by their conquerors, and compelled to work so hard, that it was feared the Spanish nation would soon remain the proprietor only of a vast uninhabited desert. Fortunately for the poor natives, one man was called to give his testimony to their condition, and this was Bartholomew de Las Casas. He happened to be then in Madrid, from America; with moving eloquence renewed, and more successfully renewed, his general efforts in behalf of the oppressed Indians.

With the decisive tone of one strongly prepossessed in favor of his own theory, he attributed the melancholy situation of the natives to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen; and he composed his famous treatise concerning the destruction of America, in which he forcibly details the devastation of every province which the Spaniards had visited. In consequence of these representations, a body of laws were framed, which met with general applause; but, together with these were issued regulations which excited universal alarm, and which it was predicted would prove ruinous to the infant colonies. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians, was held in excessive dread; and the protections which in various ways were

extended to them, were viewed with little less dismay. When the new code of laws arrived in Mexico, the colonists were induced by their wise and excellent governor Mendoza to accede to an observance of them; at the same time they presented petitions to the mother country, and at last obtained judicious and satisfactory alterations in them.

It was far otherwise in Peru:—for some years that unhappy country was the scene of civil war; and it was not till men less enterprising, less desperate, and more accustomed to move in the path of sober and peaceful industry, settled there, that the royal authority was firmly and completely established.

When compared with other parts of the New World, of Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states.

We have already given some account of Mexico, and we shall now enter upon some few details relative to the no less interesting country of Peru:—

According to the traditionary account collected by the Spaniards, the monarchy of Peru had subsisted four hundred years, under twelve successive sovereigns; and in no country did tradition alone carry down historical knowledge, in any full, continued stream, during a period of half this length. Their quipos, or knots on cords of various colours, seem to have been devices for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the different colour, different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. But what knowledge could the Peruvians derive from their boasted quipos? No moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could

be represented; they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events or customs.

We must endeavour to trace them from the time of Manco Capac, and his consort Mama Ocollo, and can give but little credit to the legendary tales of former ages.—These extraordinary persons, taking advantage of the superstition of the Peruvians, and particularly of their veneration for the sun, pretended to be children of that great luminary, and to deliver instructions from him. The multitude listened, and believed. The most singular and striking circumstance in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its liberty and laws;—the whole system of policy was founded on religion. Their Incas, or children of the sun, were supposed to be under the protection of the deity from whom they proceeded, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was supposed to be issued. Obedience became a duty of religion; and another consequence of establishing government on the foundation of religion was, that all crimes were punished capitally: they were not considered as transgressions of human laws, but as insults offered to the Deity; and, let it be added, the dread of punishment, which they were taught to consider as inevitable, withheld them from crime. Wherever the propensity of the human mind is to acknowledge and adore a visible object, as the Peruvians did, the spirit of superstition is mild: wherever imaginary beings are worshipped, superstition assumes a more severe and atrocious form. The Incas never stained the altars of the sun they glorified with human victims;—they presented to

him choice specimens of those works of ingenuity, which his light had guided the hand of man in performing.

The state of property in Peru was no less singular than that of religion. All the lands which could be cultivated were divided into three shares:—one was consecrated to the sun, and the product of it went towards the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the religious rites; the second belonged to the Inca, and was set apart for the support of government; the third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. But neither individuals nor the community possessed any exclusive property in these lands: they held their shares only for a year, when a new division was made, and the soil cultivated, as heretofore, by the joint industry of the natives.

The distinction of ranks was fully established in Peru. They had their servants, and those who were distinguished by no official situation, and their nobles, who held in peace and war every office of power or trust. At the head of these several classes came the children of the sun, who by their illustrious descent were far exalted above every other description of people.

Agriculture was far advanced in Peru; and though the use of the plough was unknown, they turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood: the land was manured and irrigated; and even the children of the sun set an example of industry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands.

Simple, ingenious and durable was the structure of the Peruvians' dwelling ; but it was in their temples consecrated to the sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the extent of their art and contrivance. The description of them which has been handed down to us might appear exaggerated, if the ruins which yet remain did not vouch the truth of the relation. They appear to have had edifices of various sizes and dimensions, but all remarkable for solidity, and resembling each other in the style of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace for the Inca, and a fortress, were so connected as to form one great structure, above half a league in circuit. As they were unacquainted with pulleys, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large stones and bricks to any considerable height, the walls of this edifice did not rise above twelve feet from the ground. They had no windows in this prodigious building. The apartments, so far as the distribution of them can be traced, were ill disposed, and afforded little accommodation. But with all these, and many more imperfections, the works of the Peruvians which yet remain must be considered as stupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the use of iron, and convey to us a grand idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs.

But these were not the noblest works of the Incas of Peru. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted stretch above fifteen hundred miles, are entitled to still higher praise ; and

one may be almost led to compare these roads to the famous Roman ways, which remain as monuments of that once vast empire. The formation of these roads introduced another improvement in Peru, equally unknown over the rest of America. The road of the Incas, in its course from north to south, was intersected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes to the western ocean. These were not always fordable, but necessity, the mother of invention, taught the Peruvians a device which supplied the defect of arches, for these were of course unknown. They formed cables of great strength, by twisting together some of the pliable osiers with which their country abounds. Six of these cables they stretched across the stream parallel to one another, and made them fast on each side. These they bound firmly together, by interweaving similar ropes so close as to form a compact piece of net-work, which being covered with branches of trees, and earth, they passed along it with tolerable security. Proper persons were appointed to attend at each bridge, and to assist passengers.

The Peruvians also made some progress in arts which may be called elegant. They possessed the precious metals in greater abundance than any other country in America. Their method of procuring silver was singular and ingenious: they could not sink a shaft into the bowels of the earth, but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers and the sides of mountains, and emptied such veins as did not dip suddenly beyond their reach. In places where the vein lay near the surface, they dug pits to such a depth,

that the person who worked below could throw up the ore or hand it out in baskets. They had discovered the art of smelting and refining this, either by the simple application of fire, or, where the ore was more stubborn and impregnated with foreign substances, by placing it in small ovens or furnaces, on high grounds, so artificially constructed that the draught of air performed the function of a bellows, an engine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this simple device, the purer ores were smelted with facility; and the quantity of silver in Peru was so considerable, that many of the utensils employed in the functions of common life were made of it.

It will be seen that we are indebted to the learned and elegant Dr. Robertson, for these curious and entertaining facts relative to the state of the Peruvians and their government, at the time they were conquered by the Spaniards; and we shall also avail ourselves of his admirable *History of America*, while briefly tracing the first discovery and settlement of different parts of that continent by our own countrymen.

ENGLISH ADVENTURERS.



ENGLAND was the second nation that ventured to visit the New World. The account of Columbus's voyage filled all Europe with surprise and admiration. The horrid and desolating contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, and which ceased only on the accession of Henry VII. to the English throne, had turned the arms of one half of the kingdom against the other, and exhausted the vigour of both.—The English had continued blind to their own advantage and situation. While the trading vessels of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as well as those of the Hans Towns, visited the ports of Europe, and carried on an intercourse with the various nations, the English did little more than creep along their own coasts, in their small barks, which conveyed the productions of one country to the other. Their commerce was passive, and their wants supplied by strangers.

But in the year 1495, Henry VII. granted a commission to Giovanni Gaboto, a Venetian adventurer, settled at Bristol, empowering him and his three sons to sail under the banner of England, to discover countries unoccupied by any christian state, to take possession of them, to carry on an exclusive trade with them, and to pay a fifth part of the free profit of every voyage to the crown.

Cabot (for that was the name he assumed in England) did not sail for two years after the date of the commission, when he embarked with his second son Sebastian, on board a ship furnished by the King, and accompanied by four small barks, fitted out by the merchants of the city of Bristol. The islands which Columbus had discovered were supposed to be contiguous to the great continent of India, and to constitute a part of the vast countries comprehended under that general name. After sailing for some weeks due west, Cabot discovered a large island, which he called *Prima Vista*, and his sailors *Newfoundland*. Continuing his course, he came to a smaller isle, which he called *St. John* : he then sailed along the coast of *North America* ; and as his chief object was to discover some inlet which might open a passage to the west, he did not land in *America* during this run, but returned to *England* without attempting either settlement or conquest.

No attempt towards discovery was made in *England* during the remainder of *Henry's* reign, and *Sebastian Cabot* entered into the service of *Spain*. In the reign of *Henry VIII.* some merchants of *Bristol* having fitted out two ships for the southern regions of *America*, committed the conduct of them to *Sebastian Cabot*, who quitted the *Spanish* service. This voyage was not beneficial to the traders, but extended the sphere of *English* navigation and the stock of science.

The vigour of a commercial spirit did not relax in the reign of *Edward VI.* The great fishery on the banks of *Newfoundland* became an object of attention,

and was prosecuted with ability and success ; but the discovery of some other route than round the Cape of Good Hope, to China and the Spice Islands, still continued to allure the English. In 1553, Cabot was appointed governor of a chartered company of Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions and Places unknown, and soon fitted out two ships and a bark, furnished with instructions in his own hand, which displayed the full extent of his naval skill and mercantile sagacity.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, who was entrusted with the command, stood directly northwards towards the coast of Norway, and doubled the North Cape. But the vessels were unfortunately separated in a violent storm: Willoughby's ship and the bark were forced to take refuge in an obscure harbour in a desert part of Russia, where he and his companions were frozen to death: Chancelour, who commanded the other vessel, was more fortunate ; he entered the White Sea, wintered in Archangel, visited Moscow, was introduced to the Czar, who saw the happy consequences that might result from opening an intercourse between his dominions and the western states of Europe, and sent the British officer home with a letter to the King of England, inviting his subjects to trade in the Russian empire.

The successful progress of the Merchant Adventurers in discovery roused the emulation of their countrymen, and turned their activity into new channels. A commercial intercourse was opened with Barbary, and with different ports on both sides of the line ; and the trade with Africa was no less innocent than lucra-

tive, for as the English had then no demand for slaves, they carried it on for many years without violating the laws of humanity.

On the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, a period commenced extremely auspicious to the spirit which was rising in the kingdom. Sir Francis Drake, emulous of the glory which Magellan had acquired by sailing round the world, determined to attempt a similar voyage, and undertook and accomplished it with a feeble squadron, in which the largest ship did not exceed a hundred tons burthen. Before he quitted the Pacific Ocean, in order to stretch towards the Philippine Islands, he ranged along the coast of California as high as the latitude 42 degrees north, in hopes of discovering on that side the communication between the two seas, which had so often been searched for in vain on the other.

On the 11th of June 1578, Elizabeth granted to Sir Humphry Gilbert, of Compton, Devonshire, a charter, authorising him to discover and take possession of lands in America unoccupied by any christian prince or people, and permitted such of her subjects as were desirous of so doing to accompany Gilbert, and settle on the lands he should plant. The extensive powers which by the charter were entrusted to Gilbert, might well suit the high notions of prerogative in the sixteenth century, but would be very repugnant to the ideas of men in the present age. Two expeditions which Gilbert conducted in person ended disastrously, and in the last he perished.

The miscarriage of a scheme in which Gilbert had wasted his fortune, did not discourage his half-brother,

Walter Raleigh, who procured a patent with most ample jurisdiction and prerogative. Raleigh immediately dispatched two small vessels, under the command of Amadas and Barlow, to visit the countries which he intended to settle, and acquire some previous knowledge of them. They took their course by the Canaries and West India Islands, and approached the continent by the Gulf of Florida. Unfortunately, their chief researches were made in that part of the country now known by the name of North Carolina, the province in America most destitute of commodious harbours. They touched first at an island which they call Wottocon, and then at Raonoke, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound. In both they had some intercourse with the natives, who exchanged their rude commodities for English productions.

When Amadas and Barlow returned to England, they gave such splendid descriptions of the countries they had visited, that Elizabeth, charmed with the idea of occupying a territory so delightful, bestowed on it the name of Virginia, as a memorial that this happy discovery had been made under a virgin queen.

The report of these men encouraged Raleigh to take immediate possession of so inviting a property. He fitted out a small squadron, under the command of the courageous Sir Richard Greenville; but as unfortunately he did not advance far enough towards the north to discover the noble bay of Chesapeak, he established a colony, which he left on the island of Raonoke, a station both incommodious and unsafe. This colony did not exist long, and at last the members who formed it were glad enough to return to England, under the

protection of Sir Francis Drake, who appeared with his fleet, on his return from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. One consequence, however, resulted from this abortive colony, important enough to give it a place in history, namely, the introduction of tobacco. A specimen of the plant was brought to England, and the use of it adopted by Raleigh and other young men of fashion.

No further attempt, during the reign of Elizabeth, was made to colonize Virginia, except indeed we reckon the fruitless one by Captain John White; but hardly was the pacific James seated on the English throne, before schemes of colonization in North America became more popular and more general. The voyage made by Bartholomew Gosnold, however insignificant it may appear, was productive of important consequences: he was the first English commander who reached America by the direct course, and first descried a promontory in the province now called Massachusetts Bay, to which he gave the name of Cape Cod. Gosnold and his companions were at first exceedingly inclined to establish a colony in that country; but when they reflected upon the disastrous issue of every colony which had been established, they retracted their resolution, and returned to England. But the new course which Gosnold had pointed out, diminished the distance between England and America almost one third; he had made no circuit by the West India Isles and the Gulf of Florida, and this circumstance most materially stimulated the enterprise of the English navigator and merchant. Those, too, who were sent out to visit the country where Gosnold had been, returned with an

equally favorable account of it; and the desire for planting it became every day more and more prevalent.

The most active and enterprising promoter of the new scheme of colonization was Richard Hakluyt, a prebendary of Westminster, to whom England is more indebted for her American possessions than to any man of that age. He delighted in the study of geography and navigation, and in order to excite his countrymen to naval enterprise, by flattering their national vanity, he published, in the year 1589, his valuable collection of voyages and discoveries made by Englishmen. He was consulted with respect to many of the attempts towards discovery and colonization during Elizabeth's reign; and in the reign of her successor was indefatigable in his endeavours to form an association for colonization and discovery.

The extent as well as value of the American continent was by this time better known, and it appeared to James that a grant of so large a country to one body of men, however respectable they might be, would be an act of impolitic and profuse liberality. For this reason, he divided that portion of North America which stretches from the 34th to the 45th degree of latitude into two districts, nearly equal, the one called the first, or south colony of Virginia,—the other the second, or north colony; the one district he allotted to the London association, the other to the Plymouth or western association.

The first attempts to occupy Virginia were made by very feeble bodies of emigrants. A small vessel and two barks, under the command of Captain Newport, first sailed with 105 men, destined to remain in the country; and having been driven by stress of

weather to the southern boundary of the bay of Chesapeake, the English stood directly into that spacious and delightful inlet, and there established James Town, the most ancient, though not perhaps the most opulent settlement in the New World. Unfortunately, violent animosities had broken out among the leaders during their voyage, which did not subside at its termination. Captain Smith, who had been appointed one of the council, was, by the mean jealousy of his comrades, excluded from a seat at the table, and this diminution of his influence and activity was a very serious injury to the colony.

Soon after they began to settle, the English were involved in a war with the natives, and what was far worse, the stock of provisions brought from England was so scanty, and of such bad quality, that a scarcity approaching to famine soon followed. At this critical juncture, every eye turned towards the persecuted Smith, and from his ability alone did the colonists expect to be extricated from their lamentable situation. He soothed, he intimidated, or he conquered the Indians. He procured from some of the tribes a supply of provisions, and he had the happiness to witness the almost entire restoration of order and plenty, when, to add to his joy, some ships arrived, laden with provisions, from England.

In one of his excursions, Smith was surprised by a large body of Indians, and was made prisoner. He well knew the dreadful fate which awaited him, but he retained his presence of mind ; he shewed his enemies a mariners' compass, and amused them with wonderful accounts of its virtues: their hearts began to relent,

but the feelings of humanity were soon stifled, and the gallant Smith was led to the place of execution : his head was already bowed to receive the fatal stroke, when that fond attachment which the American women ever manifested to their European invaders, interposed in his behalf. The favorite daughter of the chief Powhatan rushed in : she staid the fatal blow—she implored the life of Captain Smith—she gained her suit—and she procured his liberty. This female, whom the Virginian writers dignify with the title of princess, afterwards married an Englishman, and the union was productive of beneficial effects upon the colony.

Long and arduous, however, was the struggle, before the infant settlement of Virginia, under successive governors and less exceptionable charters, could be considered as firmly established ; but in time new settlements arose, and new lands were cultivated and peopled, till, in the course of years, a large portion of the vast continent of North America became the residence of English colonists, firmly attached, and cheerfully yielding subjection to the mother country. In a fatal hour, this connexion, so desirable for both, was finally abandoned, and the United States of America are now independent, opulent and considerable among the mighty empires of the world.

THE BUCCANEERS.



THE BUCCANEERS were those famous adventurers (or pirates if we must call them so,) of all the nations in Europe, who joined together to make war upon the Spaniards in America and the West Indies. The first pirate who was known in the island of Tortuga was Pierre le Grand, or Peter the Great, as he was called. He was born in Normandy. What rendered him famous was his taking a large and rich Spanish vessel, which exploit he performed with only one boat, and the assistance of twenty-eight men. The boat in which Pierre was with his companions had been long at sea, and the provisions were beginning to fail. When almost reduced to despair, they saw a large ship, belonging to the Spaniards, which had separated from the rest of her companions. When they approached, the pirates took an oath to behave themselves courageously. It was dark. They desired their surgeon, who was in their little boat, to bore a hole in its sides, in order that, their own vessel sinking under them, they might be compelled the more vigorously to attack that of the Spaniards. Each pirate was armed with a pistol and a sword. They immediately climbed up the sides of the ship, and ran into the great cabin, where they found the Spanish commander, with several of his

companions, playing at cards: they held a pistol to his breast, and demanded that he should deliver up the ship. The Spaniards cried—"Jesus bless us! are these devils, or what are they?" The gun-room and stores were speedily taken possession of, and in a short time the pirates were masters of the whole of the vessel. When Pierre had taken this magnificent prize, he detained in his service as many of the common seamen as he wanted, and set the rest on shore. He then sailed for France, where he landed, and was never again heard of on the shores of America or the West Indies.

No sooner were the planters and hunters of the island of Tortuga made acquainted with Pierre's success, than they resolved to follow his example. They abandoned their usual exercises and employments, and used what means they could to obtain boats or small vessels; but being unable to procure these, they set out in their canoes, and cruized first about Cape de Alvarez, whereabouts the Spaniards used to trade much, from one city to another, in small boats. Within a very short period the pirates seized upon several of these boats, and the hides, tobacco and other commodities which they contained; and in no long time they became masters of larger vessels, firmly established themselves on the island of Tortuga, and compelled the Spaniards to act upon the defensive.

Before the pirates went out to sea, they gave notice to every one who was likely to accompany them, on what day they intended to set sail, intimating to them their obligations to bring with them so much powder and ball for the expedition. When they were all as-

sembled on board, a consultation was held as to where provisions, particularly pork, was to be had. Sometimes they resolved to rob the Spanish hog-yards, where they frequently found a thousand head of swine. When provisions were obtained, they returned again to their vessel, and held a second consultation as to their future proceeding. The proportion of reward each man was to receive was then determined upon, and the allowance which each man who might be wounded was to receive was also arranged. They took a solemn oath not to abscond, or conceal, or appropriate to their own individual use any part of the booty they might obtain ; and if any one dared to infringe upon those regulations, he was instantly expelled from the society.

They frequently seized upon the poor fellows who were fishing for tortoises, and carrying them to their habitations, made them work as long as they conceived it expedient.

Of course the pirates were not ignorant at what seasons of the year, or from what ports, the Spaniards traded ; but if fortune did not favor them in these comparatively petty expeditions, they commonly determined upon something more desperate. One pirate, named Peter Francis, happened to be a long time at sea with his boat, and twenty-six men ; and being disappointed in his prey, he steered towards the River de la Plata. Near to this place there was a rich bank of pearl. The Spaniards were accustomed to send every year about twelve vessels, under the protection of a man of war, to gather pearls on this bank. The ships, when Francis arrived, were riding at anchor,

and the man of war was within half a league of them. Francis pulled down his sails, and rowed along the coast. He arrived at the pearl bank: he assaulted the vice admiral's ship, and captured it: elated with this success, he determined to endeavour to take the man of war by stratagem: he instantly sunk his own boat, and on board the vice admiral's ship he hoisted the Spanish colours, and weighed anchor, having compelled most of the Spaniards to assist in his design; but no sooner did the man of war perceive one of his fleet to sail, than he did so too, fearing least the mariners had any design to run away with the vessel, and riches that were on board. The pirates were now aware they could not stand an action with the man of war, and that their only chance of safety lay in flight; they had found immense treasure in the vessel they had captured, and they hoped, by making all sail they could, to escape the man of war. It was impossible, however, and the pirates were taken; yet they did not surrender without articles, and, however favorable they might be to them, the Spaniards were glad enough to abide by them. It is probable, that had the Buccaneers not lost their main mast they would have escaped, and with one of the largest prizes ever known.

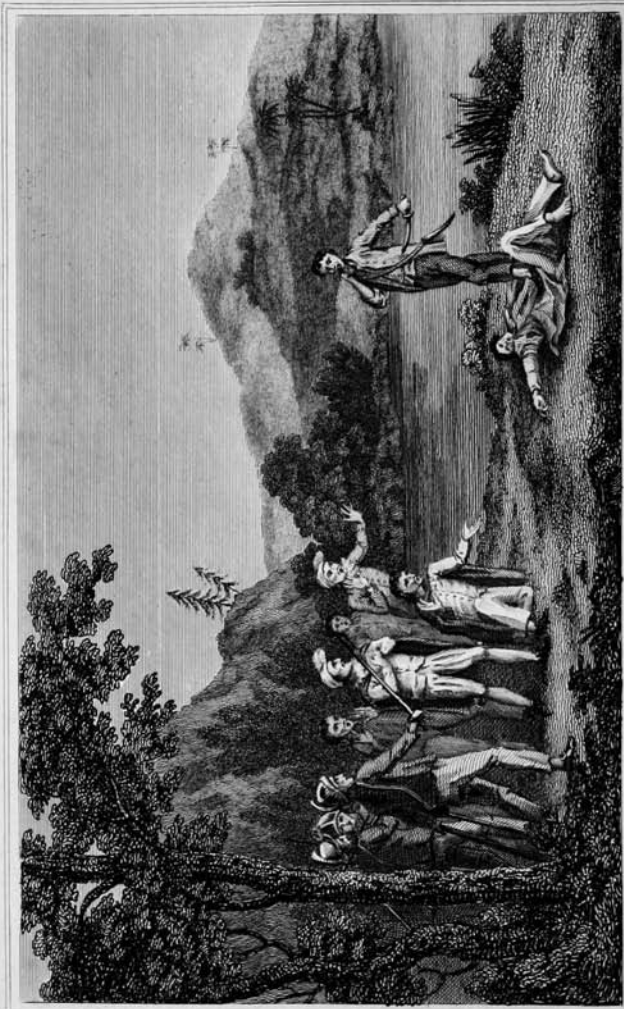
Another bold attempt was made, about the same time, by Bartholomew Portuguese. He was cruising in his boat, with thirty men, off the island of Cuba, and fell in with a large vessel mounting twenty guns, and having on board seventy persons. He attacked, and with the loss only of ten men and four wounded, he captured her. The Spaniards had double the number remaining that Bartholomew had, after the battle

was over ; but still the pirates boarded the vessel, and remained in her. Unexpectedly, three large Spanish ships appeared in sight,—the prize was retaken, and Bartholomew condemned to be hung. It was arranged that he should be executed on shore, but remain on board till the last moment. He was soon informed what was to be his fate, and determined, if possible, to escape. With this design he took two earthen jars, and stopped them very well, intending to use them for swimming. He then waited patiently till night, when he hoped even the sentinel who guarded him would sleep for a few moments ; but the man was too vigilant, and Bartholomew was compelled to kill him, before he could effect his own liberation. He then threw himself into the sea, got on shore, secreted himself in the woods for some days, then procured a boat, and joining some of his companions, attacked and made himself master of the very ship where he so recently had been a prisoner, and from which he was to have been led to the gallows. He then sailed for Jamaica, but encountering a dreadful storm, the ship was lost. Bartholomew saved his life, but never redeemed his fortunes.

Another pirate, who was called by his brethren Roche Brasiliano, was well known, and much looked up to. He entered into the society of Buccaneers, and was at last elected captain by a number of them. A very few days after he obtained this *honorable* situation, he was fortunate enough to capture a large vessel coming from New Spain, and having on board an immense quantity of plate ; both one and the other Brasiliano carried into Jamaica. This man hated the

Spaniards, and would order them to be roasted alive for no other crime than because they would not show him their hog-yards. At one period of his life he was wrecked with about thirty men, but they managed to reach the shore, with their musquets ;—there they were soon attacked by 100 Spaniards ; but the Spaniards, after a most bloody engagement, were defeated. After the battle, a fleet of canoes and a boat of war were taken by the pirates, who were thus relieved from their perilous situation ; and soon these pirates took a large vessel, bound from Spain to Maracaibo, and laden with specie. All the prizes were then carried to Jamaica, and in a few days the enormous booty was spent, and Brasiliano was again compelled to seek his fortune on the ocean. But in his next attempt he was unfortunate, for he and his men were taken prisoners, and would most assuredly have been put to death, if Brasiliano had not managed to write a letter which purposed to come from other pirates, and advised the person who held them in custody to take care how he behaved to the pirates, as no quarter would be given to the Spaniards if the prisoners were put to death. In consequence of this letter, the prisoners were sent as common mariners to Spain ; and with the money they earned on the voyage there they returned again to Jamaica, and to their old occupation, with even, if possible, more brutality and activity.

The Buccaneers now began to find there were not quite so many ships at sea as formerly, and, unwilling to relinquish so lucrative a profession, they determined to attack the different cities and towns belonging to the hated Spanish nation. The first pirate who made



S. Reynolds sculp.

Cruelty of Coleridge to his Spanish prisoners.

London Printed for Tho^s Kelly & Paternoster Row

a beginning to these invasions by land was named Luis Scot ; after Scot came a man named Mansvelt. But the bold attempts and adventures of John Davis must not be so slightly passed over. This person determined to rob the churches and rifle the houses in the town of Nicaragua. When they arrived at the city, the sentinel believed them to be fishermen ; and as the greater number out of the eighty who were upon the expedition could speak Spanish, the sentinel was confirmed in his opinion. The pirates succeeded in getting into the city, and many of the inhabitants, believing them to be friends, opened their doors to them. Too late were they convinced of their mistake,—their houses were pillaged, the churches were entered and prophaned, and, notwithstanding a considerable number of the citizens endeavoured to oppose this lawless banditti, and check their career, they were fortunate enough to elude their vigilance, and retire with a considerable booty. The fame of this action spread far and wide among the pirates, and Davis was elected admiral of seven of their boats or vessels.

FRANCIS LOLONOIS was a Frenchman, who in his youth was sent to the Carribbee Islands as a servant or slave. When out of his time, he came to Hispaniola, and placed himself among the hunters, before he began his robberies against the Spaniards. After a time the governor of Tortuga gave him the command of a ship, and his cruelties against the Spaniards were soon both notorious and dreaded. At one moment he was so unlucky as to lose his ship, and was pursued on shore by the Spaniards, who wounded or killed several of his party ; but he was fortunate enough to save his life by

a singular expedient : he took several handfuls of sand, and mingled them with the blood of his own wounds ; he then smeared his body with this extraordinary mixture, and lying down among the dead, he remained there till the Spaniards had quitted the field. After they were gone, he bound up his wounds as well as he could, and took his way to the city of Campeachy, disguised in a Spanish dress. Here he spoke to certain slaves, to whom he promised liberty if they would obey and trust him. They relied on his promises, and stealing for him a canoe, they one night went to sea with Lolonois. The Spaniards in the meanwhile had made several of his companions prisoners, and kept perpetually saying to them, “ What is become of your captain ? ” The Buccaneers constantly replied, “ He is dead.”

Lolonois was aware of the delight with which the Spaniards heard he was no more, and no longer delayed his escape. Arriving at the island of Tortuga, he was fortunate enough to obtain another vessel, in which he sailed towards the island of Cuba, and landed at a small village—de los Cayos. In this village Lolonois was persuaded he should find considerable booty ; but being observed, the inhabitants dispatched a messenger to the Havannah, to entreat the governor of that place to send them immediate assistance, as Lolonois was come to destroy them. The governor was himself fully convinced that Lolonois was dead, but in compliance with the earnest solicitations of the messenger, and his repeated declarations that Lolonois yet lived, and was actually come to de los Cayos, he did send assistance. The governor’s ship arrived at

Cayos, and the pirates had intelligence of its approach; they seized upon some fishermen, and determined to hazard the capture of the vessel. Very early in the morning, they rowed, with the fishermen on board, towards their enemy: the watch on board the governor's vessel asked from whence they came, and if they had any pirates on board, or had seen any? One of the fishermen instantly replied, "We have seen no pirate, nor any thing else." When day advanced, the pirates attacked the vessel on both sides with their two canoes;—vain was the resistance of the Spaniards; they were compelled to surrender, and were immediately murdered by the cruel Lolonois.

Previously to these unfortunate Spaniards sailing from the Havannah, they had received peremptory orders from the governor to massacre every pirate, except Lolonois, and not to return till they had fully executed his commands. In short, the Buccaneers were to be hung, and a negro was ordered on board the ship to officiate as hangman. After Lolonois had cut off the heads of his Spanish prisoners, he commanded the negro to be brought before him. The poor fellow prayed earnestly for life, promising to communicate all he knew if he were but permitted to live;—he did tell every thing with which he was acquainted, and was instantly afterwards murdered. One miserable wretch was reserved, to carry back the sad news to the Havannah.

Lolonois soon afterwards pillaged the city of Maracaibo, and returned to the island of Tortuga, where he was received with every demonstration of joy.

In a short time this dauntless Buccaneer gave no-

tice of his intention to equip a considerable fleet, and plunder the various cities and towns belonging to the Spaniards, and situated on the main land. He also took into partnership a man named Michael de Basco, who had been long resident at Tortuga. This Basco was considered a good soldier, and to him Lolonois gave the conduct of the people who were to act on shore. All things being in readiness, about 660 persons set sail on this extraordinary expedition. They first directed their course to the north side of the island of Hispaniola, where Lolonois fell in with a rich Spanish vessel. He directed the rest of his fleet to wait for him at an island at some little distance, and immediately, with his own ship, attacked that of his enemy: he was successful, as usual, and found an immense booty on board, which he dispatched to Tortuga.

The men augured well from this prosperous commencement of their voyage, and in the highest spirits bent their course for Maracaibo, a rich and considerable town, capital of the province of Venezuela: it is situated on the banks of a lake, and carried on a great trade in tobacco. On an island in the lake, lived the Bravos, or wild Indians, who could never be either subjected to or at peace with the Spaniards. There are also several other cities on the banks of the lake. Lolonois soon arrived at the Gulf of Venezuela, and steered his course for the lake of Maracaibo. His first intention was to land his men, and attack the fortress or castle which commanded the bar: in this they were successful, and the inhabitants of Maracaibo, alarmed at the very sound of the "pirates are coming," retired with precipitation into their woods. The city, thus

abandoned to the licentious fury of the Buccaneers, was the scene of every possible disorder ; and Lolonois dispatched a few of his people into the woods, that they might find some of the wretched inhabitants, and bring them before him, for the purpose of compelling them to confess where more treasure might be found. The pirates returned from the woods that very night, bringing with them not merely several prisoners, but a considerable booty. Many of the inhabitants were then put to the rack, that they might confess where they had hidden their treasures, but little could be wrung from them. Lolonois, provoked at their obstinacy, actually cut one of the prisoners to pieces in the presence of the rest, and threatened each with a similar death, if they did not instantly confess. Horror-struck at this inhuman deed, and dreading a death so barbarous, the inhabitants told him where their treasures were to be found ; but in the meanwhile the people in the woods had heard what was passing in their city, and hid their wealth in such places that it was impossible the pirates should discover it ; and after fifteen days sojourn at Maracaibo, they thought it expedient to retire from the city, with the plunder they had obtained, and seek their fortunes on another part of the lake.

They pursued their course towards Gibraltar, another town on the lake, where they found the governor of Merida and a considerable body of troops ready to receive them ; but the pirates were not to be dismayed : in an energetic speech, worthy a better cause, Lolonois addressed his men : they were prepared for victory or death, in every sense of the phrase, and before sun-rise

360 pirates landed near the town. They marched towards it: the garrison, consisting of 800 men, kept up a heavy fire, but the Buccaneers advanced. The fire increased, and Lolonois and his men retired, but it was far from their intention to abandon the expedition:—"They fly—they fly!" re-echoed from the Spaniards, and they sallied out, without regard to order or discipline. Lolonois and his hardy associates faced the enemy;—the Spaniards were utterly defeated, their colours torn from the ramparts, and those who escaped the swords of the pirates sought refuge in the woods. Vast indeed was the booty at this place, but it did not satisfy the avarice of the pirates. The miserable inhabitants were told, that unless they offered a very considerable ransom, their town would be laid in ashes. They endeavoured to collect the sum required, but were unable to do so by the time appointed. Lolonois commanded his people to set fire to the place: his orders were obeyed, and the town of Gibraltar was fast sinking into ruin, when the inhabitants begged for a few more days. The ransom would then, they said, be ready; and if they might but attempt to arrest the progress of the flames, some buildings might yet be saved. Notwithstanding every exertion, a great part of the town was burnt. The pirates went away when they received their stipulated ransom, and bent their course towards Maracaibo again, which they thought might yet yield them some booty. From Maracaibo they went to Hispaniola, where they divided their immense treasure, and then pursued their course towards Tortuga.

Lolonois obtained great praise on his return home,

for his numerous and successful adventures ; and he was not long in planning new expeditions. The country about Nicaragua promised a rich field for plunder, and to that quarter he resolved to sail. After touching at Bayaha, he landed with his people on the island of Cuba. There they seized several canoes, and after enduring much inconvenience from repeated foul weather, were obliged to put into the Bay of Honduras. They went from one place to another, exercising every possible cruelty against the Spaniards. Their attack upon the town of San Pedro, near Cavallo, was preceded by cruelties too horrid to find a place here ; and indeed we may close our account of Lolonois by saying, that after a long and hazardous cruize, he and many of his people were taken prisoners by the Indians, who, in revenge for the many cruelties he had exercised towards them, actually cut him to pieces while alive, threw his limbs into the fire, and scattered his ashes in the air. Thus terminated the existence of this brutal Lolonois, whose horrid death seemed a just punishment for his yet more horrid life.

SIR HENRY MORGAN.—Henry Morgan was born in Wales. He early determined to seek his fortunes in the West Indies, and entered on board a ship bound for Barbadoes ; but when he arrived on that island, he was compelled to serve his time as a common servant. When that expired, he went to Jamaica, and fell in with some of the Buccaneers : he joined them, and was soon made captain of one of their vessels. With this ship he was fortunate enough to take a number of Spanish vessels ; and happening to meet with the old pirate Mansvelt, whose name we have mentioned before, he

was by him appointed vice-admiral of his fleet. With about fifteen vessels, they sailed towards Jamaica, and afterwards attacked the island of St. Katherine, and took it;—they were equally successful with another small island, and finally steered towards the main land. The president or governor of Panama having heard of the arrival of the Buccaneers, sent a body of troops to compel them to retire; and they thought it more prudent, for a time at least, to retrace their steps towards St. Katherine's; but this island did not long remain in their possession, as it was retaken by the Spaniards.

After the death of Mansvelt, Morgan continued for awhile in the island of Cuba; but having collected a fleet of twelve ships, and a considerable body of men, English and French, he became impatient to signalize himself, and desirous to acquire wealth. It was determined that the pirates should attack the rich town of Puerto del Principe, and orders were issued that the captain of every vessel should proceed towards that place. When they arrived in the bay near the town, a Spaniard, who happened to be on board one of the ships, jumped into the sea and swam to shore. The pirates had no idea that this man understood English, and therefore had openly talked of their plans before him. This Spaniard informed the governor of the place what sort of visitors he might speedily expect, and the governor prepared for them accordingly. But his ambuscades and his courage were equally useless,—the town was taken by the dauntless Buccaneers, whose subsequent conduct was, as usual, full of barbarity, for it was of no importance whether they were commanded by a Lolonois or a Morgan. Many of the inhabitants

were confined in the churches, and there left to perish. After some days a ransom was paid for the town, and Morgan and his companions left it; but not before a misunderstanding had arisen between the French and English pirates, which, as it could not be healed, terminated in their immediate and total separation. This breach, however, was of no importance to Morgan, whose reputation was greatly increased by the splendour of his recent exploits. Such, indeed, was the confidence which the men reposed in this famous Buccaneer, that they actually went on board a fleet which he had prepared, and weighed anchor, without either knowing or feeling solicitous to be made acquainted with the place of their destination.

The fleet sailed towards the continent of America, and it was not till they came within sight of land, that Morgan told his people that it was his intention to pillage the town of Puerto Velo. "If we are but few in number," said the enterprising pirate, "we have but one heart; and remember, the more limited our number, the greater will be each man's share of spoil."

The town of Puerto Velo was considered one of the best fortified the Spaniards then possessed, in America or the West Indies; but Morgan was acquainted with its situation and real strength. About midnight they disembarked, and marched towards the first ports of the city;—an Englishman who had been formerly a prisoner in those parts, served them for a guide. They desired this man, and three or four more, to take the sentinel, if possible; if not, to kill him on the spot: they were fortunate enough to seize him, and brought him bound before Morgan. After having

procured every information from the man, they commenced their march towards the city. When they arrived at a castle which stood near the town, they commanded the sentinel whom they had taken to require the immediate surrender of the place, threatening the garrison with instant death if they hesitated. But they hearkened to none of their threats, and began instantly to fire—the noise of their musquets alarmed the city. The garrison was soon compelled to surrender: the men who composed it were thrust into a room where some barrels of powder were found, which were set fire to, and the castle and its brave defenders were no more. A dreadful scene of confusion was now exhibited in the city. The governor retired to one of the strongest places in it, and the inhabitants beheld with horror the speedy entrance of the detested Buccaneers.

When Morgan found that the governor persevered in his resistance, and was determined never to yield up the castle or fortress in which he had taken refuge, while he had a man to stand by him, he made use of a stratagem which he thought would be attended with instant success. He caused a number of ladders to be made, and directed the monks and nuns whom he had taken, to fasten them to the walls of the castle: he then directed them to mount the ladders first, and ordered his own people to follow; for he thought that the governor would never fire upon these helpless and innocent beings. In this idea Morgan was mistaken; several of them were killed, and it was not without much difficulty that the pirates obtained a footing upon the ramparts. The Spaniards immediately threw down

their arms, and prayed for quarter ; but the governor, notwithstanding the tears and entreaties of his wife and daughter, declared “ he had rather die as a valiant soldier, than be hung as a coward ;” and though Morgan was very desirous of taking him prisoner, he defended himself with such inflexible obstinacy, that they were forced to kill him.

The usual scene of debauchery and pillage followed the surrender of the town of Puerto Velo ;— for not burning it they obtained an immense ransom, and then departed, first to Cuba, where they divided their spoil, and from thence they went to Jamaica.

The governor of Panama was so astonished at Morgan’s boldness and success, that he sent to inquire with what arms 400 men could capture so large a place as Puerto Velo ? Morgan returned a pistol and a few small bullets, and desired the bearer of them to tell the governor that he need not send them back, as in about a twelvemonth’s time he would come to Panama and reclaim them. The governor, in return, sent Morgan a ring of gold, with a message importing that he need not come to Panama as he had done to Puerto Velo, for he would find that place rather more difficult to be taken.

After allowing a reasonable, or rather perhaps a very unreasonable time for dissipating the treasure obtained at Puerto Velo, Captain Morgan began to meditate upon a new expedition, and was extremely anxious that the crew of a French vessel, lying in one of the harbours of Jamaica, should join him in it ; but the commander of the vessel positively objected, and Morgan, irritated at his refusal, determined to find

some pretence for quarrelling with him. He had understood that the French ship had, before its arrival in Jamaica, been in great want of provisions, and that an English vessel had been compelled to furnish them, without, as Morgan conceived, adequate compensation. He invited the French crew to dine with him on board his ship, and when there, he made them prisoners. When Morgan had secured his prisoners, he called a great council on board his ship, to determine upon where they should next proceed in their piratical expeditions.

At this council it was agreed to go to the island of Savona, and there wait the arrival of Spanish vessels; and in consequence of this arrangement, the men, as was customary on similar occasions, began to fire their guns, and drink. In a while the crew were all more or less intoxicated, when, by what accident is not known, the ship was blown into the air, and 320 persons lost their lives.

A few days subsequent to the loss of the vessel, Morgan sailed, and, after some unimportant adventures, arrived at Maracaibo. The pirates found the town deserted, but upon sending some of their people into the woods, they brought back about thirty of the inhabitants. All these miserable prisoners were put to the rack, to make them confess where the rest of the inhabitants were, and where the treasure was hid. Among other tortures then used, one was, to stretch their limbs with cords, and then beat them with sticks: others had burning matches placed betwixt their fingers, which were then burnt alive; and the tortures to which some were put are literally too horrid to

be mentioned. For three whole weeks did these scenes continue, the pirates constantly going into the woods, and never returning without booty and prisoners.

Morgan now thought he could not do better than follow the example of Lolonois, and proceed to Gibraltar, at which place he was received in a way which made him exclaim, "We must make our meal upon bitter things, before we come to taste the sweetness of the sugar this place affords." The town, however, was soon abandoned, and the inhabitants fled to the woods. One poor fellow whom they met with, died under the tortures they inflicted. It would be useless, and indeed almost impossible to trace Morgan and his associates in their career of villainy while at Gibraltar. When they had procured as much booty as lay in their power, they returned to Maracaibo, and heard from a poor old man, a solitary inhabitant of the city, of the arrival of three large men of war. It was unanimously agreed to attack these vessels; and one of the pirates said,—

"Captain Morgan, take you care for the rest, and I will undertake to destroy the largest of these ships with only twelve men. The manner shall be, by making a brulot, or fire-ship, of the vessel we took near Gibraltar, which with the intent she may not be known for a fire-ship, we will fill her deck with wood and Montero caps, to deceive their sight with the representatives of men. The same we will do, at the port-holes that serve for guns, which shall be filled with counterfeit cannon. At the stern we will hang out the English colours, and persuade the enemy she is one of the best men of war that goeth to fight them."

This proposition was acceded to; and every effort at accommodation having failed, the pirates and their adversaries prepared for battle. In the first place, Morgan commanded all the slaves and prisoners to be tied, and well guarded; after which, all the tar, pitch and brimstone that could be obtained in the town was brought out, and the fire-ship prepared. They covered very well their counterfeit cannon, laying under each piece many pounds of powder. They broke open new port-holes, where, instead of guns, they placed little drums used by the negroes; and, finally, they ornamented the deck with many pieces of wood, dressed up as men with hats, and armed with musquets, swords, &c. In one boat were placed the male prisoners, and in another the women, plate and jewels. The fire-ship had orders to precede the other vessels, and fall foul of the largest of the Spanish. The Buccaneers then took an oath to behave themselves courageously, and on no consideration to require quarter; and Morgan promised rewards to those who did their duty.

On the 30th of September 1669, these daring men sailed towards the Spaniards, and very early on the following morning the action commenced. The fire-ship sailing before the rest, engaged with the largest of the Spanish vessels. In vain did the Spaniard attempt to escape,—in a little while she was in flames; the stern was soon consumed, and the fore part sunk into the ocean. The second Spanish vessel was sunk in attempting to escape, and the third was taken by the pirates. Immediately after the action, the pirates made an unsuccessful assault on the castle of Maracaibo.

The day following the engagement, several persons

were taken up floating on the timbers of the vessels ;— amongst others, Morgan found a pilot, whom he took into his service, and by whose assistance and information he was enabled to save some of the treasure from the wrecks. Captain Morgan also obtained a considerable sum from the city of Maracaibo, and weighing anchor, arrived, after a tempestuous passage, at Jamaica.

Not long after Morgan arrived at Jamaica, he found many of his old friends and companions reduced by their debaucheries to a state of indigence, and ready for new and perilous adventures. A vast number of Buccaneers were now eager to serve under the banner of the renowned Captain, and that gallant though cruel chief was not long in equipping a fleet, whose place of rendezvous was the southern side of the island of Tortuga. The whole armament was in readiness by the 24th of October 1670.

The first thing was, to obtain a sufficient stock of provisions for the expeditions which were meditated ; and while numbers of people were sent into the woods to kill the cattle, a small fleet of four ships was directed to pillage any cities or towns on the coast of the main land, or elsewhere. In pursuance of this resolution, the vessels steered towards the river de la Hacha, where they were suddenly becalmed, and the Spaniards, from a village on the shore, had sufficient time to prepare for resistance. But before they landed, they were fortunate enough to capture a vessel laden with corn ; and when they reached the shore, the Spaniards were, as usual, compelled to retreat, and to purchase security for their town, by giving to the pirates a large stock of provisions. They then re-

turned to Tortuga ; and Morgan saw himself the commander of thirty-seven vessels, and 2000 fighting men, besides mariners and boys.

Morgan divided his fleet into two squadrons, constituting a vice-admiral, and subordinate commanders. To every one of these he gave patents or commissions to act against the Spaniards. He then called his captains and other officers together, and caused them to sign some articles of common agreement between them, and in the name of all.

In these articles it was stipulated, that Morgan should receive the hundredth part of the booty for himself alone ; that every captain should draw the shares of eight men for the expences of his ship, besides his own ; that the surgeon, besides his ordinary pay, should have 200 pieces of eight for his medicine chest ; every carpenter should draw, besides his ordinary remuneration, 100 pieces of eight. Recompences and rewards were very high :—for the loss of both legs, a man was entitled to 1,500 pieces of eight, or fifteen slaves, the choice to be left to himself ; for the loss of both hands, 1,800 pieces of eight, or eighteen slaves ; for one leg, whether right or left, 600 pieces of eight, or six slaves ; for a hand as much as for a leg, and for an eye 100 pieces of eight, or one slave ; and to any man who should signalize himself, a reward of fifty pieces of eight was to be given.

The contract being signed, Morgan commanded his vice-admirals to put every thing in order. Panama was the place destined for the scene of their lawless operations ; but it was determined in the first instance to attempt the reduction of St. Katherine.

Captain Morgan and his associates weighed anchor from the Cape of Tiburon on the 16th of December 1670. Four days after, they arrived within sight of St. Katherine, which was now in the possession of the Spaniards again. When Morgan approached the island, he sent one of his best sailing vessels to view the entrance to the river, and see if any ships were there which might hinder him from landing. On the following morning, all the fleet came to anchor near the island, and Morgan landed with 1000 men. For a time they were in a very miserable situation; it rained so dreadfully that they were unable to proceed, and they began to feel the pains of hunger to a very great degree. In this predicament, Morgan had recourse to an expedient, which at once proves his courage and his presence of mind. Every thing, as we have said, looked dark upon them;—the rain was pouring in torrents; the pirates were exhausted by hunger and fatigue, and would in all probability have been quite unable to withstand the slightest attack of the Spaniards. Morgan ordered a canoe to be rigged in all haste, and a flag of truce to be hung upon its mast. He then sent the canoe to the Spanish governor, with a message, “That if within a few hours he delivered not himself and all his men into his hands, he did by that messenger swear unto him, and all those that were in his company, he would most certainly put them all to the sword, without granting the least quarter to any.”

About noon, the canoe returned with this answer, That the governor requested two hours' time for consideration; he would then send his final determination.

The time being elapsed, the governor sent two canoes, with white flags, and two persons to treat with Morgan, who demanded of the pirates two men as hostages for their security. These were readily granted by Morgan, who delivered up two of his captains. The messengers then told Morgan, that their governor had resolved to deliver up the island, but requested that Morgan would be pleased to use a stratagem, for the better saving of his credit and that of his officers. It was desired and stated that Morgan should come with his troops by night near to the bridge which joined the lesser island to the greater, and there attack the fort of St. Jerome; that at the same time all his fleet should draw near to the castle of Santa Theresa, and attack it by sea, landing some more troops near the battery of St. Matthew; that these troops which were newly landed should by this means intercept the governor on his way to St. Jerome's fort, take him prisoner, using the formality as if they compelled him to deliver up the castle, and that he would lead the English into it, under colour of their being his own troops; that on one side and the other there should be a continual firing, but without bullets; and that having obtained possession of these forts, the whole island must of necessity fall into the hands of the Buccaneers.

Morgan readily agreed to these terms; the island was taken, and three persons found in it, who were to serve as guides in the approaching expedition to Panama. Previously, however, to the fleet sailing on this adventure, the castle of Chagre, seated on the river of that name, was attacked, and compelled, after a most gallant resistance, to surrender.

On the 18th of August 1670, Morgan sailed from Chagre, and after a tedious voyage, and march of nine days, the steeples of Panama were discovered. The pirates threw their hats into the air, leaped and shouted for joy; every trumpet sounded, and every drum was commanded to be beaten. In the evening, fifty horsemen came out of the city, alarmed by the sound of the drums and trumpets. They halloed to the pirates, calling out, "Ye dogs, we shall meet ye." Immediately afterwards the cannon from the city began to play, and an incessant firing was kept up through the night.

Early in the morning, they put all their men in motion, and, with their drums and trumpets sounding, the pirates marched towards the city. But one of the guides desired Morgan not to take the common highway, lest they should either meet with resistance or ambuscade. Morgan acceded to this advice, and pursued his route through a wood. At last they came to the summit of a little hill, which overlooked the city of Panama, and perceived in the valley the governor of the place, with his forces drawn out ready to receive them. For a moment the Buccaneers were alarmed at the number of the enemy; but they knew that if they fled they would most certainly be pursued, and if overtaken cut to pieces, and a little reflection told them it was better at least to attempt to conquer. As the Buccaneers descended the hill, the Spaniards also began to move forward, shouting "God save the King." Two hundred of the Buccaneers, who formed the van of the army, bent on one knee and fired. Immediately the battle became general, and after an engagement of

two hours, the pirates were victorious ;—600 Spaniards were killed, and a very considerable number of the pirates.

The Buccaneers met with more resistance on their approach to the city, but in about three hours they were masters of it. No sooner were they actually in possession of the town, than Morgan assembled all his people in the market-place, and strictly forbade them to touch wine. He was fearful, that if the Spaniards saw them intoxicated, they would rally and put them to death.

When Morgan had placed guards in the different quarters of the city, he commanded twenty-five men to seize a large boat, which had stuck in the mud ; and he then caused several men privately to set fire to different parts of the town. No one could imagine what were Morgan's motives for setting the city on fire ; and for some time the people were ignorant who was the author of so dreadful a calamity. Morgan himself threw the blame on the Spaniards, because he soon perceived that his own people condemned the action. Every effort to stay the course of the devouring element was in vain ; in half an hour one whole street was levelled with the ground. All the houses in the city were built of cedar, and were richly adorned with hangings and paintings, the greater part of which were lost in the flames. There were in Panama eight monasteries, one for women, the other seven for men ; two stately churches ; one hospital ; and about 7000 houses.

The pirates in their cruelties spared neither sex nor condition. Among the prisoners was a lady of

rank, and equally eminent for her beauty and virtue. Her husband was absent at the capture of Panama, and the lady herself had retired, with her friends and relations, to as great a distance as she could ; but, as we have already related, she had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. No sooner had Morgan seen her, than he determined to sacrifice her to his criminal desires. He commanded his people to lodge her in an apartment by herself, and ordered a negro woman to attend upon her. In vain did the poor captive, with tears and sobs, entreat that she might remain with those of her relatives who were also prisoners ; Morgan was inexorable ; he commanded that she should be treated with great respect, and that her food should be carried to her from his own table. This lady had formerly heard very strange reports about the pirates, but now she began to entertain different and more favorable sentiments respecting them.

For a time was Morgan assiduous and respectful in his attentions ; but he soon threw off the mask, and dared to address her in the most libertine and threatening language : he offered gold, pearls, jewels, in short, the whole produce of his campaign ; but the lady was immoveable. “ My life,” said she, “ is in your hands ; but as to my body, in relation to that which you would persuade me unto, my soul shall sooner be separated from it, through the violence of your arms, than I shall condescend to your request.” Scarcely had she uttered this noble declaration, than Morgan ordered her into a cold and damp dungeon, and allowed her so small a portion of provisions, and of so bad a quality, that her life was in imminent danger. The very pirates were ashamed of their leader’s conduct towards

this virtuous and unprotected female, insomuch so, that Morgan found himself compelled to lay false accusations to her charge, as the causes of his cruel, shameless conduct.

The pirates had now been three weeks at Panama, when orders were issued for their departure. At this moment, however, a plot was discovered ;—a number of Buccaneers had made up their minds to leave Morgan, to seize upon a vessel which lay in the bay, to try their fortunes in the south seas, and return by the East Indies to Europe. The whole scheme was frustrated, by the presence of mind and courage of Morgan.

On the 24th of February 1671, the Buccaneers left Panama, or rather the place where Panama once stood, carrying with them prodigious treasures, and above 600 prisoners. Those of the prisoners who could pay a large ransom were set at liberty, and amongst others the lady whose conduct has been so recently mentioned, and whose excellence it is impossible sufficiently to extol. The story, however, is, that she had not paid her ransom, but had informed some friends where her treasure was to be found, and requested them to bring it to her, and that they appropriated it to other purposes ; and that when Morgan discovered this, he set the lady at liberty, and detained her wicked friends till they could from some other quarter produce the sum required.

The popularity of Morgan was now on the decline: his companions accused him of not making a fair distribution of the spoil, and his situation among the Buccaneers was so dangerous, that he escaped with as much precipitation as he could to Jamaica, where, it is

reported, he spent the remainder of his days in peace. It is asserted, that Morgan was graciously received by King Charles II. of England, on his arrival in that country on a visit; and it is further reported, that though Charles issued several proclamations for the suppression of the hostilities committed by the Buccaneers, he condescended to receive some of their wealth as a gift, and to confer the honor of knighthood on the brutal but valiant Henry Morgan.

After the retirement of Morgan, several Buccaneers, headed by one whom they called Captain Sharp, set forth on fresh expeditions towards the South Seas, and on the continent of America. The place of rendezvous was called Boca del Toro, and from it they sailed March 23d, 1679. Having landed on the coast of Darien, and divided their forces into companies, they proceeded towards Santa Maria, the Indians serving as guides. After nine days march, they arrived at the town of Santa Maria, which they took and plundered. It was then unanimously agreed that the city of Panama should be visited a second time, and on the 17th of April 1680, the pirates embarked in thirty-five canoes, and a periagua, which they had taken as it lay before the town. On Monday, April 19th, they rowed towards the point of St. Lawrence, and after various dangers they arrived at Panama. At that time, there were in the harbour of Perico five large ships and two smaller ones, which, after a sharp engagement, were captured by the Buccaneers; and on their entrance at the port of Panama, they were fortunate enough to take a number of large vessels and rich prizes. From Panama they went to Tavoga, thence to Otoque and Cayboa; and after visiting many places on the main

land, and various islands in the South Sea, and after taking some prizes, and exercising much cruelty, they returned to Antigua and dispersed.

But in the account we have of Sharp and his followers, there is not one point on which we rest, or from which we can receive the slightest amusement. The daring, but cruel actions of the Buccaneers, were performed under such men as Lolonois and Morgan, who, had they but been engaged in a better cause, would have been revered as heroes, not detested as pirates, and whose deeds would have lived in the page of history, and have been regarded as models of imitation for the soldiers of our more modern days.

One circumstance, however, we must for a moment dwell upon:—Upon whom were these enormities of the Buccaneers perpetrated? Whose ships did they capture? Whose towns did they burn and pillage? Whom did they murder, torture and violate?—The Spaniards! The men, whose ancestors had seized and imprisoned the helpless, credulous, but yet once happy and royal Montezuma: the men, who had burst in upon the peaceful and lovely vallies of Peru, who had enslaved its inhabitants, dilapidated its splendid temples, insulted and dethroned its legitimate monarchs: the men, who had almost inundated the grand city of Mexico with the blood of its innocent inhabitants; who gained wealth by barbarous violence, and expended it in licentious pleasures; who, with the name of their Creator on their lips, forgot his omnipresence in their actions; and who, while they would be thought to profess the pure religion of a crucified and atoning Saviour, might with more truth be regarded as the disciples of that evil one, who cometh but to destroy.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

By GEO. ANSON, *Capt. R. N.*

IN THE YEARS 1740—1744.



GEORGE ANSON, the Commodore in the expedition, was born in 1697, and was the third son of William Anson, Esq. of Shuckborough, in the county of Stafford. He early evinced a predilection for the navy, and after having passed through the usual inferior steps, he was appointed second lieutenant of the Hampshire, in 1716. In 1722, he was raised to the rank of master and commander; and was made post captain in 1724, and appointed to the Scarborough man of war. Between that period and the year 1733, he made three voyages to North Carolina. In the *war of the merchants*, as it was called by Sir Robert Walpole, which broke out in 1739 between Great Britain and Spain, he was appointed to the command of the expedition of which we are about to give an account. On his return from his circumnavigations, he was made admiral of the blue, and afterwards one of the commissioners of the Admiralty. In 1746, he was appointed a vice-admiral; and in the winter of 1746-7 he had the command of the Channel fleet. In May 1747, he captured, off Cape Finisterre, six French ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Jonquiere; and it was on this occasion that M. St. George, one of the French captains, said to him, while surrendering his sword, "You

have defeated the *Invincible*, and *Glory follows you,*" alluding to two of the French vessels, the *Invincible* and *Gloire*, which had surrendered to him. For this important service he was created a peer of the realm, and in 1749, upon the death of Admiral Norris, was made vice-admiral of England. In 1751, he succeeded Lord Sandwich as first lord commissioner of the Admiralty; but in consequence of the blame which was attached to him when Minorca was lost, he resigned this situation in 1756. Having, however, most satisfactorily exculpated himself, he was reinstated in his high office, which he filled with equal credit and honor to himself and satisfaction to his country, till his death, in June 1762, in the 65th year of age. He married the daughter of Lord Hardwicke; but as he had no children by her, his title descended to his brother.

The squadron allotted for the expedition of which we are about to treat, consisted of five men of war, a sloop of war, and two victuallers. These were, the *Centurion*, of 60 guns and 400 men, Commodore Anson; the *Gloucester*, of 50 guns and 300 men, Richard Norris commander; the *Severn*, of 50 guns and 300 men, commanded by the Hon. Edward Legge; the *Pearl*, of 40 guns and 250 men, M. Mitchell commander; the *Wager*, of 28 guns and 160 men, Dandy Kidd commander; the *Tryal* sloop, of 8 guns and 100 men, the Hon. John Murray commander. Besides the above-mentioned complement of men, about 470 invalids and marines were embarked, and distributed amongst the squadron, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Cracherode.

The fleet sailed on the 18th of September 1740, from St. Helens, and on the 25th of October following came to anchor in the Madeira Roads. The ships remained at Madeira about a week. On the 3d of November, Captain Norris requested permission to resign the command of the Gloucester, and return to England, for the recovery of his health. The Commodore complied with his desire, and appointed Captain M. Mitchell to the command of the Gloucester; Captain Kidd was removed from the Wager to the Pearl, Captain Murray from the Tryal sloop to the Wager, and the command of the Tryal was given to Lieutenant Cheap. Commodore Anson then appointed St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd islands, as the place of rendezvous, and if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the best of their way to St. Katherine, an island on the coast of Brazil.

About the 21st of December, the squadron came to anchor at the island of St. Katherine; and on the 18th of January 1741, the signal was made for weighing, and the ships put to sea, leaving the island without regret, as the officers and crews had been much disappointed in the accommodations they met with, and the refreshments they were able to obtain.

In quitting St. Katherine, the Commodore left the last friendly port at which he proposed to touch, and proceeded to a hostile, or, at best, a desert and inhospitable coast. As a more boisterous climate was now to be expected, and not only the danger of separation augmented, but other accidents of a more mischievous nature to be apprehended, and, as much as possible, provided against, Anson, in appointing the various

stations in which the ships were to rendezvous, had considered that his own vessel might either be disabled or lost while doubling Cape Horn ; and therefore gave directions, that even in that case the expedition might not be abandoned.

Under the orders which Anson had so judiciously given, the ships put to sea. On Monday the 19th of January, the weather was squally, attended with rain, thunder and lightning ; but it soon cleared up, and continued pleasant till the 21st, when it again blew fresh, and increasing all night, it became by the next morning a most violent storm, accompanied by so dense a fog that it was impossible to distinguish two ships' length, and consequently the vessels lost sight of each other. At this time, the Pearl was separated from her companions, and did not join them for a month, during which her commander, Captain Kidd, died. Having anchored in the bay of St. Julian, the Tryal underwent a thorough repair ; and, while there, the Commodore appointed Captain Murray to the Pearl and Captain Cheap to the Wager, and Mr. Saunders, first lieutenant of the Centurion, was appointed to the command of the Tryal, Mr. Saumarez having orders to act for him till he was recovered from a violent fever.

The tract of country called Patagonia extends from the Spanish settlements in South America to the straits of Magellan. The country on its eastern side, along the Atlantic Ocean from the Rio Plata southwards, is singularly destitute of trees ; but it abounds in pasture, and the cattle, which were originally brought there by the Spaniards, have multiplied prodigiously. The

manner of killing the cattle in that country is curious. Both Spaniards and Indians are usually admirable horsemen, and accordingly the hunters employed on these occasions are all mounted on horseback, armed with a sort of spear, which, instead of the accustomed point or blade in the same line with the shaft, has its blade fixed across. Armed in this manner, the hunters ride at a beast and surround him, when a hunter from behind ham-strings him so that he soon falls, unable to rise again. They then leave him, and proceed to others, whom they serve in a similar way. Occasionally a second party follow, on purpose to skin the cattle as they fall ; but in general it is said the hunters prefer to leave them to languish in torment till the next day, believing that the lengthened anguish facilitates the separation of the skin from the carcase.

Exclusive of the numbers of cattle slaughtered in this manner for their hides and tallow, it is often necessary for the purposes of agriculture to catch them alive, and without wounding them. This is performed with prodigious dexterity, chiefly by means of an instrument which may be called a lash. It consists of a very strong thong of raw hide, several fathoms in length, with a running noose at one end. This the hunter, who is on horseback, takes in his right hand, being properly coiled up, and the other end fixed to the saddle. Prepared in this way, the men ride at a herd of cattle, and when arrived within a certain distance of a beast, the thong is thrown at him with so much exactness, that the noose is fixed about his horns. Finding himself entangled, the animal tries to run away ; but the hunter attends his motions, till another

hunter throws a second noose about his hind legs. When this is effected, the horses, being trained to the sport, turn in opposite directions, and the creature is overthrown; the horses then stop, keeping each thong on the stretch, so that the beast remains on the ground incapable of resistance, till the hunters alight and secure him. Horses are also caught by means of similar nooses, and even tigers.

The cattle killed in the manner we have before described, are slaughtered only for their hides and tallow, and sometimes their tongues are taken out; but the rest of the flesh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by birds of prey or wild beasts. The greater part of it falls to the share of wild dogs, of which there are immense numbers to be found in the country. These are supposed to be descended from the Spanish dogs of Buenos Ayres, who, allured by the smell of carrion, had lost their masters and ran wild in the country, for they are evidently of the European breed. Although these dogs prowl about in vast packs, they do not diminish the number of the cattle, as they dare not attack the herds, but content themselves with the carrion left by the hunters.

The country south of Buenos Ayres is also stocked with great numbers of wild horses, brought, no doubt, originally from Spain, and extended and increased far beyond the cattle. Though many of them are excellent, their number renders them of little value, the best of them being sold, where money is plentiful and commodities very dear, for a dollar apiece. It is not known how far to the southward these wild horses and cattle extend, but there is reason to believe that

stragglers are to be met with near the straits of Magellan. The horses are said to be very good eating.

In this part of the country also are found a great number of Peruvian sheep, but they are so swift, that they are killed with extreme difficulty. On the eastern coast are an immense quantity of seals, and a vast variety of sea fowl, among which the most remarkable are the penguins. They are like a goose in size and shape, but have short stumps, like fins, instead of wings, which are of no use whatever to them except when in the water. Their bills are narrow, like that of the albatross; and they walk and stand erect, in consequence of which they have been whimsically compared to little children with aprons.

The *Tryal* being refitted, which occasioned the long residence at the bay of St. Julian, the Commodore conceived it expedient to fix the plan of his operations, and therefore a council was held on board the *Centurion*. At this council it was proposed by Anson, that their first attempt, after arriving in the South Seas, should be against the town and harbour of Baldivia. The council readily and unanimously acceded to the proposal, and new instructions and regulations were issued accordingly.

On the 4th of March, the fleet was in sight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than six or seven leagues distant was the northern boundary of the eastern entrance of the straits of Magellan. The afternoon of the day was bright and clear, and the officers took the opportunity of visiting the Commodore. While all were on board the *Centurion*, they were dreadfully alarmed by a sudden flame bursting out from the

Gloucester, followed by a cloud of smoke ; but they were soon and happily relieved from their apprehensions.

Having on the 7th of March opened the straits of Le Maire, the Pearl and Tryal were ordered to keep ahead, and lead the way. The straits were entered with fair weather and a brisk gale. The crews flattered themselves that the greatest difficulties attendant on their voyage were now surmounted ; and their joyous ideas were considerably heightened by the brightness of the sky, and serenity of the weather ; but our hopes and our pleasures

“ Are like poppies spread,—
“ We catch the flower, its bloom is fled ;
“ Or like the snow-fall in the river,
“ A moment white, then lost for ever.”

The poor mariners were ignorant that the moment was fast approaching, when the squadron was to be separated never again to unite, and that the last happy day in this world was fast, very fast closing upon many of them. Before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the straits, the sky was suddenly obscured, and every presage of an impending storm was observed. The wind shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls, that they had to hand their top sails, and reef their main sail ; while the tide, which had hitherto favored them, turned furiously adverse, and drove them to the eastward with prodigious rapidity, so that they were in great anxiety for the Wager, and Anna pink, the two sternmost ships, fearing that they might be dashed to pieces on the

shore of Staten Land. Instead of pursuing the course to the S. W. the whole squadron now drifted to the eastward, by the united violence of the storm and current, so that the following morning they were seven leagues from the straits, which then bore from them N. W. From the storm which came on before they were well clear of the straits of Le Maire, there was a continual succession of dreadful weather, and many very serious and frightful accidents occurred. Towards the latter end of April, the men flattered themselves that their sufferings were drawing towards a close : they then found themselves in lat. $52^{\circ} 13' S.$ which being to the northward of the straits of Magellan, they felt assured they were arrived at the confines of the South Sea. In the month of May, however, their sufferings rose even to a higher pitch than they had yet done, whether the violence of the storms, the shattering of the rigging, the diminution of the crew by death, or sickness, or even the prospect of destruction be considered.

Soon after the straits of Le Maire were passed, the scurvy began to make its appearance ; and long continuance at sea, and fatigue, occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that there were few on board who by the latter end of April were not afflicted with it, and in that month no less than forty-three died of it in the *Centurion*. Nearly double that number died in the month of May ; and as they did not land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and so much so, that after the loss of above 200 men, not more than six foremast men could be mustered in a watch who were capable of duty.

This disease, so frequent in long voyages, is one of the most singular and unaccountable that afflicts the human body. Its symptoms are innumerable, and inconstant; and its progress and effect irregular, for scarcely have two persons complaints resembling each other. The common appearances are, large discoloured spots dispersed over the surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums, and, above all, a great lassitude over the whole body, especially after exercise, however inconsiderable. The complaint is also attended by a strange depression of spirits, shiverings, tremblings, and a disposition to be seized with the most dreadful terrors on the least accident. One of the most extraordinary circumstances attendant upon the scurvy is, that the scars of wounds healed for many years are forced open again. There was a remarkable instance of this in the case of one of the invalid soldiers on board the *Centurion*: the man had been wounded fifty years before, in the battle of the Boyne; his wounds were healed, but they broke out afresh in the virulence of the disease, and appeared as if they had never been cured.

In this wretched situation, separated from the other vessels, at the mercy of the wind and waves, and with the crew hourly diminishing, did the *Centurion* beat about till the 9th of June, when the island of Juan Fernandez was discovered at day-break, distant about eleven or twelve leagues.

The wind being northerly when they first made the island, they kept plying to windward all that day, and the following night, in order to get in with the land; and while wearing ship in the middle watch, they had

a remarkable instance, and a melancholy one too, of the extreme debility of their people, for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quarter masters and six foremast men capable of working.

In the afternoon of the 10th they got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging along its coast at the distance of about two miles, in order to look out for a proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on its north side. Being so near the shore, they perceived that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared unpromising at a distance, were far from barren ; in most places they were covered with wood, and the finest vallies were interspersed between them, clothed with most beautiful verdure, and watered by numerous streams and cascades. The appearance of a country so charmingly diversified would at any time have been very delightful ; but when we think for a moment on the deplorable situation of the crew of the *Centurion*, it is scarcely possible to conceive with what eagerness they viewed the shore, and longed to reach it. Soon after they got to anchor, they discovered a sail making towards them,—it proved to be the *Tryal*, whose crew had been as dreadfully afflicted with the scurvy as that of the *Centurion*. Notwithstanding the desire to free the sick from the confinement and filth of the vessels, there were not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception for some few days, when 182 or 184 persons were taken out, and about 167 brought to shore, twelve or fourteen having expired in the boats.

The island of Juan Fernandez is in lat. 33° 40' S. (long. 77° 30' W.) one hundred marine leagues, or five

degrees of longitude from Chili. It is of an irregular triangular figure, one side of which facing the north-east, contains three bays. Its greatest extent is between four and five leagues; its utmost breadth somewhat less than two. The only safe anchorage is on the north-east side. The northern part of the island is composed of high and craggy hills, many of them inaccessible, but generally covered with trees. The soil here is loose and shallow, so that large trees in the hills frequently perish for want of root, and are then easily overturned. This circumstance proved the death of one of the men. The southern part is dry, stony and flat. The trees are for the most part aromatic, and of different sorts. They were not of a size to yield considerable timber, except those which the crew called the myrtle, the top of which was circular, and as uniform and regular as if clipped round by art. The vegetables which were usually esteemed peculiarly adapted to the removal of scorbutic disorders were all found there.

The interior of the island fell no way short of the sanguine expectations entertained of it. The woods, which covered most even of the steepest hills, were free from bushes and underwood, affording an easy passage through every part of them; and the irregularities in the northern part of the island, traced out by their various combinations a vast number of romantic vallies, through most of which ran streams of the purest water, which tumbled from rock to rock in grand or beautiful cascades, as the vallies happened to be broken into sudden descents, by the course of the neighbouring hills. Surely in this lovely island the productions

of unassisted nature far excelled all the fictitious descriptions of the most fertile imagination.

The piece of ground where the Commodore pitched his tent was a small lawn, on a gentle ascent about half a mile from the sea. In front of the tent was a large avenue opening through the woods to the shore, with a prospect of the bay, and the ships at anchor. The lawn was screened behind by a wood of myrtle. Two streams of water, pure as the finest crystal, ran to the right and left of the tent, within the distance of an hundred yards, and which, shaded by trees on either side of the lawn, completed the symmetry of the whole.

There were immense numbers of goats upon this island, and also many dogs, and seals in abundance. The sea lion, too, was found in Juan Fernandez. It bears some resemblance to a seal, but is much larger; when at full size it is between twelve and twenty feet long, and from eight to fifteen feet in circumference: it is very fat, some of the largest of these animals giving nearly a butt of oil. The skins are covered with short hair, of a light dun colour; but their tails, and fins, which serve them for feet on shore, are almost black. They divide their time between sea and land, continuing at sea all summer, and coming on shore in the winter. Their fore feet, or fins, are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of these fingers has a nail. The males have a large snout, or trunk, hanging down five or six inches beyond the extremity of the upper jaw. When on land, they engender and bring forth their young, commonly two at a time. When on shore, they feed on grass, and the plants which

grow on the banks of the fresh water streams. They sleep a great deal, and as they are not easily roused, a sentinel is placed, who fails not to make a tremendous noise if any danger approaches his lethargic companions. One male is accompanied by a number of females, but it would appear that he is not so surrounded without many bloody contests.

There are few birds;—chiefly hawks, owls, black-birds and humming-birds are found in Juan Fernandez. But what afforded the sailors the most delicious repast, while on the island, was some particular kind of fish, with which the bay was supplied, as indeed it was with cod, cavallies, gropers, &c.

The arrival of the *Tryal* sloop was a source of infinite joy to the *Centurion*, and the crews of these vessels now anxiously and impatiently desired the arrival of the other vessels also. A fortnight, however, elapsed without any of them appearing; but on the 21st of June, a ship was seen to leeward, but she had no sails aboard except her courses and main top sail. It proved to be the *Gloucester*. There was no doubt she was in great distress, and the Commodore instantly ordered out his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish and vegetables. Two-thirds of her complement were already thrown overboard; and of those who remained alive, scarce any could do their duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been for a length of time on the small allowance of one pint of water per day, and yet had so little left, that they must soon have died of thirst, if it had not been for the supply sent by the Commodore.

The *Gloucester* plied up within three miles of the

bay, but could not reach the road, both wind and current being contrary. On the following day, as she could not come to anchor, the Commodore repeated his assistance; and Captain Mitchell was under the necessity of detaining the crews of the boats sent each day, or he could not have navigated his vessel.

For several days the Gloucester continued in that tantalizing situation, unable to come to anchor, though perpetually making the attempt. For nearly a week she was out of sight; but on the 16th of July she was again visible, and made signals of distress, and the long boat of the Centurion was sent off with a supply of water, and plenty of fish and other refreshments. When the boat returned, which she did the next day, the dreadful state of the Gloucester became known to the Commodore. There was scarcely a man on board her in good health, except the few she had received from the Centurion. Her situation became every day more dreadful;—again was she lost sight of, and it was not till the 23d of July that she again appeared, when, to the inexpressible delight of every human being, she was, by the assistance of the Centurion's boats, enabled to come to anchor in the bay. Eighty people only remained alive in this fine vessel when she came to anchor; but fortunately the invalids, with few exceptions, soon recovered.

Captain Mitchell immediately waited on the Commodore, whom he informed, that in his last absence he had been forced as far as the small island of Masefuero, nearly in the same latitude as Juan Fernandez, and about thirty leagues farther west. He further stated, that the island was covered with trees and ver-

dure, and was about four miles in length ; and that he believed some small bay might possibly be found, which would afford sufficient shelter to any ship desirous of procuring refreshment.

As four of the squadron were yet missing, the description of Masefuero induced Anson to send the *Tryal* sloop there, in hopes that some of the stragglers might be seen or heard of. About noon on the 16th of August, a sail was descried, which some supposed was the *Tryal* on her return from the examination of the island, but it proved to be the *Anna* pink. This was the last vessel which joined the expedition ; and the dangers which she encountered—the loss of the *Wager*—and the putting back of the *Severn* and *Pearl*, are now about to be related.

The *Anna* fell in with land about the 16th of May, in lat. 45° 15' S. being then four leagues from shore. On the first sight of it, they wore ship and stood to the southward ;—the ship was ultimately brought to anchor to the eastward of the island of *Inchin* ; but unfortunately they did not run sufficiently near to the east shore of the island, and had not hands enough to bear away the cable briskly, so they were soon driven more to the eastward, deepening their water from 25 to 35 fathoms.

On the 17th of May, they let go the sheet anchor, which brought them up for a short time ; but on the 18th they drove again till they came into 65 fathoms, and being now within a mile of the land, they expected every instant to be forced on shore, in a place where the coast was so high and steep, that there was not the slightest hope of saving the ship or cargo.

As their boats were very leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing place, the whole crew, consisting of sixteen men, gave themselves up for lost. Under these terrifying circumstances, the *Anna* continued to drive towards the rocks; and, when expecting instant destruction, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes of safety. They did arrive in a most excellent harbour, which for its security against all winds and swells, and the consequent smoothness of its waters, might vie with any in the known world.

In this harbour the *Anna* continued nearly two months, without annoyance from the natives, and with the power of procuring every requisite refreshment.

The *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company from the *Commodore* off Cape Voir, and then put back to Brazil. The *Wager* had on board a few field-pieces, and some cohorn mortars, mounted for land service, with several kinds of artillery stores and pioneers' tools, intended for operations on shore; and as an enterprize had been planned against Baldivia for the first operation of the squadron, Captain Cheap was desirous that these articles should be forthcoming. While making the best of his way to the first appointed place of rendezvous, off Socoro, the *Wager* made the land, and while Captain Cheap was exerting himself in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to dislocate his shoulder. 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, insomuch that at break of day on the 15th of May she struck on a sunken rock,

bilged, and grounded between two small islands, about musquet shot from the shore. In this situation the ship continued entire for a long time; and had the crew acted properly, they might all have been saved; but they fell to pillaging the vessel, and arming themselves with what weapons they could meet with. They threatened instant death to whoever dared to obstruct their proceedings. Some of them were so drunk, that they fell down into the hold, and were drowned, as the water came down into the wreck. The Captain did his utmost to get the crew on shore, but was unable to succeed, except with very few; he was therefore compelled to leave them, but had the humanity to send back the boats, with an earnest entreaty that they would consult their own preservation. All his efforts, however, were vain, at least for a time; but next day the weather was stormy, and the ship in great danger of going to pieces, and the refractory part of the crew began to be afraid of perishing, and desirous of reaching land. What then in their madness should these wretches do, but (as the boat did not come to fetch them at the moment they expected) fire two shots from a four pounder, placed on the quarter deck, against the hut which the Captain had just erected.

From this specimen of the behaviour of some of the crew, an idea may be formed of the disorder which followed when they all reached the shore. The men conceived the authority of the officers was at an end, from the moment the vessel was wrecked. Every regulation issued for bringing the provisions from the ship was infringed upon, or broken; innumerable

frauds were committed ; and there were constant quarrels, and the most malevolent disposition was excited. Contrast the conduct of the unhappy crew of the *Wager* with what would be, and what has been that of the crews of vessels similarly circumstanced in our days, where, in the place of drunkenness, insubordination and theft, the most complete discipline is observed, and each individual seems more attentive to the comfort, and anxious for the safety of others, than solicitous for his own.

On one very important point, the Captain and his crew were at variance. The Captain was determined to fit out the boats in the best manner he could, and proceed with them to the northward ; the crew generally were eager to lengthen the long boat, and with her, and the other boats, to steer southward, pass the straits of Magellan, and make for Brazil, from whence it was conjectured a passage to England might easily be obtained in some ship or other. The Captain's view and expectation in steering to the northward was that they might fall in with some Spanish vessel, which, as he had two hundred men and some fire-arms, he did not doubt he could master, and then proceed to Juan Fernandez ; indeed, it was his opinion that they could reach that island in their boats. Captain Cheap was right in his opinion, and was steady to it, though, in appearance at least, he was obliged to give way to the torrent, and acquiesce in the decision of his men. But the Captain, by his opposition to the favorite project, had embittered the minds of the men against him, and an unhappy accident greatly contributed to increase the feeling of irritation.

A midshipman, named Cozens, had appeared foremost in all the mutinous proceeding, had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the Captain, and had treated Cheap himself with great indignity and contempt. His turbulence growing every day worse and worse, it was not in the least doubted, but that some measure was in agitation in which Cozens was the ringleader; and the Captain and his friends thought it advisable to be on their guard. One day the purser having stopped, by order of the Captain, the allowance of a man who would not work, Cozens, though the man had not complained to him, intermeddled in the affair with considerable bitterness, and grossly insulted the purser, who was also in a passion. Enraged by the scurrility of Cozens, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, the man called out "*a mutiny—a mutiny,*" adding "*the dog has pistols,*" and then immediately fired a pistol himself at Cozens, but missed him. On hearing the outcry, and the report of the pistol, the Captain rushed out of the tent, and not doubting but that it had been fired by Cozens at the commencement of a mutiny, instantly shot him in the head without further inquiry. Cozens lingered for a fortnight, and then expired.

Though this unhappy precipitation was displeasing to the people, it awed them for a considerable time; but at last, towards the end of October, the additional provocation, as they conceived it, given them by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that Cheap might engage a sufficient party to enable him to over-

turn their favorite scheme, induced them to take advantage of the death of Cozens as a reason for depriving him of his command, and placing him under arrest. But they never intended to take him to England,—they never dared take him,—so that when they were prepared to sail, they set him at liberty, and left him with the few who were willing to share his fortune.

They were left with no other vessel than the yawl and the barge, when the people on board her were induced to turn back. The subsequent proceedings of Captain Cheap and his few associates, will be given at large when we come to the narratives of the “hardy” Byron ; at present, we must return to the proceedings at Juan Fernandez, from the arrival of the *Anna pink*, to the final departure from thence.

About a week after the arrival of the *Anna*, the *Tryal* sloop, which had been sent to examine the island of *Masefuero*, returned to anchor at Juan Fernandez. The latter end of the month of December was spent in unloading the provisions from the *Anna pink*, when they had the misfortune to find that large quantities of them were decayed, and unfit for use. She was immediately afterwards discharged. But upon examining her condition, by desire of Mr. Gerard, the master, it was found that she was completely unfit for a voyage ; and as they had not materials for preparing her by them, she was broken up, and her crew ordered into the *Gloucester*.

Since leaving *St. Helens*, the *Centurion* had buried 292 men, and had 214 surviving. The *Gloucester*, out of a much smaller crew, had lost the same number, and had only 82 living. The *Tryal* had lost 42, and

had 39 remaining alive. The havoc of disease had fallen still more heavily on the invalids and marines, than on the sailors. For in the *Centurion*, out of 50 invalids and 79 marines, there only remained four invalids, including officers, and 11 marines. In the *Gloucester* every invalid perished, and of 48 marines, only two escaped.

It appears from this account, that the three ships departed from England with 961 men on board, of whom 626 were dead, and 335 men and boys only remained alive; a number inadequate even for manning the *Centurion*, and *barely* capable of navigating all the three, with the utmost exertion of strength and vigour.

In the beginning of September, the men being pretty well recovered, the crews exerted themselves in getting their ships ready for sea. All hands being employed in preparing for weighing anchor, a strange sail was discovered to the N. E. but they were unsuccessful in their pursuit of her, and resolved to return to Juan Fernandez; they therefore hauled up to the S. W. afterwards standing to the N. W. At day break the crews were agreeably surprised by the sight of a strange sail on their weather bow. She at first bore down towards them, shewing Spanish colours, and making signals, as if to a consort; but seeing they were not answered, she loofed close to the wind, and stood to the southward. When the *Centurion* came within reasonable distance, they fired four shot among her rigging, on which the enemy lowered her top-sails and came down upon the *Centurion*, but in great confusion. She was taken without resistance, and Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the *Centurion*, was ordered

to take possession of her, and send all the prisoners on board the Commodore's vessel, the officers and passengers first. The prize was called the *Neustra Lenora del Monte Carmelo*. Anson and his officers gained some very important intelligence from the passengers, and from letters and papers found in the *Carmelo*. First they learned the force and destination of a squadron which cruised off *Madeira* at the period of time they arrived there, and which afterwards chased the *Pearl*, in her passage to *Port St. Julian*. This squadron was now known to consist of five large Spanish ships, commanded by Admiral *Pizarro*, and fitted out to oppose the designs and views of Commodore Anson; and secondly, they learned that *Pizarro*, having suffered a great deal in consequence of stormy weather, was obliged to return to the *Rio Plata* with only three ships; and moreover, that the Viceroy of *Peru*, believing that Anson and his crews had either perished at sea, or had returned home again, had taken off an embargo which he had previously laid on all shipping. This intelligence made them flatter themselves, that as the Spaniards were yet ignorant of their having doubled *Cape Horn*, they might come in for some valuable captures, and indemnify themselves in that way for their incapacity to attempt any considerable settlement of the Spaniards on the main land. At any rate, it was evident, from what the prisoners said, that the English had nothing to fear from the enemy, whose vessels were at that moment cruising to the southward. The *Centurion* and her prize then returned to *Juan Fernandez*, where the *Gloucester* and *Tryal* lay at anchor, for it would have been inexpedient for them

to have followed the *Centurion* when she gave chase to the *Carmelo*. By the time Anson arrived at Juan Fernandez, he had had leisure to examine minutely the letters found on board the prize, and from them, and from a more rigid examination of the prisoners, it appeared that several merchant ships were bound from Callao to Valparaiso; whereupon the Commodore dispatched the *Tryal* sloop to cruise off the port of Valparaiso, reinforcing her crew with ten men from the *Centurion*; and he also determined to employ his squadron separately in cruising. Captain Mitchell was then directed to proceed to the high land of Payta, and cruise off there, at such distance from the shore as should prevent his being discovered. He was to continue on this station till joined by the *Centurion*. On the 19th of September the *Centurion* weighed anchor, in company with the *Carmelo*, and got out of the bay, taking her last leave of Juan Fernandez, and steering to the eastward, with the intention of joining the *Tryal* in her station off Valparaiso, leaving the *Gloucester* still at anchor.

A few days after the *Centurion* left the island, she saw at a distance two sail, which proved to be the *Tryal* and a prize she had captured. She was called the *Arranzazu*, was of six hundred tons burden, bound to Valparaiso, and had a similar cargo to the *Carmelo*, with the agreeable addition of about five thousand pounds in specie. But the *Tryal* was so much damaged, that it was found necessary to destroy her; and, consequently, her stores and ammunition were removed to the vessel she had taken, which was to be rated as a frigate in the king's service, and named the

Tryal's prize. The Carmelo and Tryal's prize were then directed to cruize off Valparaiso, while the Centurion went to windward of that port, and the Gloucester would be in the way of intercepting all vessels bound from Panama to any part of Peru. In no very long time the Carmelo and Tryal's prize rejoined the Centurion; but it was the 5th of November before the crews had the satisfaction of seeing a sail: it appeared when they were within sight of the high land of Barranca, in lat. $10^{\circ} 36'$ S. bearing from them north-east by east. They immediately gave chase, and she soon struck. Mr. Dennis, the third lieutenant of the Centurion, was sent to take possession of her, and bring the passengers on board that ship. The cargo would have been of very considerable value could the English have disposed of it, but the Spaniards had orders never to ransom their vessels. On board the prize were ten passengers—four men and three women, and three negro slaves. The women were a mother and two daughters, the elder daughter about twenty-one, the younger about fourteen years of age. They were treated with the utmost kindness by the Commodore, who permitted them to remain in their own ship.

At the commencement of this chase, the Centurion ran her two consorts out of sight; but when they joined again they all (four sail) proceeded northward. They there found the sea of a beautiful red colour, owing to the immense quantity of spawn which floated on its surface. When the vessels arrived in lat. 88° S. they were attended by vast numbers of flying fish. It is remarkable, that these fish extend to a much higher latitude on the east side of America than on the west,

The reason of this is probably the different degree of heat on different sides of the continent, though in the same latitude.

The ancients imagined, that of the five zones into which they divided the surface of the globe, two only were habitable ; supposing that the heat between the tropics, and the cold within the polar circles, were too intense to be supported by mankind. The inaccuracy of this conjecture is now very well known, but the comparison of the heat and cold of various climates have as yet even been but imperfectly considered. Of one thing, however, we are certain, *viz.* that *all* the places within the tropics are far from being the hottest on the globe, as many within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme cold to which their situation would seem to subject them ; that is to say, 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 line. This relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round ; and in this sense it cannot be denied, that London, for instance, enjoys much warmer seasons than the bottom of Hudson's Bay, which is nearly in the same latitude, but where the severity of the winter is so great, as scarcely to permit the hardiest of our garden plants to live. Now make the comparison between Bahia and Lima, for though the coast of Brazil is extremely sultry, the coast of the South Sea, in the same latitude, is as temperate and tolerable as any part of the world. Again, on the top of the Andes, though *under* the equator, the snow never melts, a criterion of cold stronger than is known to take place

in many parts far within the polar circle. Examine this point by the unerring evidence of the thermometer, it will appear that the heat, in very high latitudes, at St. Petersburg for instance, is, at particular times, much greater than any which has hitherto been observed between the tropics. If then it should be asked, how comes it that the heat in many places between the tropics is esteemed so insufferable, when it appears that it is exceeded by that in some places nearer the poles?—the answer is, that the estimation of heat in any given place ought not to be founded on that particular degree of it which may now and then be found there, but is rather to be gathered from the medium observed during a whole season, or perhaps a whole year.

On the 10th of November, the ships were in lat. $6^{\circ} 27'$ S. and were fortunate enough to take another prize. In consequence of the intelligence which was then obtained, the Commodore determined to make an attack upon the town of Payta, which is in lat. $5^{\circ} 12'$ S. (long. $81^{\circ} 15'$ W.) and situated in a most barren soil, composed of sand and slate. The place itself is small. The walls of the houses are composed of split canes and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves. The inhabitants are chiefly Indians and black slaves, with but very few whites. The port of Payta, though but a bay, is reckoned the best on the coast, and is a secure and commodious anchorage. It is frequented by all vessels coming from the north, as here only the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonati, Realigo, and Panama, can touch and refresh in their passage to Callao.

Having informed himself of the strength of its

fort, the Commodore determined to attack Payta on the night of the 12th of November ; and as the strength of the place did not require all the ships, it was agreed that boats should be employed in the service. Fifty-eight men were picked out to man them, and the command entrusted to Brett, to whom the Commodore gave every instruction. The better to prevent disappointment, and the confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and from the ignorance of the people of the streets and passages in Payta, two Spanish pilots were appointed to attend Lieutenant Brett ; and to guard, as much as possible, from treachery from the pilots, Anson publicly assured the prisoners, that they should be set on shore and released at Payta, provided the pilots were faithful ; but if they were not so, the prisoners should be carried to England, and the pilots shot.

During the preparation, the ships continued to stand for the port with all the sail they could carry. About ten at night, being within five leagues of Payta, the boats were put off ; but hardly had Brett and his gallant companions entered the bay, than some of the people of a ship which was riding there at anchor perceived him, and getting instantly into their boat, rowed towards the fort, shouting, “ the English !—the English dogs ! ”

The whole town was alarmed, and lights were observed hurrying backwards and forwards : on this, Mr. Brett encouraged his men to pull briskly, that the enemy might have as little time as possible for preparation : yet before the boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got some of their cannon ready,

and pointed them towards the landing place ;—the first shot passed directly over the heads of the crews in the boats. The English redoubled their efforts, and had reached the shore, and in part landed, when the second shot was fired. As soon as the men landed they were conducted by one of the pilots to the entrance of a narrow street not above fifty yards from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort : when they had formed, they marched immediately for the parade, a large square at the other end of the street, on one side of which was the fort ; the governor's house forming another side of the square. The English sailors delighted to get on shore, and, animated with the hope of pillage, shouted as they marched along. The enemy imagined at least three hundred were come to attack the town ; and the inhabitants were so dreadfully intimidated, that they thought infinitely more of flight than of resistance : hence, though upon entering the parade the sailors received a volley from the merchants, to whom the treasure then in the town belonged, yet the post from which they fired was soon abandoned, and the English left in quiet possession of the walk.

Brett now divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the governor's house, and if possible to secure the governor, while he himself went with the other party to endeavour to get possession of the fort ; but the enemy abandoned it on his approach, and he entered it without opposition.

Thus the place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour after the seamen landed, and with only the loss of one man killed, and two wounded. The Hon. Mr. Keppell, son to Lord Albemarle, had on this occa-

sion a narrow escape : he wore a jockey cap, one side of the peak of which was shaved off by a ball, close to his temple, but it did him no injury. Having thus far been successful, Brett placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's house, both to prevent surprise, and to secure the effects from being embezzled. Among the numbers who ran away was the *gallant* and *valiant* governor ; he ran off half naked, leaving behind him his wife, a young lady of seventeen, to whom he had only been married three or four days. While these things were going on at Payta, the ships lay to, till one in the morning ; and then, supposing the detachment to be near landing, they went on under easy sail for the bay.

About two o'clock P. M. they anchored within a mile and half of the town, and, consequently, near enough to have direct intercourse with the shore. Hitherto Mr. Brett had gone on collecting and removing the treasure without opposition ; but the enemy were now seen on a hill at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance. These troops paraded about the hill with much ostentation, sounding their military music ; and, as the small English force on shore was by this time known to them, practising every art to intimidate, in the hope that the pillage would be abandoned.

The English, notwithstanding their high sounding music, and the would-be chivalrous appearance of a body of horse, kept on steadily at their work, taking care to secure themselves at night. It was now apparent of what importance it would have been, could the *valiant* governor have been secured. Many warehouses

were found full of valuable effects ; these were quite useless, in the situation in which the victors then stood, and the governor would have treated for the ransom of the merchandize, which would have been extremely advantageous for them and for him. The Commodore, it is true, sent many messages to him, offering to bargain for their ransom ; but the governor was now metamorphosed into a man of war, was at the head of a *veteran* troop, and dreamt of nothing but driving the English from his town, rescuing his pretty wife, and redeeming those necessary parts of his dress, which, in the hurry of a recent flight, he had considered as too cumbersome to carry with him. The governor's formidable legion effected nothing for the relief of Payta :—the place was burnt. Anson set the prisoners at liberty, according to his promise, and the English returned to their ships with as much treasure as they could manage to stow in them. On arriving at the beach, and when every thing was ready for embarkation, it was discovered that one man was missing ; but as they could not learn where he was detained, Brett and his followers resolved to depart without him. Just when the last man was embarked, and the boats were going to shove off, they heard him calling out to be taken on board : the town was then on fire, and the smoke was so thick that, although they heard the man's voice, they could not see him. Mr. Brett ordered one of the boats to his relief, and the poor fellow was found up to his chin in water ; he had waded as far as he dare, being dreadfully terrified at the idea of falling into the hands of the enemy. On enquiring into the cause of his staying behind, he confessed that he had taken too large a dose of brandy,

which had thrown him into so profound a sleep, that he did not awake till the fire began to scorch him : the great and sudden terror which he then experienced sobered him at once, and he made the best of his way to the beach, and ran into the water. This was the only man who so far neglected his duty as to get drunk. On coming out of the bay, Commodore Anson took possession of one of the vessels lying at anchor there, called the *Solidad*, and gave the command of her to Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the *Tryal*, with a crew of ten men.

The Spaniards, in their accounts to the court of Madrid of the burning and pillage of Payta, estimated their loss at a million and a half of dollars. The acquisitions the English made, though far inferior to what was destroyed, was yet by no means despicable ; as in wrought plate, dollars, and other coin, there was to the value of thirty thousand pounds, besides rings, bracelets, and other jewels, whose value could not then be ascertained ; and great plunder, the private property of the individual captors.

Setting sail from Payta in the night of the 16th of November, the ships stood to the westward, and next morning the Commodore caused the squadron to spread, to look out for the *Gloucester*, but the whole day passed without seeing her. At this time a jealousy between those who had, and those who had not been engaged, in the attack on Payta, arose to such a height that the Commodore conceived it necessary to interpose with his authority. The sailors who remained on board considered that they had an equal right with those of their comrades who had been at the attack on Payta, to that part of the plunder which was acquired there,

and which we have previously designated as *individual* plunder. There was no doubt that the treasure taken belonged to *all*, but this would not do,—the individual plunder must be given up. Anson assembled his men on the quarter-deck ; he thanked them for their gallant conduct, and represented to them that in his opinion the reasons for an equal distribution of the plunder were conclusive ; and he therefore directed, that such plunder should be equally divided by the officers as well as by the men,—at the same time he cheerfully gave up the whole of his own share of the booty, to those officers and men who were at the capture of the place.

This important affair occupied the best part of the day, after leaving Payta. On the morrow, the Gloucester was observed, having a small vessel in tow. When the Centurion joined her, she said she had only taken two small prizes during the whole of the cruize : one was a small snow, the cargo of which consisted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about seven thousand pounds in specie ; the other was a large boat, or launch, taken near shore by the Gloucester's barge. The prisoners on board the boat said they were very poor, and that their lading consisted only of cotton, though the circumstances under which they were taken seemed to indicate that they were rather better off, for they were found at dinner over an excellent pigeon pie. The officer who commanded the barge opened several of the jars to satisfy his curiosity, but found nothing, as he thought, but cotton ; yet when these jars were more minutely examined in the Gloucester, they were found to contain a large quantity

of double doubloons and dollars, artfully concealed amongst the cotton, and to the value of nearly twelve thousand pounds.

It was now that the Commodore made up his mind to steer as soon as possible for the southern parts of California, or the adjacent coast of Mexico, and there to cruize for the Manilla galleon, which was now known to be at sea on her voyage to Acapulco. It was necessary, however, that they should procure a fresh supply of water, and for that purpose it was determined to steer for the island of Quibo, at which place the ships came to anchor on the 3d of December.

The island of Quibo is extremely convenient for wooding and watering; 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. The chief animals observed were monkies and guanos;—but few birds were seen. The prisoners said there were tigers in the island, but these animals were never seen. The sea about Quibo is infested with an immense number of alligators; but then it produced a dainty, the possession of which would excite the envy of many a worthy alderman and learned divine,—on turtle did these poor mariners feast for four months, and could descant with equal facility and delight on the luxurious green turtle, which was their daily food.

On the 12th of December the ships left Quibo; and when they got into the trade wind, they found no alteration in it till the 17th of January. On the 26th January, they were to the northward of Acapulco; they then tacked, and stood to the eastward, with a view of making the land.

The trade from Manilla to Acapulco, and back again, was usually carried on in one, or at most two annual ships, which set sail from Manilla about July, and arrived at Acapulco in the December, January or February following ; and having there disposed of their cargo, returned for Manilla some time in March, and arrived there about July, or rather June. The ship having received her cargo on board, commonly weighed anchor from the mole of Cabite about the middle of July, taking advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea. The galleon was chiefly laden with spices, muslins, china and silk, from Manilla to Acapulco ; but from that port to Manilla, the cargo consisted almost entirely of silver, with some cochineal, quicksilver and cocoa.

When the Centurion arrived off Acapulco, she heard that the departure of the galleon was fixed for the 14th of March. The ships were then stationed in such a manner as to have a command of at least twenty-four leagues in extent, and yet they were so connected by signals as to be easily and speedily informed of what passed on the line ; and to render this disposition even more complete, and prevent the galleon passing in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and 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 port, and at night to approach yet nearer it. Time wore away, but no galleon made its appearance ; and the crews began to apprehend that their movements were discovered, and the departure of the galleon delayed in consequence. This was indeed the case ; but the ships kept their

stations for some time, till they were obliged to make for the harbour of Chequetan in search of water.

The morning after the ship came to anchor in the harbour of Chequetan (in lat. $17^{\circ} 36'$ N. and about thirty leagues from Acapulco,) it was agreed to destroy the Tryal's prize, as well as the Carmelo and Carmin. During their residence at Chequetan, an incident occurred which proved the means of convincing their friends in England of their safety. From the harbour there was but one path-way, which led through the woods into the country: this was much beaten, and it was therefore evident that it was well known to the inhabitants. It passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach; and therefore, at some distance beyond the spring-head, the sailors felled several trees, and laid them across the path, to serve as barricadoes, and it was strictly forbidden for any one to pass this line. But, notwithstanding this order, a man named Lewis Leger (a Catholic as it was supposed), a Frenchman, and the Commodore's cook, was missing. It afterwards appeared that he had rambled into the woods, was there taken by some Indians, conveyed to Acapulco, went from thence in a vessel bound for Old Spain, but landed at Lisbon; was then sent by the British consul to England, where, though he told his own story, yet he convinced the people of the safety of the English squadron, and was finally killed in an insignificant night brawl.

After having destroyed the vessels above-mentioned, the Commodore, in the Centurion, accompanied by the Gloucester, departed from Chequetan. When they

arrived off Acapulco, they were rejoined by the cutter, which, under the command of Lieutenant Hughes, the Commodore had left cruising there; but the poor fellows in the cutter had undergone great hardships since the departure of the squadron, and now returned in a state of dreadful emaciation. They had been driven many leagues out to sea, and been exposed to many very imminent perils.

On the 6th of May, the ships lost sight of the mountains of Mexico, and the crews were persuaded that in a few weeks they should arrive at the river of Canton in China, there meet with many English vessels, and numbers of their countrymen, and there hoped to enjoy the conveniences and indulgences of civilized life, which for more than twenty months had not been in their power. The trade wind continued to favor them till about the 26th of July, being then, as they imagined, three hundred leagues distant from the Ladrones; they then met with a westerly wind, which drove them out of their course for four days; and moreover during that time the Gloucester was so much damaged, and her crew so greatly reduced, that it became absolutely necessary she should be destroyed, and her crew taken on board the Centurion. It was the 15th of August before the Gloucester was clear of every thing which was proposed to be removed; she was then set on fire, and Captain Mitchell and his officers and men abandoned her.

After a series of misfortunes, with which the Centurion was but ill able to contend, she anchored about the 28th of August near the island of Tinian, hoisting a red flag on the fore-top mast head, and shewing

Spanish colours, for the purpose of making the inhabitants believe, that she was the Manilla galleon, that they might come on board her. The crews thus preparing themselves, and standing towards land, were fortunate enough to attract the attention of those on shore. The cutter was sent to find out a proper birth for the ship, and on her way met with a prow, in which were a Spaniard and four Indians. The account the Spaniard gave of the productions of the island of Tinian was highly satisfactory. The sick were then conveyed on shore, and towards the 12th of September many were tolerably well recovered. These were sent on board the Centurion again. The Commodore himself was then ill of the scurvy, and had a tent pitched for him on shore.

As the crews on board were now reinforced by those who were convalescent, several necessary things were done there. The new moon was fast approaching, when violent gales were apprehended; and the Commodore, for greater security, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire grapnels, and other precautions were also taken, that in case of blowing weather the wind might have less power over the ship, and enable her to ride a strain. Thus effectually, as they imagined, prepared against a storm, the men on board were dreadfully alarmed, when, on the 22d of September, the wind blew from the eastward with such fury, that they despaired riding out the storm, and therefore would have been extremely glad if the Commodore and those on shore had been with them, since their only safety appeared to be in putting out to sea. But

all communication was most effectually cut off. The storm increased,—the cables parted,—the sheet anchor (the only one left) was torn from the bow,—the Centurion was driven from twenty-one into thirty-five, and afterwards into more than sixty fathoms water,—she was forced out to sea, leaving Anson and 113 persons on land to lament their own situation, and to mourn over what might appear to them to be the inevitable loss of the vessel, and her hardy, but unfortunate and diminished crew.

It is almost impossible to describe the anguish of those on shore. By far the greater part of them believed the ship was lost, and entreated the Commodore that a boat might be sent round the island to look for the wreck. They had before them the melancholy alternative of ending their days in the island, or, what perhaps was more horrible to dwell upon, the being made prisoners by the Spaniards, and then, as their commissions were all on board the Centurion, being treated as pirates, and losing their lives with infamy. Home, with its thousand endearing recollections, rushed to their memory. "Prosperity," however, "is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes." Mr. Anson was undismayed by the calamities which accumulated around him;—at this moment he was the good, and therefore was he the great man;—he did not sink under misfortune, and therefore was he able to surmount it. He raised the drooping spirits of his men; he recommended that a small vessel should be built, which should convey them to Macao; he succeeded in inducing them to acquiesce in his wishes,—the bark

was begun—it proceeded towards completion. Days of happiness were now about to dawn again, but those days were accelerated by the unexpected appearance of the Centurion: she bore down upon the island, and after an absence of nineteen days came safely to anchor there.

From Tinian the Centurion proceeded to Macao, where she was completely refitted, her stores replenished, and her crew somewhat reinforced. On the 19th of April she stood out to sea again, and though the Commodore gave it out as his intention to proceed to Batavia, his real design was of a very different nature; for he knew that instead of one there would this year be two annual ships from Acapulco to Manilla, since by being before Acapulco he had prevented one of them from putting to sea last year. He therefore resolved to cruize for the returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land they always make in the Philippine Islands, and he doubted not but that he should arrive at the intended station time enough to intercept them. Whatever might be the disproportion in strength, he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea engagement than theirs, and he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves to the utmost, when they had in view the immense wealth of the Manilla galleons.

The determination expressed by Anson to attack the galleons, and the certainty with which he anticipated their capture, gave fresh courage to his men. The galleons must fall—such was the universal sentiment; and so universal was the confidence, that when the Commodore, having taken some Chinese sheep on

board, and, not having seen mutton on his table for several days, inquired if the sheep were all killed?—"No," said the butcher, "I reserve two, with your honour's permission, for the entertainment of the general of the Spanish galleon."

As the month of June advanced, the crew became excessively impatient for the arrival of the galleons. On the 20th of that month (O. S.) they discovered a sail from the mast head, in the south-east quarter. It approached—it was one of the galleons. She hauled up her fore sail, brought to under top sails, with her head to the northward, hoisted Spanish colours, and had the standard of Spain flying at the top gallant mast head. Anson in the mean time had prepared every thing for action. It was then, as it is now—"England expects every man to do his duty!" Never, while the British empire can boast a navy, may these memorable words be forgotten; and, till the proud and magnificent domes of Greenwich are mouldered into dust, may the British tar remember, that England rewards every man who does his duty.

The Commodore picked out thirty of his choicest hands, and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation, by the signal service they performed. On the lower tier he fixed only two men to a gun, who were employed in loading it, while the remainder of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were constantly moving about the decks, and to run out and fire such guns as were loaded.

About noon, after several squalls of wind and rain, the Commodore hoisted his broad pendant, and colours,

and observing that the Spaniards were throwing cattle and lumber overboard, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chase guns, to embarrass them at their work. The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern chasers. The Centurion got her sprit sail yard fore and aft, that she might be ready for boarding. The Spaniards, out of bravado, did the same. Soon the Centurion came abreast of the enemy, and within pistol shot, keeping to the leeward; and now the engagement began in earnest. For the first half hour the Centurion over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow. Immediately on the commencement of the action, some mats with which the galleon had stuffed her netting took fire, and burnt violently. The Spaniards cut away the netting, and threw it into the sea. But still the Centurion maintained her first advantageous position;—the galleon's decks lay open to the top men in the Centurion; every officer who came on the quarter deck of the Spanish vessel was wounded, particularly the general of the galleon; the Commodore's grape shot swept their decks, and at last the number of slain and wounded was so considerable, that the enemy began to fall into confusion. The Spanish sailors deserted their quarters,—the galleon fired five or six more guns,—she struck the standard at the main top gallant mast head, and Anson and his companions were possessed of a prize, the value of which could not be estimated at much less than a million and a half of dollars.

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion had been for the last eighteen months the object of their hopes. In the attack she lost only two men killed, and a

lieutenant and sixteen men wounded, all of whom but one recovered. The galleon had sixty-seven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded. No sooner had the galleon struck, than one of the lieutenants whispered to Mr. Anson, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder room. The Commodore received the frightful news without any apparent emotion, gave the requisite orders for extinguishing the fire, and had the satisfaction to find it in a short time effectually subdued.

After the victory, the Commodore proceeded to Canton, where he remained some time; from thence he went to Macao, where he disposed of the galleon, and then sailed for England, and anchored off Spithead on the evening of the 15th of June 1744, after an absence of three years and nine months.

BYRON'S NARRATIVE.



WE mentioned, in our account of Anson's voyage, that Captain Cheap succeeded Captain Kidd in the command of the Wager, who, without any accident, kept company with the squadron till it had almost gained the southernmost mouth of Straits Le Maire, when, being the sternmost ship, her disasters commenced, and on the morning of the 15th of May she

struck. In a moment every person who could stir was on the quarter deck, and those who could not move were drowned in their hammocks. In this terrifying conjuncture might be observed, the various shades of horror operating according to the several characters and complexions of those on board: some were entirely bereaved of their senses,—one man was seen stalking about the deck with a cutlass in his hand, and calling himself king of the country, and striking every body he came near, till his companions, seeing no other remedy against his tyranny, were forced to knock him down; some appeared petrified, and bereaved of all power and sense, and were banded to and fro by every roll of the ship; one of the bravest men on board would have thrown himself into the sea, had he not been prevented. The man at the helm, however, was a very remarkable exception,—he was indeed “bold and resolute.” When asked by one of the officers if the ship would steer or not, he first took his time to make trial by the wheel, and then answered with as much respect and coolness as if the vessel had been in perfect safety; and immediately afterwards with the greatest serenity imaginable applied himself to his duty.

The Wager now run in between an opening of the breakers, and providentially stuck fast between two great rocks, that to windward sheltering her in some measure from the violence of the sea. The day broke, and land was seen at no great distance. The scene was now greatly changed,—many who had been on their knees praying for mercy, imagining that they were not now in that immediate danger, grew riotous, broke open every chest and box, stove in the heads of

the liquor casks, and got so intoxicated that they were drowned on board, and their bodies lay floating about the decks for several days after. The boatswain and some of the people would not leave the ship so long as any liquor was to be had, and therefore Captain Cheap (whom we before mentioned had dislocated his shoulder) suffered himself to be lifted out of his bed, put into the boat, and conveyed on shore.

But even here appearances were not more encouraging, and it seemed as if the crew of the *Wager* had only exchanged one kind of death for another. On one side was the wreck, and foaming ocean ; on the other, land, dreary, and barren, without even the slightest sign of culture. Some crept into a miserable hut, which had apparently been raised by the Indians : a lieutenant of marines expired in it before morning : two men, amongst the number who were outside, died in the course of the cold and rainy night. When morning dawned the calls of hunger were too insupportable to be resisted. A little biscuit-dust, and some herbs gathered on shore, were put into a pot of water, and when boiled together were distributed among the men ; but scarcely had they tasted this soup, if it may be called so, than they were seized with the most violent sickness of the stomach, and with every symptom of having been poisoned : a little enquiry fortunately satisfied them as to the cause of the indisposition. It appeared that the biscuit-dust was the sweeping of the bread-room, but the bag into which the dust had been thrown was a tobacco-bag, the contents of which had not been thoroughly taken out, and what remained, having mixed with the biscuit-dust, proved a strong emetic. Several men were yet in the

vessel headed by the boatswain, and it has been mentioned before, that, when entreated to come on land, they fired a shot, which passed right over the hut in which were Captain Cheap and his companions. They ultimately thought it advisable to rejoin their comrades, and were immediately dispossessed of their weapons, and the fine clothes they had taken from the officers' chests, and in which they had most whimsically dressed themselves. It was highly requisite that those stores which had by great exertion been saved from the wreck, should be dealt out by an equal, but most frugal hand; and Captain Cheap directed a store-tent to be raised near his hut: but notwithstanding every precaution, this tent was perpetually robbed, and many perished from hunger. A boy, when no other eatable could be found, picked up the liver of one of the dead men, and was with difficulty withheld from making a meal upon it.

We have already noticed the unfortunate death of Mr. Cozens, and the disputes between Captain Cheap and his men, as to the port they should endeavour to make, after leaving a spot which had been with no small degree of propriety named Mount Misery. The long boat was launched, but the mutineers desisted from their scheme of carrying Captain Cheap along with them, and Byron, who was a midshipman on board the *Wager*, and who had entered the long boat under the idea that he should be followed by Cheap, to whose fortunes he was desirous to attach himself, was for a short time compelled to accompany them. But he managed to return in the barge, which was sent back to Captain Cheap for some spare canvas, and those men who were

with him in it all unequivocally declared their resolution of abandoning their comrades in the long boat. Byron went overland to the mutineers to make one last effort at accommodation, but he was unsuccessful ; the long boat pursued her way, and Cheap and nineteen others were left in a situation more distressing and hopeless, than can well be imagined or described. The boats which remained to carry off these people were the barge and the yawl, two very crazy bottoms ; the broadside of the last was entirely worn out, and the first had suffered much in a variety of bad weather. To increase their misfortunes, the carpenter was gone off in the long boat, and the little stock of flour which had been husbanded with so much care for the sea-voyage, was diminished by theft. Considering the pressing state of their necessities, this theft was looked upon as a most heinous crime, and deserving exemplary punishment. The two delinquents were ordered to be first whipped, and then to be banished to an island at some distance. One of them ran away, but the other was put alone upon a barren island, which afforded not the least shelter ; but, contrary to order, his messmates erected him a bit of a hut, kindled him a fire, and thus left him.

Two or three days afterwards the men went to the island with what little refreshment they could spare, and intending to bring him back, but the man was dead.

Captain Cheap's plan was if possible to get to the island of Chilœe, and if any vessel were found there to board her immediately, and cut her out. On the 15th of December, 1741, Cheap, the surgeon and Byron, and nine men, went on board the barge ; and Lieutenant

Hamilton, Mr. Campbell, and six men, on board the yawl: Byron steered the barge, Campbell the yawl; but they had not been more than two hours at sea, before the wind shifted considerably more to the westward, the sea ran extremely high, and they could no longer discern the cape or headland they designed for.

Every thing was obliged to be thrown overboard; all the beef, and even the grapnel, to prevent sinking. Night was coming on, and they were running on a lee-shore, where the sea broke in a most frightful manner: it was not imagined that the boats could live in such a sea. In this situation as they neared the shore, expecting to be beat to pieces by the first breaker, they perceived a small opening between the rocks, which they stood for, and found a very narrow passage between them, which brought them to a harbour, as calm and as smooth as a mill pond. The yawl had arrived before the barge, and great was the joy at meeting again after so unexpected a deliverance. It rained hard;—they secured their boats, and ascended a rock;—no wood could be found for firing. The frost came on towards morning;—the wet and famished sailors put out of the cove;—they got among some small islands, but they were no better off. The second night was passed as the preceding had been: three or four days and nights were spent in this wretched manner. Sea-tangle was all they could get to eat at first; afterwards the surgeon shot a goose, and they found materials for lighting a fire. When the weather, which had been dreadfully boisterous, became a little moderate, they left the cluster of islands and steered northward.

For several days and nights the men endured the

greatest hardships, frequently lying all night upon their oars in the open boats, with nothing to eat but a few shell-fish, or seals' liver, which affected them so much that their skins peeled off from head to foot. Some of the men were at times on shore, and their companions not able to get to them, the yawl lost, and the barge too small to hold both crews, and compelled to leave four of their number behind on a desert shore; in short, every earthly evil seemed accumulating over the heads of these wretched beings, who had no hope left, and who, exhausted and diseased, determined in a fit of desperation to return to Mount Misery, or rather to Wager Island, in which was Mount Misery, and there linger out the few remaining weeks of their miserable existence.

The first thing they did on their arrival at Mount Misery was, to secure the barge, now their sole dependence for any relief that might offer by sea; they then repaired to their huts, which formed a kind of village or street; some of them were covered with brush wood, and afforded tolerable shelter from the weather. What was their surprise to find one of these nailed up! It was instantly broken open, and some iron-work, picked from the wreck, found in it. It was immediately concluded that some Indians, and those not of a tribe formerly observed there, had been at the hut, and, as they appeared to set some value upon iron, it was conjectured they must, at one time or another, have had communication with the Spaniards. Wild celery was all the men could procure, and this raked their stomachs without in the slightest degree assuaging their hunger. Can the imagination picture to itself Christians

arrived at that state, which forces them even to *think of* feeding upon human flesh? How melancholy must then be their situation! The necessity of sacrificing one man, that the lives of several might be prolonged, began to be whispered about, as these spectres crawled from hut to hut; but this horrid alternative was saved them. Mr. Hamilton, whose name deserves to be recorded in letters of gold, found a piece of rotten beef; he might have kept it to himself—how few could have resisted such a temptation under similar circumstances!—but with a nobility of mind, which has not been surpassed by any, and very rarely equalled; he divided his prize among his companions, and saved them from becoming cannibals. Sir Philip Sidney's thirst could hardly equal this man's hunger; more water might have been procured, more food could not; and, be it remembered, that the grandeur of Hamilton's action shines yet more brilliantly, when we dwell on the temptation, which he had the heavenly mindedness to withstand.

A few days after, the mystery of the nailing up of the hut was discovered; for about the 15th day after their return, there came a party of Indians, and amongst them one of the tribe of Chonos, who live in the neighbourhood of Chiloe. This man talked the Spanish language, but with so savage an accent that it was almost unintelligible. He was a cacique, or leading man of his tribe. It was presumed that the report of the shipwreck of the *Wager* having reached the Chonos by means of the intermediate tribes, the cacique was sent by the Spaniards to learn the truth of the rumour; or having first received intelligence of it himself, was desirous of turning it to what advantage he could for

his own private use, and to obtain all the iron he could, which, from their intercourse with the Spaniards, the Indians could now apply to various purposes. But as it was a dangerous offence to keep even an old rusty nail from the Spaniards, the cacique was compelled to close up the hut in the manner we have described. Mr. Elliott the surgeon understood a few Spanish words, and made the cacique comprehend that the English were anxious to leave the island, and to reach some Spanish settlement; that they were unacquainted with the nearest and best way; and that, if he and the other Indians would conduct them to some settlement, they should, as a reward for their trouble, have the barge and every thing it contained: to this condition the cacique at last agreed. Accordingly, having made the best preparation they could, they embarked on board the barge with the cacique, whose name was Martin, and his servant Emanuel. Cheap and his company were now reduced to fifteen in number. Two Indian canoes accompanied them, in one of which was an Indian and his two wives: the man had an air of dignity superior to the rest. After several days' voyage, during which nothing remarkable occurred, they received on board the family of the cacique, who conducted them to a river, the stream of which was so rapid that they could not make head against the current, and were obliged to desist. Hitherto Byron had steered; but one of the men requesting him to take the oars, sunk down and expired. Whilst he was thus employed, another man fell from his seat under the thaws, complaining that his strength was exhausted, and that he should very shortly expire. He prayed for food. Cheap had

a large piece of boiled seal by him ; but by this time the men were hardened to each other's sufferings, and Cheap did not offer relief. Byron sat next the poor fellow when he dropped, and having a few dried fish in his pocket, he put one from time to time in the dying man's mouth : this assistance only prolonged his sufferings—it was not effectual : Byron's few shell-fish failed him, and the eyes of the famished sailor were soon closed in death. The country about which they then were wore a most unpromising appearance : in vain did they search it for any thing which might add to their comfort, or rather we should say, subtract from their misery.—The faithless cacique deserted them. Their clothes were gone—the musquets and ammunition were gone, except a little powder which they were obliged to preserve for kindling fires, and a gun which Byron had : yet under all these discouraging and heartless circumstances, a good Providence was preparing for their deliverance. Notwithstanding the inhumanity of six of their own people, who had gone off in the barge, on which all their hopes of safety rested, these poor wretched beings were yet, some of them, to live and to return to their beloved country.

“ The ways of heaven are dark and intricate.”—The men had placed their only hope of deliverance in the possession of their barge : little did they imagine that it would have proved the fatal cause of detaining them, till they were consumed by labour and hardships, in rowing her round the capes and headlands, and to have carried her across the country as the Indians did their boats, would have been absolutely impossible. Byron went out to stroll upon the sea-shore ;

he looked on the dark blue water : however he might desire it, he could not imagine that the means of their deliverance was at hand. He saw what he believed to be a canoe—he ran to inform his companions ; they made haste to the shore, and were convinced it was one. They then stripped off some of their rags, with which they made a signal-flag, and, fixing it to the end of a long pole, they had the happiness to see their signal was observed. The people who were in the canoe proved to be the Indian guide and his wife, who had left them some days before. The party soon set off in the canoe, which Byron rowed, with the assistance of the Indian. About two hours after the close of the second day they put ashore, where they discovered six or seven wigwams. When they landed, the Indian conducted Captain Cheap to one of the wigwams.

The wigwams in South are somewhat different from those in North America. They are temporary houses, erected perhaps only for a single night, and made of a sufficient number of tall strait branches, fixed in an irregular kind of circle, of uncertain dimensions : the extremities of these branches are bent so as to meet in a centre at the top, where the Indians bind them with a kind of woodbine, called supple-jack, which they split by holding it in their teeth. This frame, or skeleton of a hut, is made tight against the weather, by a covering of boughs and bark ; but, as the bark is not procured without some trouble, they generally carry it with them in their canoes,—the rest of the wigwam they leave standing. The fire is kindled in the middle of the wigwam, and they sit round

it upon boughs ; there is no vent for the smoke, except the door-way, which is very low.

Byron went into one of these temporary habitations, not the one into which Cheap had entered. He found two women sitting by the fire,—one was a hideous old mortal, the other young and (for an Indian) handsome. The women soon left the wigwam, but returned in a short time, having probably been to consult the Indian conductor. When they re-appeared, they began to chatter and laugh immoderately. Perceiving that Byron was wet and cold, the old woman went out, and came back with some wood, which she laid on the fire ; but the stranger was hungry as well as cold, and the women seemed to comprehend that he was desirous of getting something to eat, for they brought out a fine large fish, which they put upon the fire to broil, and when it was just warmed through, they made a sign for him to eat of it. Byron did not require a second invitation,—the fish was speedily demolished, and another one would have been highly acceptable, but the stock of provisions in the wigwam was now exhausted.

After sitting some time in conference together, the two women made signs for him to lie down and go to sleep, having first stretched some dry boughs upon the ground. In about four hours he awoke, and found himself covered with a bit of a blanket, made of the down of birds, which the women usually wore about their waist. The young woman, who had carefully covered him, while sleeping, with her own blanket, was lying close to him ; the old woman lay on the other side of her. Having recruited the fire, the wo-

men went away to procure food, and in about an hour returned, trembling with cold, and their hair streaming with wet. They brought with them two fine fish, which they broiled, and gave Byron the largest share.

He afterwards attended the women in a fishing excursion. About four canoes went out. After rowing some time, they gained such an offing as they required, where the water was about eight or ten fathoms deep, and there lay upon their oars. The youngest of the two women then taking a basket in her mouth, jumped overboard, and diving to the bottom, continued under water an astonishing time. When she had filled the basket with sea eggs, she came up to the boat-side, and delivered the basket so filled to the old woman, who took out the contents, and returned it to her. This was repeated several times for the space of half an hour. The sea egg is a shell-fish, from which several prickles project in all directions, by means whereof it removes itself from place to place. In it are found four or five yolks, resembling the inner divisions of an orange, which are of very nutritive quality, and excellent flavour. The water was at this time extremely cold, and when the divers got into the boats, they seemed very much benumbed; and it is usual with them after this exercise, if they are near enough their wigwams, to run to the fire, and rub and chafe themselves for some time, till the circulation is restored. This practice certainly makes them more susceptible of cold. The divers having returned to their boats, they rowed on till towards evening, when they landed upon a low point. As soon as the canoes were hauled up, they erected wigwams with the greatest expertness. Byron still

enjoyed the protection of his two Indian women, who first regaled him with sea eggs, and then went out upon another kind of fishing, by means of dogs and nets. The dogs were in appearance similar to curs, very sagacious, and easily trained to the sport.

When Byron returned to his associates, he found Mr. Elliott, the surgeon, extremely ill ; Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Campbell were almost starved ; and Captain Cheap, who obtained from the cacique and his wife a few more indulgences, seemed desirous of monopolizing them, and keeping his wretched fellow-sufferers at as great a distance from him as possible. But they met with some alleviation to their miseries, when a party of Indians, for whom they were waiting before they could proceed on their journey, arrived. Some of the younger savages went and procured a quantity of a very delicate kind of birds, called shags and cormorants. They find out their haunts among the rocks and cliffs at night, when, taking with them torches made of the bark of the birch tree, which emits a bright and clear light, they bring the boat's side as near as possible to the rocks, under the roosting places of the birds ; the lights are then waved backwards and forwards ; the birds are dazzled and confounded, they fall into the canoe, and are instantly knocked on the head by the Indians with a short stick.

The Indian men having now nothing to fear from Cheap and his companions, soon let them see how little they had to expect from them ; but the women were kind, and though strictly prohibited from associating with the poor sailors, they would throw morsels of food in their way, more particularly in Byron's,

though the hazard they ran in conferring these favours was little less than death.

It might be about the middle of March, the men embarked with these Indians. They would not permit any two of them to be together in the same canoe. In a few days Mr. Elliott the surgeon died,—he had been a very strong, active young man. They continued rowing for several days, and endured the most dreadful hardships. Byron had no shirt to his back—his body and the bodies of his companions were covered with vermin. They had had nothing to eat for three days but a wretched root, which was very disagreeable to the taste. Byron's clothing consisted only of a short grieko, which is something similar to a bearskin, with a piece of a waistcoat under it, which had once been of red cloth, and a ragged pair of trowsers,—shoes and stockings he had none.

They were now arrived at the carrying place, and were to proceed by land. The Indians therefore commenced taking their canoes to pieces. These boats consist of five pieces, or planks, one for the bottom, and two for each side: along the edges of the plank they make small holes, at about an inch from each other, and sew them together with the supple-jack or woodbine; but as these holes are not filled up by the substance of the woodbine, their boats would instantly be full of water, if they had not a method of preventing it. They do this very effectually, by the bark of a tree, which they first steep in water for some time, and then beat it between two stones, till it answers the use of oakum, and then they chinse each hole so well, 'hat they do not admit the least water, and are easily

taken asunder and put together again. When they have occasion to travel over land, each man or woman carries a plank, whereas it would be impossible for them to carry a heavy boat entire.

Every body had something to carry, except Captain Cheap; he was obliged to be assisted, or he would never have survived this dreadful march, and, with the others, set out some time before Byron, who waited for two Indians, and had, for his share, to carry a wet heavy canvas belonging to Cheap, in which was a bit of stinking seal which had been given the Captain that morning. This load was more than sufficient for a strong healthy man, but a grievous burthen to one in Byron's condition. Their way was through a thick wood, the bottom of which was a mere quagmire, generally up to their knees, often up to their middle; and every now and then there was a large tree to get over, for the trees often lay directly in their road.

Before Byron got half a mile, the two Indians had left him. While making the best of his way to overtake his companions, he fell off a tree which crossed the road, into a very deep swamp. He narrowly escaped being drowned,—he did escape, however, and sitting down, gave way to the most melancholy reflections: these did not last long—he rose, marked the tree on which he had been sitting, deposited the food there, and set out to join his company. It was some hours before he came up to them; he could not utter a word, nor did they speak to him for some time, when at last Cheap broke the silence, by inquiring after his piece of seal and his canvas. Byron told them of his accident; his feet and ancles were almost

cut to pieces, his miserable rags were yet more miserable ; but no one pitied him,—every one grumbled at the loss of the seal. Byron was silent ; but when he had rested a short time, he rose up,—he walked back into the wood at least five miles, he returned again with the filthy seal, and delivered it to his companions just before they embarked with the Indians upon a great lake, the opposite bank of which seemed to wash the foot of the Cordilleras.

Byron was told he was not to embark with them, but was to wait for some other Indians. He knew not from whence those Indians were to come. The canoes put off from the shore. Byron was left alone,—left without even a morsel of the seal, which his almost miraculous exertions had restored to his companions. He kept his eye upon the boats as long as he could see them ; he then retired to the wood, and, sitting down upon the root of a tree, fell asleep. He awoke before day, and thought he heard voices at no great distance. He perceived a wigwam, and went towards it, but the reception he met with was not encouraging ; at last he was desired by an old woman to draw near,—he obeyed, and entered the wigwam. With these Indians he crossed the lake, but they behaved most inhumanly towards him. At one time he gathered a few limpets, and occasionally laying down his oar, began to eat them : the Indians were employed in the same way, when one of them seeing Byron throw the shells overboard, spoke to the others in a violent passion. They all seized on Byron, almost strangled him with an old neck-handkerchief, and would have thrown

him overboard, if the old woman had not prevented them. Some superstition was connected with this throwing the limpet shells overboard, for Byron afterwards remarked, that the Indians saved theirs, brought them on shore, and laid them above the high water mark. Here Byron was going to eat a bunch of berries, which he had gathered ; but the Indians snatched the bunch from his hand, making him understand that the berries were poisonous.

In two days Byron joined his companions again ; but there was not the least joy shewn on either side at meeting. For several days Mr. Campbell and Byron were compelled to row a large canoe belonging to their guide,—rarely did they get any thing to eat, except a few shell-fish. Their bodies were so emaciated, that they hardly appeared the figures of men. It often happened to Byron, that in the coldest night, both in hail and snow, when he had nothing but an open beach to lie down upon, in order to procure a little rest, that he was obliged to pull off the few rags he had, as it was impossible to get a moment's sleep with them on, for the vermin that swarmed about him. As often as he had time, he would take his clothes off, and putting them upon one large stone, beat them with another, for to attempt to pick them off would have been endless work. But they were all clean in comparison to Cheap,—his body could be compared to nothing but an ant-hill, with thousands of those insects crawling about it. His recollection had failed him ; his beard was as long as a hermit's ; that and his face were covered with train oil and dirt, from having long accus-

tomed himself to sleep on the bag, in which he kept his seal skin, by way of pillow ; his legs were as large as mill-posts, his body nothing but skin and bone.

After all their difficulties and hardships, they at last arrived within thirty leagues of Chiloe ; and after a stormy and dangerous passage across the bay, they had the good fortune to land there. They were received with much kindness by the Indians of that place, who dispatched a messenger to the Spanish corregidore at Castro, to inform him of their arrival. At the end of three days, the man returned with an order to the chief caciques to carry them to a certain place, where a party of soldiers would meet them. They embarked in the evening, and were met by three or four officers, and a number of soldiers, all with their spados drawn, who surrounded them as if they had the most formidable enemy to take charge of, instead of three miserable wretches. The soldiers marched them to the top of a hill, where they put them under a shed, thatched at the top and open at the sides, and there they were to lie upon the cold ground.

About the third day, a Jesuit from Castro came to see them, not from motives of compassion, but in consequence of a report spread by the Indian cacique, that they had some things of value about them. They were then carried to Castro. When they arrived at the corregidore's house, which they did after a vast deal of formality and bustle, they found it full of people. The corregidore himself was an old man, very tall, with a long cloak on, a tye-wig without any curl, and a spado of immense length by his side. He

talked a vast deal, but as they had no interpreter they understood but little of what was said. He then ordered a table to be spread with cold ham and fowls, and the three starved creatures eat more than would have satisfied ten men. Mr. Hamilton had been left behind at his own desire, before they crossed the water for Chiloe, and had hopes of being able to rejoin his friends at no very distant period, so that the party consisted only of Cheap, Byron and Campbell.

After the repast, the corregidore carried them to the Jesuits' College, which was, for a time at least, to be their prison. For several days they passed their time in a monotonous sort of way, never going out of their cells except to dinner, and returning to them immediately afterwards. But a little before dark on the eighth evening, the governor's son arrived, who said he had orders to conduct the prisoners to Chaco. The soldiers who conducted them were anxious to impress the minds of Byron and his friends with a grand idea of the governor's palace; but nothing very magnificent could be discerned in a large thatched barn, partitioned off into several apartments. The governor himself they found sitting at a table, covered with a piece of red serge. He could not speak English, and they could not speak Spanish. The governor kept them to supper, and afterwards they were conducted to their apartment, or rather prison. They dined with the governor every day while they remained at Chaco, and received the greatest civility from the inhabitants.

The Indian language is spoken here even by the

Spaniards, who say they think it is a finer language than their own. The women have fine complexions, and many of them are very handsome. They have a disagreeable custom of smoking tobacco, which, as it is a scarce article here, is much in request. The lady of the house comes in with a large wooden pipe, crammed with tobacco, and after taking two or three hearty whiffs, she holds her head under her cloak, and then swallows the smoke; some time after, you see it coming out of her nose and ears: she then hands the pipe to the next lady, who does the same, and so on till it has gone through the company.

It is usual for the governor of Chiloe to make a tour every year through the several governments belonging to his jurisdiction. On one of these expeditions he took Byron and his friends. The first place visited was Carelmapo on the main, and from thence they went to Castro. Amongst the houses which Byron frequented while at Castro, was one belonging to an old priest, who was esteemed excessively rich, and moreover had an uncommonly pretty niece. This young lady was to inherit all his property, and was considered highly accomplished. She paid marked attention to Byron, and requested of her uncle that she might first have the merit of converting, and then the happiness of marrying him. The old gentleman approved of the proposal, and when he next saw Byron, he opened the important matter to him, and by way of inducement to obtain his consent, he shewed him what a vast number of fine clothes his niece had, and then his own wardrobe, all of which was to belong to Byron

when the priest was gathered to his fathers. But Byron was true to his religion, and invulnerable to the shafts of Cupid ;—a piece of linen, which in the event of his acquiescence was instantly to have been made into shirts for him, staggered his resolution for a moment, but he put it aside, thanked the old priest and his fair relative, and soon left Castro.

On their return to Chaco, the governor told them that he expected the annual ship in December, and that they should be sent in her to Chili. On the 2d of January 1742-3, they embarked on board the ship for Valparaiso. They had previously been joined by Mr. Hamilton. When they arrived at Valparaiso, they were ushered into the presence of the governor, who talked about the strength of the garrison he commanded, and, with infinite *consideration* and *humanity*, ordered them into the condemned hold. In a few days Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton, who had saved their commissions, and were consequently known to be officers, were ordered up to St. Jago. Byron and Campbell continued in prison, and very badly did they fare there,—a common soldier was ordered by the governor to provide for them, and every day he brought a few potatoes mixed with hot water ; but the governor's allowance would not have purchased even this scanty meal, had not the soldier generously added to it, and indeed for a considerable time they were indebted to this man, who contrived, though he had a wife and six children, to save something from his pay, and lay it out for the benefit of his prisoners.

In a few days, they were also ordered to St. Jago,

and, when there, introduced to the president, Don Joseph Manso, who received them very civilly, and sent them to the house where Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton resided. They were comfortably lodged at the house of a Scotch physician, named Don Patricio Gedda, a man who had been some time in the city, and was greatly esteemed by the Spaniards.

St. Jago is situated in about $33^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude. The houses are good, the churches rich ; but the country is most unfortunately subject to earthquakes. The climate of Chili is one of the finest in the world : what the inhabitants call winter does not last three months, all the rest of the year is delightful. At the hottest season of the year, the people meet to divert themselves from six in the evening till two or three in the morning. The women are all born with an ear for music,—their fandangoes are very agreeable, and gracefully danced ; their dress is very handsome, and so are their persons ; their feet are very small, and they value themselves as much upon it as the Chinese do ; they have fine sparkling eyes, ready wit, an amazing deal of good-nature, and a strong disposition to gallantry.

Cheap and his companions had leave, when they asked it, to make an excursion into the country for ten or twelve days at a time ; and the Spaniards were very kind in inviting them to their country seats. Bull feasts were a common diversion at St. Jago : the bulls are always the wildest that can be brought from the forests, and have nothing on their horns to prevent their piercing a man through at one stroke. The ladies go to these amusements, very gaily dressed,

rather, it may be supposed, to be admired than to watch the terrific sport.

After a residence of nearly two years in Chili, they returned to Valparaiso, and about the 20th of December 1744, embarked on board the *Lys* frigate, belonging to St. Malo. About the 27th of October, in the following year, they anchored in Brest road, and finally arrived at Dover, after an absence of more than five years.

The next morning, Cheap, Byron and Hamilton (for Campbell had changed his religion and remained in Chili) set off on post-horses for Canterbury; but by the time they arrived there, the Captain was so fatigued, that he was unable to proceed in that manner, and it was agreed that he and Hamilton should take a post-chaise, and Byron ride; but when the money was to be divided which was to pay the expences of the journey, Byron's share was so trifling, that he was compelled, not merely to ride through the turnpikes without paying, but to ride over the ground without procuring refreshment. At last he got to London, where he soon found out his sister, Lady Carlisle, and appeared among his former friends, as one risen from the tomb.

Thus, by the blessing of God, did he terminate his unparalleled adventures, of which we have given but an imperfect sketch from his own journal. Most exquisitely and feelingly has the author of the "Pleasures of Hope" depicted the sufferings of Byron; and with even more than the usual pathos and elegance which characterises that beautiful poem,

has he, in apostrophizing thee, O Hope! told us that
it was

“ ——— thy strength inspiring aid that bore
 “ The hardy Byron to his native shore—
 “ In horrid climes, where Chiloe's tempests sweep
 “ Tumultuous murmurs o'er the troubled deep,
 “ 'Twas his to mourn misfortune's rudest shock,
 “ Scourg'd by the winds, and cradled on the rock,
 “ To wake each joyless morn, and search again
 “ The famish'd haunts of solitary men ;
 “ Whose race unyielding as their native storm,
 “ Knows not a trace of nature but the form ;
 “ Yet, at thy call the hardy tar pursued,
 “ Pale, but intrepid,—sad, but unsubdued,
 “ Pierc'd the deep woods, and hailing from afar,
 “ The moon's pale planet and the northern star,
 “ Paus'd at each dreary cry, unheard before,
 “ Hyænas in the wild, and mermaids on the shore ;
 “ Till led by thee o'er many a cliff sublime,
 “ He found a warmer world, a milder clime,
 “ A home to rest, a shelter to defend,
 “ Peace and repose, a Briton and a friend.”*

* Dr. Gedde, the Scotch physician at St. Jago, who was most kind
to Byron and his companions.

COMMODORE BYRON'S EXPEDITION.



His late Majesty, soon after his accession to the throne, formed a design of sending out vessels for making discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and, in the year 1764, the *Dolphin* and *Tamar* were dispatched under the command of Commodore Byron. The *Dolphin* was a man of war of the sixth rate; she mounted 24 guns; her complement was 150 men, with three lieutenants, and thirty-seven petty officers: the *Tamar* sloop mounted 16 guns; she had 90 men, three lieutenants, and twenty-two petty officers on board, and was commanded by Captain Mouat. Commodore Byron returned from this expedition in the month of May 1766; in the August following, the *Dolphin* was again sent out, under the command of Captain Wallis, in company with the *Swallow* sloop, commanded by Captain Carteret; and subsequently to these were undertaken the voyages of the illustrious Captain Cook.

On the 21st of June 1764, Commodore Byron sailed from the Downs, with his Majesty's ship the *Dolphin*, and *Tamar* frigate, and, without any remarkable occurrence, anchored, on the 13th of the following September, in the great road of Rio de Janeiro. On Monday the 22d of October, being once more at sea, the Commodore called the officers and men upon deck,

and informed them that they were not bound, as they imagined, immediately to the East Indies, but upon certain discoveries, which it was hoped might be of considerable importance to the British empire; in consequence of which, they would be allowed double pay and other advantages during the voyage.

Nothing material happened till towards the middle of December, when they found themselves off the coast of Patagonia. Just as Byron came to anchor on that coast, he saw with his glass exactly what was observed by the people of the *Wager*,—a number of horsemen, riding backwards and forwards abreast of the ship, and waving something white, as an invitation for Byron and his crew to come on shore. When they came within a little distance of them, they saw about five hundred people, some on foot, but the greater number on horseback. When Mr. Marshall, Mr. Cumming and Commodore Byron, accompanied by some others of his people, landed, the Commodore himself approached towards this race of giants, and was met by one of their chiefs, whose appearance seemed to realize the tales of monsters in a human shape. The skin of a wild beast was thrown over his shoulders, and he was hideously painted; round one eye was a large circle of white, the other was surrounded by a circle of black, and the rest of his face was streaked with paint of different colours. His stature might be about seven feet. There were many women, who seemed to be proportionably large; and they were all painted and clothed in nearly a similar manner to that of the chief. Their teeth were white as ivory, and remarkably even and well set. Byron took out a

quantity of yellow and white beads, which he distributed among them, and which they received with very strong expressions of delight. He also gave to each person about a yard of green silk ribband, with which they were equally pleased. These people, however, were not wholly strangers to European commodities, for, upon closer attention, one woman was seen who had upon her arms bracelets made of brass or pale gold, and some beads of blue glass strung upon two long queues of hair, which, being parted at the top, hung down over each shoulder before her. She was of a most enormous size, and more frightfully painted than any one of her companions. It was impossible to learn from whom she obtained these ornaments. They shewed the Commodore the bowl of a tobacco-pipe, but at the same time made him understand that they had no tobacco. When Lieutenant Cumming came up with some, he was not a little astonished at perceiving himself become at once a pigmy among giants. His height was six feet two, but most of the Patagonians measured between seven and eight feet. Their horses were not large, nor in good case, yet they appeared nimble, and well broken: the bridle was a leathern thong, with a small piece of wood that served for a bit; and the saddles resembled the pads that are in use among the country people in England.

From the coast of Patagonia, Byron passed through the streights of Magellan, touched at Cape Famine and the Islands of Disappointment, which, with King George's Islands, he discovered. From thence the ships run to the islands of Tinian, Saypan and Aquigan, and discovered other islands in their track—from

Pulo Timoan to Batavia, and from thence by way of the Cape of Good Hope to England, where he arrived and anchored in the Downs on the 9th of May 1766.

Three years after Byron returned from this circumnavigation, he was appointed governor of Newfoundland, which office he held till the year 1775 ; he was then promoted to be first a rear admiral of the blue, and then successively of the red and white ; he was then appointed to command the squadron directed to watch and oppose the French fleet under Count d'Estaing ; in 1779 he was made vice-admiral of the white, and died in 1786, universally respected and beloved.

In the voyages of Captains Wallis and Carteret, we can glean but little which will interest any except the professed navigator ; and we therefore proceed without delay to Captain Cook's first voyage in the Endeavour.

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK'S VOYAGES.



FIRST VOYAGE.

CAPTAIN COOK, having received his commission, which was dated 25th May 1768, went on board the Endeavour on the 27th, sailed down the river on the 30th of July, and on the 13th of August anchored in Plymouth Sound. On Friday the 26th of August, the

Endeavour got under sail and put to sea. On Friday the 2d of September, land was seen between Cape Finisterre and Cape Ortegal, on the coast of Galicia.

During this course, Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander had an opportunity of observing many marine animals hitherto unnoticed.

On the 12th, the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira were discovered; and on the following day they anchored in Funchiale Road. When the island of Madeira is first approached from the sea, it has a very beautiful appearance; the vines cover the sides of the hills, almost as high as the eye can distinguish, and they are green when every other kind of herbage is burnt up. There is great reason for supposing, that the island of Madeira was thrown up by the explosion of subterranean fire, as every stone appears to have been burnt, and the sand seems nothing more than ashes. The only, or rather chief article of trade in Madeira is wine, and the manner of making it is so simple, that the process may have been handed down to us from the days of Noah, who is said to have planted the first vineyard after the flood.

The grapes are put into a square wooden vessel, of proper dimensions; the servants then take off their shoes, stockings and jackets, and with their feet and elbows squeeze out as much juice as they possibly can. The stalks are afterwards collected, and after being tied together with a rope, are put under a square piece of wood, which is pressed down upon them by a lever with a stone tied to the end of it.

Nature has done much for the island of Madeira, and art and industry but little. Many plants, natives

both of the East and West Indies, flourish in perfection in Madeira. The hills produce, almost spontaneously, walnuts, chesnuts, and apples in abundance; and in the town, the banana, the guava, the pine apple or anana, and the mango, are luxuriant without culture. The corn is excellent, and there might be plenty of it. The mutton, pork and beef are good.

The town of Funchiale derives its name from the Portuguese word *Funcho*, signifying fennel, which grows in great plenty on the neighbouring rocks. The houses of the principal inhabitants are large; but the streets are narrow, and very badly paved. The churches are overloaded with ornaments, pictures, and images of favorite saints in abundance; but the former are wretchedly painted, and the latter most gorgeously attired in lace clothes. The infirmary of the Franciscan Convent is an excellent one, and consists of a long room, on one side of which are the windows, and an altar for the convenience of the minister in the sacrament of the sick; the other side is divided into wards, each of which is large enough to contain a bed, and lined with gally-tiles; behind the wards, and parallel to the room in which they stand, runs a long gallery, with which each ward communicates by a door, so that the invalids may be separately supplied with what they may require, without disturbing their neighbours. In this convent there is also a curiosity of another kind, a small chapel, the whole lining of which, both sides and ceiling, is composed of human skulls and thigh bones;—the thigh bones are laid across each other, and a skull is placed in each of the four angles. Among toe skulls is one which is very singular,—the upper

and lower jaw perfectly and firmly cohere : it may not be easy to conceive how the ossification which united them was formed, but certain it is, that for some time previous to his death the patient could not have opened his mouth ; what nourishment he received appeared to have been conveyed through a hole on the other side, made by knocking out some teeth, in doing which the jaw seemed to have been injured.

The hills in Madeira are very high,—the highest, Pico Ruivo, rises 5068 feet perpendicular from its base ; this is higher than any land measured in Great Britain. Ben Nevis is only 4380 feet. The Peak of Teneriffe, which Cook saw on the 23d of September, is 15,396 feet, or only 148 yards less than three miles, reckoning 1760 yards to a mile : its appearance at sunset was very striking,—when the sun was below the horizon, and the rest of the island appeared of a deep black, the mountain still reflected his rays, and glowed with a warmth of colouring no painting can express.

During their course from Teneriffe to Bona Vista, they observed vast numbers of flying fish, which appeared, when seen from the cabin windows, beautiful beyond imagination,—their sides had the colour and brightness of burnished silver ; but when seen from the deck they did not appear to so much advantage, because their backs are of a dark colour.

On the 8th of November, at day-break, they saw the coast of Brazil, and about ten o'clock they spoke with a fishing-boat : the people in the boat said that the land they saw lay to the northward of Santo Espirito, but belonged to the captainship of that place. Sir J. Banks and Dr. Solander went on board the

vessel, in which were eleven men, nine of them were blacks. They fished with lines, and their fresh cargo consisted of dolphins,—these were purchased by Sir Joseph Banks. The sea provisions of these men consisted of nothing more than a cask of water and a bag of Cassada flour. Their water-cask was large, and as wide as their boat, and exactly fitted to a place made for it in the ballast. The contents could neither be drawn out by a tap, nor by a vessel being dipped in at the head; but their expedient to obtain the water was curious:—when one of the men wanted to drink, he requested his neighbour to accompany him to the water-cask, with a hollow cane, about three feet long, open at both ends; this he thrust into the cask through a small hole at the top, and then stopping the upper end with the palm of his hand, drew it out, the pressure of the air against the opposite end keeping in the water which it contained; to this end the man who desired to drink applied his mouth, the assistant taking his hand from the other end admitting the air above, the cane instantly parted with its contents, which the drinker drew off till he was satisfied.

On the 13th they made sail for the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, was sent in the pinnace up to the city, to acquaint the governor that they had put in there to procure water and provisions, and to desire the assistance of a pilot for the purpose of bringing the Endeavour to proper anchoring ground. Mr. Hicks was detained by the governor, till the English vessel had been visited by one of his officers, who put a number of questions to Captain Cook, and at the same time informed him of a number of

regulations, to which the governor thought it expedient to adhere. It was then said that Captain Cook might go on shore ; but every other person was to remain on board, till the paper which the Viceroy's people had to draw up relative to the vessel had been delivered to his Excellency. Mr. Hicks also was to be released, as soon as the paper was delivered in. On the 14th, Cook went on shore, and obtained leave to purchase every necessary for the ship, provided he would employ one of the Viceroy's people as factor. To this he was compelled to acquiesce. But in vain did he petition for the relaxation of any one of the numerous and absurd regulations which were imposed upon them : the Viceroy was persuaded they were come to trade there, although told that they were upon a voyage to the southward, by order of his Britannic Majesty, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun, an astronomical phenomenon of great importance to navigation ; but of this transit the governor could form no other conception, than it was the passing of the *north star through the south pole*.

It was the 7th of December before they quitted this punctilious and suspicious region. During the three weeks they remained there, the surgeon of the vessel was on shore every day, to buy provisions ; Captain Cook was frequently on shore ; Dr. Solander, too, contrived to reach the land ; and Sir Joseph Banks, notwithstanding the watch which was set over him, found means to get into the country. Some account, therefore, can be given of the town and neighbourhood.

Rio de Janeiro, or the river of Januarius, was probably so called, from its having been discovered on

the feast day of that saint ; and the town, which is the capital of the Portuguese dominions in America, derives its name from the river, or rather arm of the sea. It is neither ill designed, nor ill built. Its citadel, called St. Sebastian, stands on the top of a hill, which commands the town. The churches are fine, and their religious processions are numerous, and splendid in the highest degree. While the Endeavour lay at anchor, one of the churches was rebuilding, and, to defray the expence, the parish to which it belonged had leave to beg in procession through the whole city once a week. The ceremony is performed by night, and all boys of a certain age are compelled to assist, each boy being dressed in a black cassock, a short red cloak, and carrying in his hand a pole about six or seven feet long, to the end of which was affixed a lantern lighted,—the number of boys engaged was generally about 200.

The government, military establishment and population of Rio Janeiro is of course much altered and increased within the last twenty years, and we shall therefore refrain from extracting from the journal of Captain Cook what he has thought it necessary to say upon these several heads ; but the face of the country and produce are less varied, and we know not to what account we can refer for more accurate information on these subjects than to that of Captain Cook.

The country, at a small distance from the town, is beautiful in the highest degree ; in the wildest spots are a greater luxuriance of flowers, both as to number and beauty, than in the very best gardens in England. On the banks of the sea, and small brooks which water this part of the country, are found innumerable small

crabs, called *cancer vocans*. Of the fruits, the water melons and oranges are the best of their kind; the pine apples are inferior to those which are eaten in England. The soil will produce tobacco and sugar, but not bread corn. The riches of the place consist chiefly in the mines, which lie far up the country. No less than 40,000 negroes were annually imported, at the king's expence, to dig in the mines; and the year before Captain Cook arrived at Rio de Janeiro, the number, in consequence of disease, fell so short, that 20,000 more were draughted from the town of Rio. Precious stones are found in great plenty,—the jewels are diamonds, topazes and amethysts.

Having departed from Rio Janeiro, they observed, about the 9th of December, that the sea was covered with broad streaks, of a yellowish colour, some of them a mile long, and three or four hundred yards wide. Some of the water thus coloured was taken up, and found to be full of innumerable atoms, pointed at the end, of a yellowish colour, none more than a quarter of a line, or the fortieth part of an inch long. In the microscope they appeared to be *fasciculi* of small fibres, interwoven with each other. Dr. Solander and Sir Joseph Banks were unable to ascertain whether they were animal or vegetable substances, from whence they came, or for what they were designed.

On the 11th of January 1769, the coast of Terra del Fuego was discovered; and on the 14th they entered the streight of Le Maire. At Vincent's Bay, Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore, and returned in four hours from the time of their setting out, with above a hundred different plants and flowers, wholly

unknown to the botanists of Europe. On the 15th, they anchored in the bay of Good Success. Dr. Solander, Sir Joseph Banks and Captain Cook went on shore after dinner, where they met with some of the natives, three of whom accompanied them back to the ship. They ate some bread and beef, but not apparently with much pleasure; they looked at the vast variety of new objects that every moment presented themselves, without any expression of wonder or delight; and in about two hours requested to be set on shore.

Early in the morning of the 16th, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, Mr. Green the astronomer, and others, set out from the ship, with a view to penetrate as far as they could into the country, and return at night. They were anxious to ascend some hills, which, when viewed from a distance, seemed to be partly covered with wood, partly a plain, and above all a bare rock. After having encountered very considerable fatigue in getting over about two-thirds of a woody swamp, Mr. Buchan, one of Sir Joseph Banks' draughtsmen, was unhappily seized with a fit; it was impossible he could go any farther, and those who were most fatigued were left to take care of him. Banks, Solander, Green and Monkhouse proceeded, and in a short time reached the summit of the hill, where their expectations as botanists were most abundantly gratified. About eight o'clock at night, after they had rejoined Mr. Buchan and their companions, they set out for the nearest valley, Sir Joseph Banks undertaking to bring up the rear, and see that no straggler was left behind. It was dreadfully cold, and Dr. Solander, who had more than once crossed the

mountains which divide Sweden from Norway, entreated his companions to keep moving. Awful indeed was the Doctor's admonition. "Whoever," said he, "sits down, will sleep; and whoever sleeps, will wake no more." He, however, was the first who insisted upon breaking through this most necessary caution: in vain did Sir Joseph entreat and remonstrate; Dr. Solander lay down, and it was with the utmost difficulty that his friend could keep him from sleeping. Richmond also, a black servant, suffered from cold, and began to linger: he was perfectly willing to lie down and die; but the doctor could not so readily renounce the charms of philosophy and the blessings of life,—he was willing to go on, but he must first take some sleep. There was no remedy—Solander and Richmond were suffered to sit down, and in a few moments fell into a profound slumber. In about five minutes some of the people, whom they had sent on before, returned with the welcome intelligence, that a fire was kindled at the distance of about a quarter of a mile. Sir Joseph succeeded in waking Dr. Solander, but though he had not slept many minutes, he had almost lost the use of his limbs, and his muscles were so shrunk, that the shoes fell from his feet. It is perhaps unnecessary to enter more minutely into the hardships they endured in this memorable expedition. They at last reached the ship, where they congratulated each other upon their safety, and relieved the minds of those who had remained on board.

On the 18th and 19th the weather was boisterous, but on the 20th it was more moderate, and Dr. Solander and Sir Joseph Banks went on shore. They were for-

tunate in collecting many shells and plants, which till then were altogether unknown. In the course of the day they visited an Indian town: it was situated on a dry knoll, or small hill covered with wood. Their hovels, for they can hardly be called houses, were nothing more than a few poles, set up so as to incline towards each other, and meet at the top, forming a kind of cone, like some of our bee-hives. The weather-side was covered with a little grass, and a few boughs; and on the lee side, about one-eighth of the circle was left open, both for a door and fire-place.

They found about fifty people of both sexes in the town: they had long black hair, and their colour resembled the rust of iron mixed with oil. The men were large, and clumsily built; the women not more than five feet high. Although they were content to be nearly naked, they were extremely desirous to be fine: their faces were painted in various forms,—the region of the eye was in general white, and the rest of the face adorned with horizontal streaks of red and black. Their language was guttural, yet they had words which would have been deemed soft in the better languages of Europe. Their weapons consisted of a bow and arrows: the bow was not inelegantly made, and the arrows were of wood, polished to the highest degree; the point was of glass or flint, and barbed,—it was formed and fitted with wonderful dexterity. They did not appear to have amongst them any government, or subordination; they seemed to have no wish for any thing more than they possessed, except beads; they were happy, and lived in perfectly good fellowship with each other. The English saw no quadruped in

those parts, but seals, sea-lions and dogs; the dogs barked, which those that are originally bred in America do not. Fish and land birds were scarce, nor were the insects numerous. The scurvy grass was found in great plenty in damp places; when young it is in the state of its greatest perfection; it lies flat upon the ground, having many leaves of a bright green standing in pairs opposite to each other, with a single one at the end, which commonly made the fifth upon a foot stalk: the plant, passing from this state, shoots up in stalks that are sometimes two feet high; at the top of these stalks are small white blossoms, and the blossoms are succeeded by long pods: it greatly resembles what in England we call the lady smock, or cuckoo flower.

On the 22d of January, the Endeavour continued her course through the streight. On the 26th, she took her departure from Cape Horn, which lies in latitude $55^{\circ} 53'$ south, longitude $68^{\circ} 13'$ west; and on the 1st of March was in latitude $38^{\circ} 44'$ south, and longitude $110^{\circ} 33'$ west. It was evident that after the ship left the land of Cape Horn, she met with no current that affected her, nor had she been near any land of considerable extent; for currents are always found when land is not remote, and sometimes, particularly on the east side of the continent in the North Sea, when land has been distant 100 leagues.

Many birds were, as usual, constantly about the ship,—Sir Joseph killed no less than sixty-two in one day. He also found a large cuttle-fish, which had been killed by the birds, and was floating in a mangled condition on the water: it was very different from the cuttle fishes which are found in the European seas,

for its arms, instead of suckers, were furnished with a double row of very sharp talons, which resembled those of a cat, and, like them, were retractable into a sheath of skin, from which they might at any time be thrust. Of this cuttle fish they made an excellent soup.

On the 25th, about noon, one of Captain Cook's servants, in consequence of a misdemeanor and some subsequent altercation with his comrades, threw himself overboard.

On the 4th of April, land was discovered, to which Captain Cook gave the name of *Lagoon Island*. Soon after, they saw land again, which they called *Thrum Cap*; and in lat. $18^{\circ} 23'$ S. long. $141^{\circ} 12'$ W. they discovered *Bow Island*. Other islands were also discovered, to which they gave the name of the Groups and Chain Island.

About one o'clock on Monday the 10th of April, King George the Third's Island, so called by Captain Wallis, was in sight. The island of Otaheite, or King George's Island, is one of the Society Isles, and is about ninety miles in circumference. Towards seven o'clock on the following morning, the vessel came to an anchor in thirteen fathoms, in Port Royal Bay, called by the natives Matavai. They were immediately surrounded by the inhabitants in their canoes, who gave them various kinds of provisions in exchange for beads and other trifles. The bread fruit which they offered, and which we shall have frequent occasion to mention, grows on a tree about the size of a small oak. Its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree, which it resembles 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. It is covered with a thin skin, and has a core about as large 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. Before you eat it, it must be roasted, having previously been divided into three or four parts; its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness, like that of the crumb of wheaten bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke.

Among others who came to the ship, was an elderly man named *Owhaw*, to whom, with the idea that he might be useful, Captain Cook was particularly attentive. As soon as the proper regulations for the due observance of order were drawn up, and the ship effectually secured, the Captain, Sir Joseph, Dr. Solander and a party of men went on shore in company with *Owhaw*. It was not a little remarkable, that, while the looks of the inhabitants at least gave them welcome, and their manners evinced deep respect, they presented to the English the same symbol of peace known to have been in use among the ancients and mighty nations of the north—the green branch of a tree. The natives accompanied them on their walk, but as none of them were of the first class, the Captain and his companions determined upon returning to the vessel, and landing again in the morning.

Early on the ensuing day, the ship was surrounded by several canoes, and two of them were filled by people, who by their dress and deportment seemed to be of a superior order. One of them, whose name was

Matahah, attached himself to Sir Joseph. Upon being asked where they lived, they pointed to the west; and as Cook was desirous of seeing more of the coast, and, if possible, obtaining a better harbour, he ordered out two boats, and, accompanied by Banks, Solander, the other gentlemen, Matahah, and another Indian, set forward towards the residence of these fresh visitors. After rowing about a league, the Indians made signs that they were arrived at the place of their abode, and expressed a desire that the party should disembark. They landed, and entered a much larger house than any they had yet seen. There they were met by a middle-aged man, named *Tootahah*,—mats were instantly spread, and they were desired to sit opposite to him. Presents were then interchanged between Tootahah and the English, who were afterwards attended to several large houses by the females of the island.

Cook and his companions soon took leave of Tootahah, and directed their course along the shore. When they had walked about a mile, they met, at the head of a great number of people, a chief whose name was *Toubourai Tamaide*. Having received the branch which he presented, and given him one in return, the English laid their hands upon their left breasts, and pronounced the word *taio*, which they supposed to signify friend. They were then invited to an entertainment at the house of Toubourai Tamaide. During this visit, the wife of their host, whose name was *Tomio*, and who certainly was not in the spring of life, or blessed with any remarkable share of beauty, seated herself by Sir Joseph Banks, and endeavoured, by every

artless grace, to attract the great philosopher's attention. But the blood of Sir Joseph was at that period warm within him ; his sense or power of admiration was not then confined to the vegetable or to the mineral kingdom—what was animate could please ; and the Otaheitan females, not perhaps the least lovely of their sex, had as many charms for Sir Joseph as the wing of a butterfly, or the dissection of a choice plant. In vain did the wife of the chief play off every art of Otaheitan coquetry,—the philosopher regarded neither her advances nor her dignity,—his eye, accustomed to look upon and admire the beautiful, had rested on the face of a very pretty girl among the crowd. He beckoned to her to come to him ;—she advanced,—she placed herself beside the philosopher, who loaded her with presents, and whose persevering, increasing and welcome attentions were only interrupted by an interlude of rather a more serious description.

Just at this time, Solander and Monkhouse exclaimed that their pockets had been picked : the former had lost an opera glass in a shagreen case, and the latter his snuff-box. The harmony of the company had been interrupted. Sir Joseph Banks started up, and hastily struck the butt end of his firelock upon the ground : this action, and the noise that accompanied it, filled the whole assembly with affright ; every one of the natives left the house with haste, except three women, the chief, and two or three others. The chief, with a mixture of confusion and concern, offered Sir Joseph a quantity of cloth, as a recompence for the things which his companions had lost ; but Sir Joseph said that nothing was desired but what had been taken

away. The chief then left the house, and in about half an hour returned with the snuff-box and opera case in his hand. The case of the opera glass, however, on being opened, was found to be empty. The chief changed countenance—he caught Sir Joseph by the hand, rushed with him out of the house, and walked with him, with great rapidity, for about a mile along the shore. He was then met by a woman with a piece of cloth in her hand; he took the cloth from her, and continued to press forward. Solander and Monkhouse followed. At last they all came to a house, where they were received by a woman, to whom the chief gave the cloth, and intimated that the gentlemen should give her some beads. They immediately complied,—the beads and cloth were deposited on the floor,—the woman went out, and in about half an hour returned with the opera glass, expressing the same joy upon the occasion that had before been expressed by the chief. The beads were then returned, with a determined resolution not to accept them; and the cloth was, with the same pertinacity, forced upon Dr. Solander, as a recompence for the injury that had been done him.—This incident shews an intelligence and influence which would do honour to any government, however regular and improved.

In the evening, about six o'clock, the party returned to the ship. The following day, Captain Cook went on shore, accompanied by Sir Joseph, Dr. Solander, Mr. Green, and a party of men, for the purpose both of fixing upon a proper spot for the erection of a small fort, and for the making astronomical observations. After having marked out the ground, and set

up a small tent belonging to Sir Joseph, the greater number of the English, escorted by several Indians, went into the woods. Thirteen men and a petty officer were left to guard the tent. One of the Indians, who remained about the tent, watched his opportunity, and taking the sentry unawares, snatched away his musquet. Upon this the petty officer (a midshipman) ordered the marines to fire: the men, with as little consideration and humanity as the officer, instantly discharged their pieces among the flying crowd. The thief was pursued, and shot dead; several others were killed and wounded. When Cook returned, and questioned his people, they endeavoured to justify their conduct. But, on the following morning, it was clear that the confidence of the natives was shaken; they were even deserted by Owhaw, who had hitherto been constant in his attachment.

On the 17th, early in the morning, they had the misfortune to lose Mr. Buchan. He was a sober, diligent and ingenious young man, greatly regretted by Sir Joseph, who had hoped, by his means, to have gratified his friends in England with representations of the countries and inhabitants they should visit.

On the 19th, Toubourai Tamaide made Sir Joseph a visit to the tent: he had been on board on the 17th, and had brought, as propitiatory gifts, some bread fruit and a hog ready dressed; but in this visit to the tent, he brought with him not only his wife and family, but the roof of a house, with furniture and implements of various kinds, intending, as it was understood, to take up his residence in that neighbourhood. This instance of his confidence and good-will gave real pleasure.

Soon after his arrival, he took Sir Joseph by the hand, and led him into the woods. When arrived at a kind of awning, which seemed to be his occasional habitation, he unfolded a bundle of his country cloth, and taking out two garments, one of red cloth and the other of neat matting, he clothed Sir Joseph in them, and reconducted him to the tent. In the evening, he and his wife returned to the awning on the skirts of the wood.

Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, having walked out, reported that he had seen the body of the man who had been shot at the tents. He stated that it was wrapped in cloth, placed on a bier supported by stakes, and under a roof that seemed to have been set up for the purpose. Near it were deposited some instruments of war and other things.

Captain Cook's curiosity was excited by the account which Mr. Monkhouse had given, and he, with some others, determined to go and look at the body. The shed under which it lay was close to the house in which the man resided when he was alive : it was about fifteen feet long, eleven broad, and of a proportionable height. One end was entirely open ; the other end and the two sides were partly enclosed with a kind of wicker work. The bier was a frame of wood (like that in which sailors' beds or cots are placed) with a matted bottom, and supported by four posts, at the height of about five feet from the ground. The corpse was covered, first with a mat, and then with white cloth : by the side of it was deposited a wooden mace, one of their weapons of war, and near the head lay two cocoa nut shells, such as are sometimes used to carry water in : at the other end

were seen a bunch of green leaves, and some dried twigs, which were tied together, and were stuck in the ground ; near to them lay a stone about as big as a cocoa nut. At a very short distance lay one of their young plantain trees—these are used for emblems of peace ; and close to the tree lay a stone axe. At the open end of the shed hung several strings of palm nuts ; and without the shed, the stem of a plantain tree, about five feet in height, was stuck upright in the ground ; upon the top of the stem was placed a cocoa nut shell full of fresh water. Against the side of one of the posts there hung a small bag, containing pieces of bread-fruit ready roasted,—some were fresh, others stale.

While the English were making their observations, the natives who were present expressed considerable solicitude and jealousy, and appeared to be exceedingly pleased when they departed.

On the 22d, Tootahah gave them a specimen of the music of the country. Four natives performed upon flutes which had only two stops, and therefore could not sound more than four notes by half tones. The performer, instead of applying his mouth to the instrument, blew into it with one nostril, while he stopped the other with his thumb. Four persons sung to these instruments, and kept good time, but only one tune was played during the whole concert.

On the 24th, Sir Joseph and Dr. Solander examined the country for several miles along the shore to the eastward. In the course of this short expedition, they met with a man who appeared to be of a kind described by various authors, a mixture of many nations, but distinct from all. His skin was of a dead white,—there was no

appearance of complexion ; his hair, eye-brows and beard were as white as his skin ; his eyes seemed blood-shot, and he was very short-sighted.

The people of this island are the most arrant thieves in the world, with the exception at least of Toubourai Tamaide ; but this man, though once accused, was proved to be completely innocent, and was not a little hurt at the implication.

On the 27th, Tamaide, accompanied by a friend, and three women, dined at the fort. In the evening they took their leave, but in less than a quarter of an hour Tamaide returned, and took Sir Joseph to a place where they found the ship's butcher, with a reaping hook in his hand. Here the chief stopped, and in a transport of rage, which rendered his signs scarcely intelligible, intimated that the butcher had threatened to cut his wife's throat. The man was punished by a severe flogging, though hardly was the first stroke given, before the Indians interfered, and requested that he might be immediately pardoned.

One day, as Mr. Molineux, the master, entered Sir Joseph Banks's tent, he fixed his eyes upon one of the women who was sitting there, and declared her to be the person, who, when he had before visited the island in the *Dolphin*, was presumed to be the queen. Her name was *Oberea*: she was about forty years of age, was not tall, but of a large make ; her skin was white, and there was great intelligence and sensibility in her eyes ; she had once been handsome, but her beauty had almost disappeared. She accompanied the English to the ship, and was treated with great distinction and respect. On the 29th, Sir Joseph Banks went to

pay his court to Oberea, and was told that she was asleep, under the awning of her canoe.

In the evening, Sir Joseph visited Tamaide and his family: he found them in a melancholy mood, and most of them in tears; he could not learn the cause, but when mentioning the matter to the officers at the fort, it was recollected that Owhaw had foretold, that in four days the English should fire their great guns; and as this was the evening of the third day, and as Tamaide and his family, who were decidedly friendly, had been found in tears, it was conjectured that an attack upon the fort might be intended. There was no ground, however, for suspicion or fear.

In the afternoon of Monday, the 1st of May, the observatory was set up, and the astronomical quadrant and other instruments were sent on shore for the first time. The following morning, Captain Cook and Mr. Green went on shore, to fix the quadrant in a situation for use, when, to their inexpressible chagrin, they found that it was gone. Parties were instantly dispatched in search of it, but they returned without success. Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Green, and a midshipman therefore went out; and as they were crossing a river, they were met by Toubourai Tamaide, who immediately made the figure of a triangle, with three bits of straw, upon his hand. They made Tamaide understand that he must go with them to the place where the quadrant had been carried. This he consented to do, and, stopping at every house, inquired after the thief by name. When they had gone about four miles, their conductor gave them to understand, that they must not expect the instrument till they had reached a point which was

three miles farther. They had no arms, except a brace of pistols, which Sir Joseph always carried with him,—therefore the midshipman was sent back to request the Captain would send assistance, while Sir Joseph and Mr. Green followed the steps of Toubourai Tamaide. At the very spot he mentioned, they met one of his own people with part of the quadrant in his hand. Several Indians now pressed around them. Sir Joseph marked out a circle on the grass,—the Indians ranged themselves outside it. Into the middle of the circle the box was brought, with several reading glasses, and other small matters, which, in their hurry, the Indians had put into a pistol case belonging to Sir Joseph, and which had formerly been stolen; the pistol case had also a horse pistol in it. Sir Joseph immediately demanded them—every thing was instantly restored; but it was signified that the thief had not brought the stand so far, and that it would be delivered to the English as they returned.

About eight o'clock, Toubourai Tamaide and Sir Joseph reached the fort;—what was the latter's surprise to find Tootahah in custody. The scene was truly affecting,—Tamaide pressed forward, ran towards Tootahah, caught him in his arms, and they burst into tears without having the power of articulating a single word. Upon inquiring into the affair, it was explained, that, as Captain Cook was gone into the woods, with a number of men, at a time when a robbery was committed, which it was feared he would resent, the natives had become so alarmed, that they began to leave the neighbourhood of the fort with their effects: that Tootahah, and some others, had attempted to go off

from the bay in a double canoe ; and that, in compliance with Cook's express order that no canoe should leave the shore, a boat was sent to bring her back : that the Indians in the canoe leaped into the sea in a panic ; and that Tootahah, being one of the number, was taken and confined.

The notion that he was to be put to death had so strongly possessed poor Tootahah, that he could not be convinced to the contrary, till he was set at liberty from the fort. Tootahah was so rejoiced at having recovered his freedom, that he insisted upon the English receiving a present of two hogs. The following morning, the Indians were excessively cool to Sir Joseph and Dr. Solander ; and Tootahah, thinking that the hogs were but very little merited, repented of his liberal present, and determined to demand an equivalent. He required an axe and a shirt, and after some demur, it was agreed to comply with his demand. Captain Cook, Dr. Solander and Sir Joseph waited upon Tootahah : he received them with great satisfaction, and immediately put on a garment of broad cloth, with which Captain Cook had presented him ; the shirt he gave away. In a short time, Oberea and several other women came in.

During this visit, Tootahah provided for his friends an entertainment which was entirely new,—this was a wrestling match. They were conducted to a large area, or court-yard, which was railed round with bamboos, about three feet high. At the upper end sat the chief and several of his principal men : these were the judges, by whom the victor was to be applauded. When all was ready, ten or twelve of the combatants,

who were naked, except a cloth round the waist, entered the area, and walked round it, in a stooping posture, with their left hands on their right breasts, and their right hands open, with which they frequently struck the left fore-arm. This was the general challenge. Others then followed in the same manner, and then a particular challenge was given, each man selecting his antagonist. This was done by joining the finger ends of both hands, and bringing them to the breast, at the same time moving the elbows up and down. If the challenge was accepted, the person to whom these signs were addressed repeated them. In a moment they closed. Each endeavoured to lay hold of the other, first by the thigh; if that failed, by the hand, the hair, the cloth, or wherever he could: they then grappled, till one by mere muscular force threw the other on his back. When the game was over, the old men gave their plaudit in a few words, repeated together in a kind of tune. His conquest was also usually celebrated by three huzzas. The conqueror never exulted over the vanquished, nor did the vanquished ever repine at the success of the conqueror. It is hardly possible for those who are acquainted with the athletic sports of remote antiquity, not to remark a rude resemblance of them in this wrestling match among the natives of a small island in the midst of the Pacific Ocean. When the wrestling was over, Captain Cook and his companions were given to understand that a dinner was prepared for their reception.

The reconciliation with Tootahah operated upon the people like a charm,—cocoa nuts, bread-fruit and other provisions were brought to the fort in great abundance.

Captain Cook now learned that the Indian name of the island was Otaheite ; but it was found impossible to teach the Indians the English names :—they called the Captain, *Toote* ; Mr. Hicks, *Hete* ; Molineux they renounced in absolute despair ; the master they called *Boba*, from his christian name Robert ; Mr. Gore was *Toarro*,—Dr. Solander, *Torano*,—Sir Joseph, *Topane*,—Mr. Green, *Eteree*,—Parkinson, *Parteni*, and so on, through the whole crew.

On the 13th of May, Sir Joseph walked into the woods with his gun ;—as he was returning, he met Toubourai Tamaide, and stopping to spend a little time with him, he took the gun from Sir Joseph's hands and drew the trigger ; fortunately for him it flashed in the pan. The gun was instantly taken from him, and he was reproved with great severity for what he had done. Offended at the reprimand, Tamaide set off with his family and furniture, and entirely left the place. So necessary, however, was the friendship of the natives, and of this man in particular, that Sir Joseph determined to follow him, and solicit his return. He found Tamaide seated in the midst of a large circle of friends,—grief and consternation were upon every countenance. Sir Joseph advanced, and assured the chief that every thing which had passed should be forgotten, and entreated him once more to return. Tamaide was easily appeased, and as a proof of the reliance he placed on Sir Joseph's word, and the sincerity of his reconciliation, he and his wife accompanied Sir Joseph to his tent, and slept there that night.

A forge had been set up within the fort, and so addicted were the natives to thievery, that even on the

very night Tamaide was in the tent, and consequently within the precincts of the fort, one of the natives attempted to steal a quantity of steel and iron: the alarm was given, but the Indian ran away, and none of the English were swift enough to overtake him.

On the following Sunday, Tamaide and his wife attended divine service; but though evidently aware that the English were engaged in some religious service, they made no inquiry, nor would they attend to any explanation as to the nature of the rite in which their visitors had been engaged.

In the night, between the 13th and 14th, one of the water casks was stolen from the outside of the fort. In the morning, every Indian knew that it was gone, yet they appeared not to have been trusted, or not to have been worthy of trust, for they seemed desirous to give intelligence where it might be found: it was traced for some way, but as the article stolen was not of great value, the search was dropped. It was singular that Sir Joseph Banks was told by Toubourai Tamaide, that another cask would be stolen on the succeeding night; and yet it was apparent that the chief was no party in the intended theft, for he offered to remain by the cask all night; that, however, was not permitted. A sentinel was placed near the tub, and at midnight the thief came, who, however, seeing the sentinel, thought it more expedient to depart.

For a long time, Tamaide was proof against every temptation; at last, the fascinating charms of a basket of nails proved too powerful for him: he was accused of purloining several of them, and taken to the fort to receive whatever punishment it might be thought right

to inflict. When there, he was told that if he would restore what he had taken away, he should receive a pardon; he faithfully promised to make restitution, but instead of keeping his word, he removed with his family that very night to a considerable distance.

Upon examining the bottoms of the pinnace and long boat, it was found that the bottom of the latter was almost entirely gone, while that of the former, though built of similar wood, was in a sound state: this difference was supposed to arise from the long boat's being smeared with varnish of pine, while the pinnace was painted with white-lead and oil. The bottoms of the boats, therefore, which are sent into this country, should be painted like that of the pinnace.

On the 27th, it was determined to pay a visit to Tootahah, in the hope that he might be induced to present Captain Cook and his friends with some hogs, which he had long promised. When they arrived, towards evening, at his residence, they found him in his usual state, sitting under a tree, with a great crowd around him. They made their presents in due form, which were graciously received. A hog was ordered to be killed for supper, with a promise of more in the morning; however, as they were less desirous of feasting there than of carrying back provisions to the fort, they procured a reprieve for the hog, and supped upon the fruit of the country. As night was fast approaching, and the place was crowded with many more than the canoes or houses could contain, the English began to look around for lodgings. The party consisted of six. Sir Joseph considered himself fortunate in being offered a place by Oberea in her canoe, and wishing

his friends good night, took his leave. He went early to rest, according to the custom of the country, and the nights being hot, took off his clothes, as was his practice. Oberea insisted upon taking them into her own custody, for otherwise, she said, they would be stolen. Sir Joseph resigned himself to sleep. About eleven o'clock, however, he wanted to rise; he searched for his clothes where he had seen them deposited by his fair friend, but, alas, they were gone. He instantly roused Oberea, who, starting up, ordered lights, that they might look for the lost garments. Tootahah slept in the next canoe, and being himself alarmed, set out with Oberea in search of the thief. Sir Joseph was not exactly in a condition to join the search, for of his apparel scarce any thing remained except his breeches. His coat, his waistcoat, and many things that were in his pockets, were gone. In about half an hour his two noble friends returned, but they had obtained no intelligence either of the philosopher's clothes or of the thief.

As nothing further could then be done, Sir Joseph considered it more politic to express his entire satisfaction in the search which had been made, and to endeavour again to compose himself to rest; but his sleep was far from sound. In a little time he heard music, and saw lights on shore. It was a concert, or assembly, which the natives called *heiva*, a common name for every public exhibition. This concert would necessarily bring a number of people together, and as there was a chance that Captain Cook and his other friends might be there, Sir Joseph arose, and made the best of his way to the scene of festivity. He was soon

led by the lights and sound to the hut where the Captain and three other gentlemen lay, and made up to them half naked, and told his most melancholy story. His friends gave him the same comfort which the unfortunate usually bestow upon each other. Captain Cook informed Sir Joseph that he was without stockings; they had been stolen from under his head, though he felt assured he had never been asleep; and each of the other gentlemen declared he had lost a jacket. Nevertheless, it was unanimously agreed to hear out the concert, which consisted of three drums, four flutes and several voices. When this entertainment, which lasted about an hour, was over, they retired again to their sleeping places, having agreed that nothing should be done towards the recovery of the things till morning. When the day dawned, and Sir Joseph awoke, he was accommodated by the fair Oberea with some of her country's clothes, and a most ridiculous appearance did he make in this half Indian, half English costume. The clothes which were lost on that memorable night were never afterwards recovered.

On their way back to the shore, the English were entertained with a sight which in some degree compensated for the fatigue and disappointment they had undergone. They chanced to arrive at one of the few places where access to the island was not guarded by a reef, and consequently a high surf broke upon the shore. Had the best swimmer in Europe been exposed to its fury, he would not have been able to have saved himself from drowning, yet in the midst of these breakers were ten or twelve Indians swimming for their amusement. Whenever a surf broke near them,

they dived under it, and rose again on the other side. This diversion was greatly improved by the stern of an old canoe, which they happened to find upon the spot: they took this before them, and swam out with it to the outermost breach; then two or three of them getting into it, and turning the square head to the breaking wave, were driven in towards the shore with incredible rapidity, sometimes almost to the beach, but more frequently the wave broke over them before they got half way, in which case they dived and rose again on the other side with the canoe in their hands.

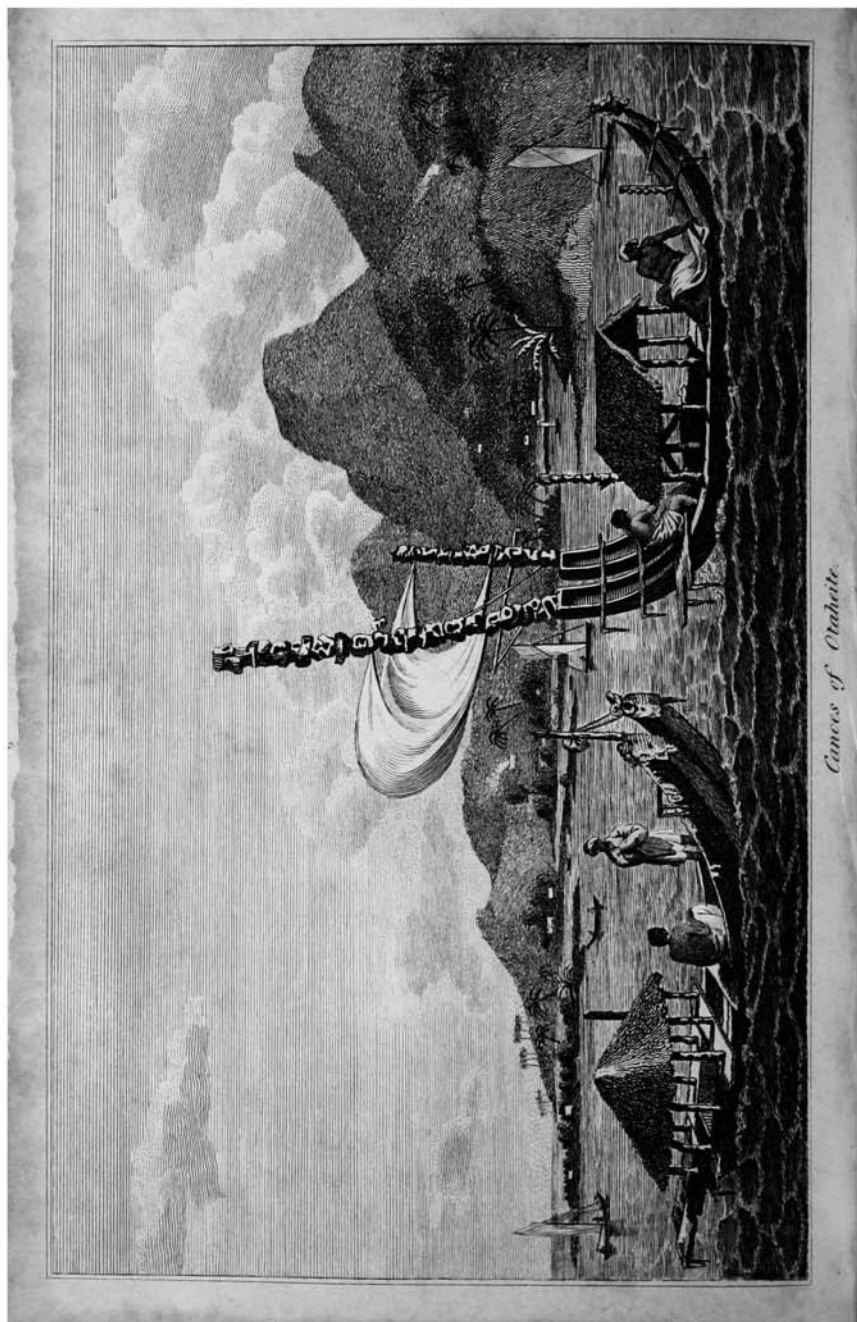
Among other Indians who had visited the English were some from a neighbouring island, to which Captain Wallis had given the name of the Duke of York's Island; and they gave an account of no less than two and twenty islands which lay in the vicinity of Otaheite. On the 1st of June, the Saturday following being the day of the transit, Captain Cook sent Mr. Gore, in the long boat, to the Duke of York's Island, with Mr. Monkhouse and Mr. Sporing, Mr. Green having furnished them with proper instruments. Sir Joseph also thought it right to proceed upon this expedition, and he was accompanied by Tamaide and Tomio. Very early on Friday morning, Mr. Hicks, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Petersgill were sent with the pinnacle to the eastward, with orders to fix upon some convenient spot at a distance from the principal observatory, where they might employ the instruments with which they had been furnished for the same purpose.

The long boat not having been got ready till Thursday in the afternoon, though all possible expedition was used to fit her out, the people on board,

after having rowed most part of the night, brought her to a grappling just under the island Imao, or Duke of York's. Soon after day-break, they perceived an Indian canoe, which they hailed, and the people on board her shewed them an inlet, through the reef of which they pulled, and soon fixed upon a coral rock, which rose about one hundred and fifty yards out of the water, as a proper place for an observatory. It was about eighty yards long and twenty broad, and in the middle of it was a bed of white sand, large enough for the tents to stand upon. Mr. Gore and his assistants instantly began to set them up, and make every preparation for the important business of the next day. While that was going forward, Sir Joseph Banks went on shore on the main island to purchase provisions, and procured a sufficient supply before night. When he returned to the rock, he found the observatory in order, and the telescopes all fixed and tried.

The evening was very fine, yet their solicitude did not permit them to take much rest in the night; one of them was up every half hour, who satisfied the impatience of the rest, by reporting the changes of the sky, at one moment encouraging their hope by telling them that it was clear, at another alarming their fears by an account that it was hazy.

At break of day they got up, and saw the sun rise without a cloud. Sir Joseph then wishing the observers, Mr. Gore and Mr. Monkhouse, success, repaired again to the island, that he might examine its produce, and procure a fresh supply of provisions. He began by trading with the natives, and that he might not be inconvenienced by their pressing upon



Canoes of Orahete

him, he drew a circle around him, which he suffered none of them to enter. About eight o'clock, he saw two canoes coming towards the place, and was told by the people that they belonged to *Tarrao*, the king of the island, who was coming to make him a visit. When the canoes came near the shore, the people made a lane from the beach to the trading place, and his Majesty landed with his sister, whose name was *Nuna*. As they advanced, Sir Joseph, with great formality, permitted them to enter the circle, from which the other natives had been excluded. They then sat down together, and the royal present, consisting of a hog and a dog, some bread-fruit, cocoa nuts, and other articles, were brought. In return, Sir Joseph presented his Majesty with an adze, a shirt, and some beads.

The first internal contact of the planet with the sun being over, Sir Joseph returned to the observatory, taking with him several of the natives, to whom he shewed the planet upon the sun, and endeavoured to make them comprehend, that he and his companions had come from their own country on purpose to see it. Soon after, Sir Joseph returned with them to the island, and spent the remainder of the day in examining its produce, which he found to be very similar to that of Otaheite.

The observation was made with equal success by the persons who were sent to the eastward, and at the fort, there not being a cloud in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun. The whole passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disk was observed with great advantage by Mr. Green, Dr. Solander and Captain Cook. They saw an atmosphere or dusky cloud

round the body of the planet, which very much disturbed the times of contact, especially of the internal ones, and they differed from each other in their accounts of the times of the contacts much more than might have been expected. The latitude of the observatory was found to be $17^{\circ} 29' 15''$, and the longitude $149^{\circ} 32' 30''$ west of Greenwich. But, if they had reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of their observations, they had scarce less cause to regret the diligence with which that time had been improved by some of the crew to another purpose. While the attention of the officers was engrossed by the transit of Venus, some of the ship's company broke into one of the store-rooms, and carried off a vast number of spike nails. This was a matter of serious concern, for if these nails were circulated by the people among the Indians, the value of iron, the English staple commodity at Otaheite, would be most lamentably reduced. One of the thieves was detected, but only seven nails were found upon him: he was punished with two dozen lashes, but would impeach none of his accomplices.

About this time died an old woman of some rank, who was related to *Tomio*, which gave the English an opportunity to see how they disposed of the body. In the middle of a small square, neatly railed in with bamboo, the awning of a canoe was raised upon two posts, and under this the body was deposited, upon such a frame as was before described. It was covered with fine cloth, and near it was placed provisions of different kinds. It was supposed that the fruit was placed there for the spirit of the deceased, and conse-

quently that the natives had some confused notion of a separate state ; but upon asking Toubourai Tamaide, he said that the food was placed there as an offering to the gods. It was not, however, imagined that the gods could eat, any more than the Jews imagined that Jehovah could dwell in a house,—the offering was made as an expression of reverence and gratitude, and as a solicitation of the more immediate presence of the Deity. In the front of the area was a kind of stile, where the relations of the deceased stood, to pay the tribute of their sorrow ; and under the awning were a vast number of pieces of cloth, on which the tears and blood of the mourner were shed, for in their paroxisms of grief it was their custom to wound themselves with the shark's tooth. Within a few yards, two occasional houses were set up, in one of which some relations of the deceased resided, and in the other the chief mourner, who was always a man, and who kept there a very singular dress, in which a ceremony was performed that will hereafter be described. Near the place where the dead are thus left to moulder, the bones are afterwards buried.

On the 10th, the ceremony was to be performed by the chief mourner, in honour of the old woman whose sepulchral tabernacle has just been described ; and Sir Joseph had so great a curiosity to see all the mysteries of the solemnity, that he determined to take a part in it, since he found he could be present on no other condition. In the evening he repaired to the place where the body lay, and was received by those relations who were to assist at the solemnity. Toubourai Tamaide was to act as chief mourner, and his

dress, though not unbecoming, was exceedingly fantastical. Sir Joseph was compelled to throw off his European clothes, and a small piece of cloth having been tied around his waist, his body was smeared with charcoal and water, below the shoulders, till it was as black as that of a negro. The same operation was performed upon others, men as well as women. A boy was blacked all over; and these preliminary arrangements being completed, the procession began to move. Toubourai Tamaide uttered what was supposed to be a prayer, near to the body, and did the same when he approached his own house. The procession then advanced towards the fort, and the Indians who were not engaged in it flew from it in precipitation, and in all directions. It then proceeded along the shore, crossed the river, and entered the woods,—passed several houses, all of which were deserted, not a single Indian appearing during the whole of the time. The office which Sir Joseph performed was called that of the *Nineveh*, of which there were two besides himself. The natives having all disappeared, Sir Joseph and his companions in office came up to the chief mourner, and pronounced the word *imitata*, signifying “there are no people;” after which, the company was dismissed to wash themselves in the river, and put on their customary clothes.

One day, Toubourai Tamaide brought to the fort his bow and arrow, in consequence of a challenge from Mr. Gore. The chief supposed it was to try who could send the arrow farthest, Mr. Gore thought it was to try which could best hit a mark, and in consequence of this misapprehension, there was no trial of skill;

but Toubourai Tamaide, to shew what he could do, drew his bow and sent an arrow 274 yards. When shooting, they kneel down, and the moment the arrow is discharged they drop the bow.

Sir Joseph, in his morning's walk this day, met with a party of the natives, whom he understood to be travelling musicians, and having learnt where they were to play that night, the English all repaired to the place appropriated for the concert. The band consisted of two flutes and three drums: the drummers accompanied the music with their voices, and the English, to their surprise, found that they were the subject of their songs. Their songs were always unpremeditated, and accompanied with music: they were continually going about from place to place, and were rewarded according to the ability of those before whom they played.

On the 14th, the English were brought into new difficulties, in consequence of another robbery at the fort. In the middle of the night, one of the natives contrived to steal a coal rake: it happened to be set up against the inside of a wall, so that the top of the handle was visible from without. The thief, watching his opportunity, when the sentinel's back was turned, very dexterously laid hold of it with a long crooked stick, and drew it over the wall. Captain Cook was totally at a loss by what expedient or punishment he should endeavour to put an end to the frequent recurrence of these robberies: fortunately, however, for him, it happened that just after the rake had been taken away, above twenty of their sailing canoes came into

the harbour with a supply of fish : upon these he immediately seized, and declared that unless the rake and every other article which had been stolen were brought back, every one of the canoes should instantly be burnt. A list of the things was made out, and given to the Indians. About noon, the rake was restored, and great solicitation was made that the canoes might be set at liberty ; but the Captain still insisted on the original condition. The following day nothing was restored, and Cook was reduced to the disagreeable alternative of restoring or burning the canoes. However, as a temporary expedient, he permitted the natives to take the fish, but still detained the canoes. In a short time, it appeared, either that the things stolen were gone out of the island, or that those who were interested in the liberation of the canoes had not sufficient influence to induce the thieves to give up their booty ; Captain Cook, therefore, determined to give them up, not a little mortified at the bad success of his project.

Another accident happened about this time, which was near embroiling the English in a very serious misunderstanding with the Indians. An officer was sent on shore to procure ballast for the ship, and not immediately finding stones, he began to pull down some part of an enclosure where they deposited the bones of their dead. The Indians violently opposed this sacrilege, and sent to the fort, to acquaint the officers that they would not suffer it. Sir Joseph instantly repaired to the place, and by his mild and judicious interference soon put an amicable end to the dispute. It was not a

little remarkable, that the natives appeared infinitely more jealous of what was done to the dead, than to the living.

In the evening of the 19th, while the canoes were yet detained, the English were surprised by a visit from Oberea. Though she knew that she was suspected of having several of the stolen articles in her custody, yet she brought none of them with her. She told her own story, but at the same time appeared conscious that it was not deserving of credit; and not meeting with that ready compliance to some of her requests which she probably expected, she retired in disappointment to her canoe.

The following day she returned to the fort, and put herself, her canoe, and every thing it contained, wholly in the power of the English. As the best means of effecting a reconciliation, she was presented with a hog, and, what she would yet more value, with a dog, the Indians considering the flesh of the dog as the most delicate food. The animal was immediately delivered over to Tupia, who engaged to perform the double office of butcher and cook. He killed the dog, by holding his hand for about a quarter of an hour over his mouth and nose. While this was doing, a hole was made in the ground, about a foot deep, in which a fire was kindled, and some small stones placed alternately with the wood. The dog was then singed by holding him over the fire, and by scraping him with a shell, the hair was taken off as clean as if he had been scalded in hot water. He was then cut up with the same instrument, his entrails were taken out, and carefully washed in the sea, after which they were put into

cocoa nut shells, with what blood had come from the body. When the hole was heated, the fire was taken out, and those stones which were not so hot as to discolour any thing they touched were placed at the bottom, and then covered with green leaves. The dog, with the entrails, was then placed upon the leaves, and other leaves being laid upon him, the whole was covered with the remainder of the hot stones, and the mouth of the hole was carefully stopped up. In about four hours it was again opened, and the dog was taken out excellently baked, and, in the opinion of every one, a very good dish. The dogs, which in Otaheite are bred to be eaten, are not permitted to taste animal food, but are kept wholly upon bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts and different kinds of vegetables.

On the 21st, a chief, named *Oamo*, visited the fort; he brought with him a boy about eleven, and a young woman about sixteen years of age. As soon as they were in sight, Oberea and others who were in the fort went out to meet them, having first uncovered their heads and bodies as low as the waist. The chief went into the fort, but no solicitation could induce either the young woman or the boy to enter. It appeared that *Oamo* was the husband of *Oberea*, that they had been long separated by mutual consent, and that the boy and the young woman were their children.

On Monday, the 26th, about three o'clock in the morning, Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks set out in the pinnace, with a view to sketch the coast and harbours of the island. In the course of the forenoon they went on shore, in a district governed by a young chief, whom they had often seen at the fort. With him

they also found two other natives, whom they had frequently met before, and who carried them to see the body of the old woman, at whose funeral rites Sir Joseph had been present.

Having again entered the boat, and rowed till it was dark, they went on shore, and were provided with supper and lodging. In the morning, they looked about the country, and found it to be a marshy flat. They proceeded to other districts, and in one place witnessed a very singular curiosity: it was the figure of a man constructed of basket work, rudely made, but not ill designed. It was something more than seven feet in height, but rather too bulky in proportion. The wicker skeleton was completely covered over with feathers, white where the skin was to appear, and black in the parts which it was their custom to paint or stain: upon the head, there was to be a representation of hair; and upon the head also were four protuberances, three in front and one behind, and these were called by the Indians little men. The image was a representation of one of their gods, of the second class.

They then proceeded on their road home, by the north-east peninsula, and observed a repository for the dead, more than usually decorated. The pavement was very neat, and upon it was raised a pyramid, about five feet high, which was entirely covered with the fruits of two plants peculiar to that country. Near the pyramid was a small image of stone, upon which the natives appeared to set a great value, as it was sheltered from the weather by a shed erected for that purpose.

The principal piece of Indian architecture in the island was a pile of stone-work, raised pyramidically

upon an oblong base or square. It was built in a somewhat similar manner to the small mounts on which we fix the pillar of a sun dial, where each side is a flight of steps ; the steps at the sides were broader than those at the ends, so that it terminated in a ridge, like the roof of a house : there were eleven steps, each four feet high ; each step was formed of one course of white coral stone, neatly squared and polished : the rest of the mass consisted of round pebbles. Some of the coral stones were very large ; one of them measured three feet and a half by two and a half. The foundation was of rock stones, one of which measured four feet seven inches by two feet four. Such a structure, raised without the assistance of iron tools to shape the stones, or of mortar to join them, struck the English with astonishment. It appeared as compact and as firm as it could have been made by any workman in Europe. The quarry stones were evidently conveyed from a considerable distance by land, and the coral stones must have been fished up from a depth of at least three feet : the coral and rock stone could have been squared only by tools made of the same substance, which must have been a work of incredible labour. In the middle of the top stood the image of a bird, carved in wood ; and near it lay the broken one of a fish, carved in stone. The whole of the pyramid made part of one side of a square nearly of equal sides, being 360 by 354.

On Saturday, July 1st, the English returned to their fort, having found the circuit of the island, including both peninsulas, to be about thirty leagues. Upon Captain Cook complaining of the want of bread-fruit,

he was told that the produce of the last season was nearly exhausted, and that it would be three months before what was then sprouting from the trees would be fit for use. While the bread-fruit is ripening upon the flats, the inhabitants are supplied in some measure from the trees which they have planted upon the hills, to preserve a succession ; but the quantity is not sufficient : to prevent scarcity, they live, therefore, upon the sour paste called *mahie*, upon wild plantains and ahee nuts.

On the 3d, Sir Joseph set out early in the morning, to trace the course of the river, and examine how far its banks were inhabited. For about six miles he met with houses, not far distant from each other ; at last he was directed to a house, which he was told was the last that he would see. Having partook of some refreshment, he and his companion walked on about six miles farther, following the course of the river, frequently passing under vaults formed by fragments of the rock. Soon after they found the river banked by steep rocks, from which a cascade falling with great violence, formed a pool so deep, that the Indians said they could not pass it. The way up the rocks from the banks of the river was in every respect tremendous : the sides were nearly perpendicular, and in some places one hundred feet high ; they were also rendered exceedingly slippery, by the water of the various springs which issued from the fissures on the surface ; yet even up these precipices a way was to be traced, by a succession of long pieces of the bark of the *hibiscus tiliaceus*, which served as a rope for the climber, and assisted him in scrambling upon ledges, where there was only footing

for an Indian or a goat. One of the ropes was nearly thirty feet in length ; and the guides, though they offered to assist the English in mounting this pass, recommended another and a better way. During the excursion, Sir Joseph had an opportunity of examining the rocks, and found no minerals whatever. The stones, like those of Madeira, shewed evident tokens of having been burnt.

On the 4th, Sir Joseph employed himself in planting the seeds of the different trees and plants which he had collected at Rio de Janeiro.

The English now began to prepare for their departure. On the 7th, the carpenters were employed in removing the gates and palisadoes of the little fortification ; and on the 8th and 9th they still continued to dismantle the fort. They were at this time surrounded by the natives, some of whom expressed their regret at the loss they were about to sustain, while others were only anxious to make as much as they could of the English, while they were yet upon the island.

Among the natives who were constantly with the English was Tupia. This man had often expressed a desire to go with them, and on the morning of the 12th he came on board, with a boy, about thirteen years of age, and yet more earnestly reiterated his suit. As the English were prevented from sailing that day, Tupia said he would go once more on shore, and make a signal for the boat to fetch him off in the evening. He went accordingly, and took with him a miniature of Sir Joseph, and several little things, as parting presents. After dinner, Sir Joseph, being desirous to procure a drawing, went on shore, accompanied by

Captain Cook and Dr. Solander. At Tootahah's house they met with Tupia, who returned with them, and slept on board a ship for the first time.

The following morning, the 13th of July, the ship was crowded with friends, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, filled with the natives of an inferior class. Between eleven and twelve the ship was under sail,—the Indians on board then took their leave, and wept with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something equally striking and tender. Tupia sustained himself in this scene with a firmness and resolution truly admirable: he sent his last present to Potomia, and then going with Sir Joseph to the mast head, he waved his hand as long as the canoes on the shores of his native island were visible.

Thus, after a sojourn of three months, the English took leave of Otaheite: the greater part of the time was spent in cordial friendship, and the reciprocation of good offices; accidental differences were sincerely regretted, and speedily forgotten.

The traffic at Otaheite was carried on by Sir Joseph with infinite regularity: the articles which were principally bartered for provisions, were axes, hatchets, nails, looking glasses, beads, &c. The natives were fond of linen, but an axe worth half-a-crown would fetch more than a piece of cloth worth twenty shillings.

Captain Cook found the longitude of Port Royal Bay, in the island of Otaheite, to be within half a degree of that settled by Captain Wallis; the mean result of a great number of observations being 149° 13'. The island is surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which forms several excellent bays and harbours, and these

have depth of water sufficient for vessels of any size. Port Royal Bay may easily be known, by a very high mountain in the centre of the island, which bears due south from Point Venus.

The face of the country, except that part of it which borders on the sea, is extremely uneven ; it rises in ridges that run up into the middle of the island, and form mountains that may be seen at the distance of sixty miles. Between these ridges and the sea is a border of low land, surrounding the whole island. The soil, except upon the very tops of the ridges, is extremely fertile, watered by many rivulets, and covered with fruit-trees of various kinds, some of them of stately growth and thick foliage.

The produce of the island is bread-fruit, coconuts, plantains, (a fruit not unlike an apple,) sweet potatoes, yams, &c. There is also the Chinese paper mulberry, a tree resembling the wild fig-tree of the West Indies ; and various others, unnecessary to mention. Of tame animals, there are only hogs, dogs and poultry ; neither is there a wild animal in the island, except ducks, pigeons and paroquets. The sea affords a supply of most excellent fish, to eat which is the greatest luxury of the inhabitants, and to catch it their chief employment.

The men are tall, strong, and finely shaped ; the tallest seen measured six feet three inches and a half. The women of the superior rank are above our middle stature ; but those of the inferior class are below it. This defect in size of this latter class probably proceeds from their becoming mothers so early. The natural complexion of the natives is that kind of clear olive

which is often, even in Europe, preferred to the finest red and white. The shape of the face is comely; the eyes are not hollow, nor are the cheek bones high. The eyes of the women are full of expression, sometimes sparkling with animation, at others melting with softness: their teeth, almost without exception, are perfectly even and white; and their breath without taint: their hair almost universally black, and rather coarse. The men have beards, which they wear in many fashions. Both sexes eradicate every hair under the arms, and accuse the Europeans of want of cleanliness for not doing the same. The deportment of the Otaheitan was at once vigorous and easy: his disposition seemed to be brave, open and candid, without either suspicion or treachery, cruelty or revenge. All, however, were thieves, and when that is allowed, they need not much fear a competition with any other nation upon earth.

The Otaheitans have a custom of anointing their heads, and tattooing their bodies. They prick the skin, so as just not to fetch blood, with a small instrument in the form of a hce: the part which answers to the blade is made of a bone or shell, scraped very thin, and is from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a half wide; the edge is cut into a number of sharp teeth or points: when this is to be used, they dip the teeth into a mixture, formed of the smoke which issues from an oily nut and water. This nut they burn instead of candles. The teeth, thus prepared, are placed upon the skin, and the handle to which they are fastened being struck by quick and rather hard blows, and by a particular kind of stick, they pierce the skin, and at

the same time carry into it the black composition which we have described. The operation is performed upon the youth of both sexes, when they are about twelve or fourteen years of age. The women are usually marked with the stain, in the form of an **Z**, on every joint of their fingers and toes, and not unfrequently on the outside of their feet. Both men and women have the figures of different kinds of birds and beasts impressed upon their legs and other parts; but the part on which these ornaments are lavished with the greatest profusion is the breech: this, in both sexes, is covered with a deep black, above which arches are drawn as high as the short ribs. These arches are their pride, and are shewn, both by men and women, with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure. The face is in general left unmarked. Some old men had the greatest part of their bodies covered with large patches of black, deeply indicated at the edges, like a rude imitation of flame: these men were not natives of Otaheite, but came from an island at some distance. Sir Joseph saw the operation of tattooing performed upon a young girl; before it was over, the pain became so violent, that it was necessary to hold her down by force.

Their clothing consists of cloth, or matting of different kinds, which will be described with their other manufactures. The cloth is worn in dry weather, and the matting when it rains: they are put on in various ways, just as their fancy leads them. The dress of the better sort of women consists of three or four pieces: one piece, of about two yards wide and eleven long, they wrap several times about their waists, so as to hang down as low as the middle of the leg: two or three

other pieces, about two yards and a half long and one wide, each having a hole in the middle, they place one upon another, and then putting the head through the holes, the long ends are brought down before and behind; the others remain open behind, and give liberty to the arms: this is gathered round the waist, and confined by a girdle of thinner cloth. The dress of the men is the same, except that instead of suffering the cloth about the hips to hang down like a petticoat, they bring it between their legs, so as to bear some resemblance to breeches. Upon their legs and feet they wear no covering; but they shade their faces from the sun with small bonnets, made either of matting or cocoa-nut leaves. This, however, is not all their head-dress, the women sometimes wearing turbans, and sometimes a dress made of human hair, plaited in threads scarcely thicker than sewing silk. Sir Joseph procured pieces of it above a mile in length, and without a knot. These are wound round the head in a very pretty manner. Occasionally they wear a kind of whimsical garland, made of flowers; and sometimes a wig made of the hair of men, or dogs, or cocoa-nut strings. The children go quite naked,—the girls till the age of three or four, and the boys to six or seven.

Their dwellings are all built in the wood, between the sea and the mountains, and no more ground is allowed for each house than just sufficient to prevent the droppings of the branches from rotting the thatch. The trees which surround their houses are the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut: nothing can be more grateful than their shade, nor any thing more delightful than the walks which lead from one house to another.

The structure of the houses is universally the same, and the following may be considered as an accurate description of one of a middling size:—The ground which it covers is an oblong square, twenty-four feet long and eleven wide: over this a roof is raised upon three rows of pillars, parallel to each other, one on each side and the other in the middle: this roof consists of two flat sides, inclining to each other, and terminating in a ridge similar to our thatched houses in England. The utmost height within is about nine feet, and the eaves on each side reach to within about three feet and a half of the ground. Below this, and through the whole height, at each end, it is open, no part of it being enclosed. The roof is thatched with palm leaves, and the floor covered some inches deep with soft hay. Over this are laid mats, on which they sit by day and sleep by night.

In some houses there is one stool, which is wholly appropriated to the master of the family; besides this they have no furniture, except a few little blocks of wood, the upper sides of which are hollowed into curves, and serve them for pillows. The house is indeed chiefly used as a dormitory, for, except it rains, they eat in the open air. The clothes they wear in the day serve for covering in the night. The floor is the common bed of the whole household, and is not divided by any partition: the master and his wife sleep in the middle, next to them the married people, next to them the unmarried women, and at a little distance from them the unmarried men; the servants sleep in the open air, except it rains, and in that case they come just within the shed.

There are, however, houses of another kind, belonging to the chiefs, in which there is some degree of privacy. Privacy, indeed, is little needed among these artless and kind-hearted people.

Of the food, even here, the greater part is vegetable. When a chief kills a hog, it is almost equally distributed among his dependents; and as they are numerous, the share to each individual must of course be small. The sea affords a great variety of fish; the smaller, when caught, are generally eaten raw,—nothing that the sea produces comes amiss to them. The principal vegetable which serves them for food is the bread-fruit, to procure which costs no more labour than climbing the trees to gather it. If ten of these trees are planted in the life of one man, which he may do in about an hour, he as completely fulfils his duty to his own and future generations, as the natives of our less temperate climate can do by ploughing in the cold of winter, and by reaping in the summer's heat. It is true, the bread-fruit is not always in season; but coconuts, bananas, plantains, and a vast variety of other fruits, supply this deficiency. Of the bread-fruit three dishes are prepared, by putting to it either water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut, then beating it to a paste with a stone pestle, and afterwards mixing it with ripe plantains, bananas or sour paste.

The mahie, which supplies the place of the bread-fruit when not in season, is thus prepared:—The fruit is gathered just before it is quite ripe, and being laid in heaps, is closely covered with leaves: in this state it undergoes fermentation, and becomes disagreeably sweet: the core is then taken out, and the rest of the

fruit is thrown into a hole, neatly lined within with grass ; this hole is then covered with leaves, and heavy stones laid upon it : then it undergoes another fermentation, after which it will suffer no change for many months. It is taken, as wanted for use, out of the hole, baked, and eaten either immediately, or after an interval of several weeks.

Such is their food, to which salt water is an universal sauce, no meal being eaten without it. The art of producing liquors that intoxicate, by fermentation, is, happily, unknown to these simple islanders. They eat constantly alone ; but if a stranger happen to visit them, he is permitted to make the second at the mess. The quantity of food eaten at one meal is prodigious : Captain Cook saw one man devour two or three fish as large as perch ; three bread-fruits, each bigger than two fists ; fourteen or fifteen plantains or bananas, each six or seven inches long, and four or five round ; and, to conclude this extraordinary account, the man ended his meal with a quart of the pounded bread-fruit, which is as substantial as the thickest unbaked custard.

The women not only abstain from eating with the men, but even have their victuals separately prepared by boys kept for that purpose, who deposit them in a separate shed, and attend the women at their meals. After eating, and in the heat of the day, the middle-aged and the better order of people generally sleep.

Their only musical instruments are flutes and drums. The flutes are made of hollow bamboo, about a foot long, having only two stops, and consequently but four notes. The drums are formed from a hollow block of wood, solid at one end, and at the other covered with

shark's skin. To these instruments they sing, and, as we have already observed, their songs are often extemporary. In their dances, they keep time with an exactness which is scarcely surpassed by the best performers on an European stage.

The natives of Otaheite, both men and women, constantly wash their whole bodies in running water, three times each day. They wash, not only the mouth, but their hands, at their meals, almost indeed between every morsel; and their clothes, as well as their persons, are kept without spot or stain.

Their principal manufacture is their cloth: it is of three kinds, and is made from the bark of three different trees—the Chinese paper mulberry, the bread-fruit tree, and the tree which resembles the wild fig-tree of the West Indies. The finest and whitest is made of the paper mulberry: this is worn chiefly by the principal people, and when it is dyed red, takes a better colour. A second, but inferior sort, is made of the bread-fruit; and a third, which is coarse and harsh, is manufactured from a tree which resembles the fig. All these trees, and particularly the mulberry, are propagated with the greatest care. The excellence of the mulberry consists in its being thin, tall, straight and without branches; the leaves, therefore, are carefully plucked off with their germs, as often as there is any appearance of their producing a branch.

The following is the process of the cloth manufactured from the mulberry:—When the trees are of a proper size, they are drawn up, and the roots and branches cut off; the bark of these rods being then slit up longitudinally, is drawn off, and when a proper

quantity has been procured, it is carried down to some running water, in which it is deposited and secured. When it is supposed to be sufficiently softened, the women servants go down to the brook, and getting into the water, separate the inner bark from the green bark on the outside; to do this, they place the under side upon a flat, smooth board, and with a shell scrape it very carefully, dipping it continually in the water, till nothing remains but the fine fibres of the inner coat. In the evening, these are spread out upon plantain leaves: they are placed in lengths of eleven or twelve yards, one by the side of another, till they are about a foot broad; and one or two layers are also laid one upon the other. Care is taken that the bark shall be of an equal thickness in all parts. In the morning, the water which it contained is either drawn off or evaporated, and the several fibres adhere together, so that the whole may be raised from the ground in one piece. It is then laid on the smooth side of a long piece of wood, and beaten by the women with instruments made of hard wood, in shape not very unlike a square razor strop, having each of its four sides or faces marked with small grooves or furrows, of different degrees of fineness; after having been beaten by each side of the mallet successively, it is left to bleach in the air.—The principal excellence of the cloth consists in its coolness and softness; its most material defect arises from its being pervious to water, like paper, and almost as easily torn.

The red colour, with which they dye the cloth, is produced by the mixture of the juices of two vegetables, neither of which separately has the slightest tendency

to that hue. One is a species of fig, and the other the *cordia sebestina*: of the fig the fruit is used, of the cordia the leaves. The fruit of the fig is about the size of a small gooseberry; each of them, upon breaking off the stalk very close, produces *one* drop of a milky liquor, which the women collect into a small quantity of cocoa-nut water. To prepare a gill of cocoa-nut water, will require between three and four quarts of these little figs. The leaves of the cordia are then wetted in the liquor, and afterwards laid upon a plantain leaf; they are then turned about till they become more and more flaccid; afterwards they are gently squeezed, the pressure gradually increased, and more liquor supplied, until in about five minutes the colour begins to appear upon the veins of the leaves, and in about ten minutes more they are perfectly saturated with it. They are then squeezed with as much force as can be applied, and the liquor strained at the same time that it is expressed.

The Otaheitans carry on a considerable manufacture in matting, and are very dexterous in making basket and wicker work. Of the bark of the *poerou* they make ropes and lines; of the fibres of a cocoa-nut they make thread; of the bark of a species of nettle they make the best fishing-lines in the world; harpoons are formed of cane, and their fish-hooks are admirably adapted, in their construction, to the purpose they are to answer.

The canoes, or boats, used by the natives, are of two kinds,—that called the *ivahahs* is used for short excursions, and the *pahie* for longer voyages.

Captain Cook was unable to acquire a perfect idea

of the Otaheitan method of dividing time ; but it was observed, that in speaking of it, either past or to come, the word *malama*, or moon, was invariably and only used. Of these moons they count thirteen, and then begin again, which is a demonstration that they have some idea of the solar year. But how they compute their months, so that thirteen of them shall be commensurate with the year, the English could not discover ; for they say that each month has twenty-nine days, including one in which the moon is not visible. They have separate names for these months, and frequently told the Europeans, the fruit that would be in season, and the weather that would prevail in each of them ; and they have a name for them collectively, though they use it only when they speak of the mysteries of religion.

Every day is subdivided into twelve parts, each of two hours, of which six belong to the day, and six to the night. They *guess* at these divisions, by the height of the sun while he is above the horizon ; but there are few of them that can guess at them by the stars when he is below it.

In numeration they proceed from one to ten, and though they have for each number a different name, they usually take hold of their fingers, one by one, shifting from one hand to the other, till they arrive at the number they desire to express. In counting from *ten*, they repeat the name of that number, and add the word *more*. They have a denomination for two hundred, but none which expresses a greater number.

Distance is measured by the time required to pass it.

Their language is soft and melodious, abounding in vowels, and easily learnt; but it is almost totally without inflexion of nouns or verbs.

Their religion is involved in mystery, and perplexed with apparent inconsistency.

Their general character and habits have been already described,—their vices, neither many nor odious, evidently proceeding more from an ignorance of what was right, than from an innate disposition to do what was wrong.

After leaving Otaheite, Captain Cook touched at several other islands; but his journal at this time furnishes us with no incident worthy of particular notice;—perhaps a description which he gives of a dance performed by some of the natives of an adjacent island, may be selected as one of the most curious and amusing passages in his work. The company consisted of two women dancers and six men, with three drums. The women had upon their heads a considerable quantity of plaited hair, which was brought several times round the head, and adorned, in many parts, with the flowers of the cape jessamine. Their necks, shoulders and arms were naked. Below the parting of the arm, the body was covered with black cloth; at the side of the breasts next the arms was placed a small plume of black feathers, much in the same manner as our ladies wear their nosegays; upon their hips rested a quantity of cloth, plaited very full, which reached up to the chest, and fell down below into long petticoats, which quite concealed their feet; the plaits above the waist were brown and white alternate, the petticoats below were all white. In this dress they advanced sideways,

with a measured step, keeping admirable time to the brisk and loud noise of the drums ; soon after, they began to shake their hips, giving the folds of cloth that lay upon them a very quick motion. The body was thrown into various postures, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing, and sometimes resting on their knees and elbows. Between the dances of the women, the men performed a kind of dramatic interlude, in which there was dialogue as well as dancing.

From *Oteroah* the vessel sailed to New Zealand, and from thence to Poverty Bay, Tolaga and Mercury Bay. At the last-mentioned place, Captain Cook, Sir Joseph and Dr. Solander discovered and took a view of two fortified villages. The situation of the smaller of them was the most romantic and beautiful that can be imagined : it was built upon a small rock, detached from the main, and surrounded at high water : the whole body of this rock was perforated by a hollow or arch, which possessed much the largest part of it ; the summit of the rock above the arch was fenced out : the top of the arch was more than sixty feet perpendicular above the sea, which at high water flowed through the bottom of it : the area of the arch was not large enough to contain more than six or seven houses. It was accessible only by one very narrow and steep path, by which the inhabitants, at their approach, came down and invited them into the place ; but they refused, intending to visit a much more considerable fort at about a mile distant.

They observed the inhabitants of the fort to which they were going running towards them in a body ; when near enough to be distinctly visible, the natives

gave every sign of their friendly disposition. The fort, or town, is called *Wharatowa*, and is situated on a high promontary, which projects into the sea, two sides of which are washed by it, and the other two sides are to the land. Upon one of the sides, which is very steep, lies the avenue from the beach; the other is flat, and open to the country. The whole is enclosed by a palisade, ten feet high. The only entrance is by a narrow passage, about twelve feet long, communicating with the steep ascent from the beach.

In the range from Cape Mercury to the Bay of Islands, Captain Cook was much struck with the appearance of the timber. One tree was upwards of nineteen feet in the girth, at the height of six feet from the ground: its height from the root to the first branch was eighty-nine feet; it was as straight as an arrow, and tapered very little in proportion to the height. There might be about three hundred and sixty-three feet of solid timber in it, exclusive of the branches. Several larger ones were seen, and a young one was cut down, the wood of which was not fit for masts, but would make the finest planks in the world.

The voyage from the Bay of Islands to Queen Charlotte's Sound was not remarkable for interest. At Cape Turnagain they seem to have met, for the first time, with a race of cannibals. A party happening to be on shore, carelessly entered an Indian hut, while the family were dressing provisions. Two bones were observed, most thoroughly picked;—upon a little examination they were found to be those of a man. The natives frankly confessed, that they devoured the bodies of their enemies. One of the English inquired, if they

had any human bones with the flesh remaining upon them; and upon being told that all had been eaten, the querist pretended not to believe the assertion, and said, the bones found could be only those of a dog; upon which one of the Indians, with some eagerness, took hold of his own fore arm, and thrusting it towards the English, said that the bone which Sir Joseph held in his hand had belonged to that part of the human body; at the same time, to convince them that the flesh had been eaten, he took hold of his own arm, and imitated the action of eating; he also bit and gnawed the bone Sir Joseph had taken, drew it through his mouth, and endeavoured to prove by his signs that it had afforded a delicious repast. Among the individuals of the family was a woman who had her legs, arms and thighs frightfully cut: the wounds were inflicted by herself, in token of her grief for the loss of her husband, who had been lately killed and eaten by his enemies.

The ship, at this time, lay about a mile from the shore; and in the morning, the sailors were awakened by the singing of the birds,—the number was incredible, and they seemed to strain their throats in emulation of each other.

From Cape Turnagain, Queen Charlotte's Sound, and New Zealand, we may follow the vessel to that now most noted place Botany Bay, so called by Captain Cook, in consequence of the vast number of plants which Sir Joseph and Dr. Solander found there. It is situated in the latitude of 34° S. longitude 208° 37' W. The bay is capacious, safe and convenient, and may be known by the land on the sea coast, which is nearly

level. Wood seemed every where plentiful, but Captain Cook observed only two kinds which could be considered timber. The larger trees exceeded in size the English oak, and were not very unlike that in appearance. The country in general seemed low, level and woody; but a more minute description of it will be given hereafter.

At day-break, on the 6th of May 1770, the ship left Botany Bay, and as they sailed northward along the coast, the land gradually increased in height.

Hitherto the vessel had safely navigated those dangerous coasts, where the sea in all parts conceals shoals that suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly from the bottom of the ocean; but the period was now arrived, when the crew of the Endeavour were to become acquainted with misfortunes. Cape Tribulation lies in latitude $16^{\circ} 6'$ S. longitude $214^{\circ} 39'$ W. They steered along the shore, north by west, at the distance of between three and four leagues. After finding considerable and sudden variations in the depth of the water, they at last had the pleasure to feel that they continued for some time in about twenty and twenty-one fathom; and in the full persuasion that there was no further occasion for anxiety, the gentlemen attached to the expedition retired to bed. At eleven o'clock at night, the water again suddenly shallowed,—the ship struck, and remained immoveable, except from the heaving of the surge, that beat her against the crags of the rocks, amongst which she lay. In a few moments every one was upon deck, with countenances which sufficiently expressed the horrors of their situation. They knew they were not very near the shore,

and had but too much reason to fear that they were upon a rock of coral, which is more fatal than any other, because the points of it are sharp, and every part of the surface so rough, as to grind away whatever, even with the gentlest motion, is rubbed against it.

In this situation, all the sails were immediately taken in, and the boats hoisted out to examine the depth of water round the ship. It was soon found that the vessel had been lifted over a ledge of rock, and lay in a hollow within it. In some places there might be from three to four fathoms, in others not so many feet. At the distance of about thirty yards, on the starboard side, the water deepened to eight, ten and twelve fathoms.

The ship continued to beat violently ;—by the light of the moon, the sheathing boards from the bottom were seen floating around her—the false keel was gone—and the last moment of those men was fast approaching, who had hitherto so ably and so fortunately succeeded in the meritorious objects of the expedition. The vessel could not be much lightened ; some hope there was from the next tide, but it was doubtful if she would hold together so long. That no time might be lost, the water was immediately started in the hold, and pumped up. Six or seven of the guns, with some other things, were thrown overboard ; every one exerted himself to the utmost ; no oath was heard,—the habit of profaneness, however strong, was subdued by the dread of incurring guilt, when death appeared so near ; even cheerfulness reigned amongst them, and the utmost order was preserved.

Day broke upon the gallant crew of the Endeavour, and land was seen at about the distance of eight leagues ;

but no island was seen in the intermediate space, upon which, if the ship had gone to pieces, they might have been set on shore by the boats, and from thence taken by different turns to the main. The wind, however, gradually died away, and early in the forenoon it was a dead calm: if it had blown hard, the ship must inevitably have been destroyed.

At high water she did not lighten, and though two pumps were kept incessantly at work, she could with difficulty be kept free from water. At two o'clock she lay heeling two or three streaks to starboard; and the pinnace, which lay upon her bows, touched the ground. There was now no hope but from the tide at midnight; and, to prepare for it, they carried out their two bower anchors, one on the starboard quarter, and the other right astern, and got every other thing in order. About five o'clock in the afternoon, the tide began to rise, but the leak increased to a most alarming degree, so that two more pumps were manned,—one, however, was most unhappily useless,—three were kept going, and at nine o'clock the ship righted; but so much had the leak gained upon her, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom the moment she ceased to be supported by the rock.

This was a dreadful circumstance, so that they now anticipated the floating of the ship, not as an earnest of deliverance, but as an event that was to precipitate their destruction. They well knew that the boats were not capable of conveying them all to shore, when the dreadful crisis should arrive,—yet they also knew, that if any should be left on board to perish in the ocean, they would probably suffer less than those

who might reach the shore. To those only who have waited in a state of such suspense, death has approached in all his terrors ; and as the last sad moment of their lives apparently drew near, every man on board the Endeavour saw his sensations depicted in the countenances of his companions.

After much labour, the vessel was heaved into deep water, and it was some comfort to find that her leak did not increase in consequence. But now the men began to feel exhausted—they had worked without interruption for more than twenty-four hours—they laid themselves down between the decks. A circumstance occurred which at first appeared as if it was the forerunner of instant death, but which most miraculously proved to be the means of their preservation. The man who had till this time attended at the well, to take the depth of the water, had taken it up to this time only to the ceiling, and gave the measure accordingly ; but he being relieved, the person who came next reckoned the depth to the outside planking, by which it appeared in a few minutes to have gained upon the pumps eighteen inches. The mistake was soon detected ; and the sudden joy which each man experienced upon finding his situation better than what his fears had suggested, had such an effect upon their minds, that the crew could hardly be persuaded any real danger existed. New confidence and new hope, however founded, inspired new vigour, and though their situation was the same as when the men began to slacken in their labour, through weariness and fatigue, they renewed their efforts with so much alacrity, that before eight o'clock in the morning the pumps had gained considerably

upon the leak. Every one now talked of getting the ship into some harbour as a thing not to be doubted; and as hands could now be spared from the pump, they were employed in getting up the anchors.

There appeared, however, no hope of stopping the leak within, because its exact situation could not be discovered, and it was evident the incessant labour at the pumps could not long be continued. At this moment, Mr. Monkhouse proposed *fothering* the ship,—to this Captain Cook consented, and several men were appointed to attend Mr. Monkhouse.

57. In the first instance, a large studding-sail was taken by Mr. Monkhouse, and he having mixed together a large quantity of oakum and wool chopped very small, stitched it down upon the sail, and then, as lightly as possible, he spread over this the dung of the animals they had on board, and any other filth he could find. When the sail was thus prepared, it was handed under the ship's bottom by ropes which kept it extended, and when it came under the leak, the suction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which in other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. By the success of this experiment, the leak was so far reduced, that instead of gaining upon three pumps, it was easily kept under by one.

This was a new source of confidence and hope, and nothing was now thought of but running the vessel along shore, till they came to some convenient harbour, at which they might repair the damage, and then pursue the voyage upon the same plan as if nothing had happened.

In the mean time, having light airs at E.S.E. they got up the main top mast and main yard, and kept edging in for the land till towards six o'clock in the evening, when they came to an anchor at seven leagues from the shore, in seventeen fathoms water, and one league from the rock on which the ship had struck.

Having found a safe and commodious harbour in the Endeavour River, it was determined to refit the ship there, and a stage was set up from the vessel to the shore, which was so bold that she floated at twenty feet distance. Two tents were also set up, one for the sick, the other for stores and provisions, which were landed in the course of the day.

While the vessel was undergoing a complete repair, Sir Joseph and several of the other gentlemen made excursions into the country;—they found a species of plant which nearly resembled the cocoa, but upon trial the root proved too acrid, though the leaves were little inferior to spinage. One day, Sir Joseph went, with some of the seamen, up the country, to shew them the plant which in the West Indies is called Indian kali: they saw also the nest of the white ants, the most pernicious insects in the world. They were of a pyramidical form, from a few inches to six feet high, and very much resembled the stones in England which are said to be monuments of the Druids.

Of New South Wales, its produce and people, the following particulars may be gleaned from Captain Cook's own narrative:—

New Holland, or, as the Captain called the eastern coast of it, New South Wales, is of a larger extent than any known country which has not obtained the name

of a continent. The length of coast along which the Endeavour sailed, reduced to a straight line, is no less than twenty-seven degrees of latitude, amounting to no less than 2000 miles; so that its square surface must be much more than equal to all Europe. To the southward of thirty-three or thirty-four degrees, the land in general is low and level; further northward it is hilly, but in no part can it be called mountainous, and the hills and mountains, taken together, make but a small part of the vallies and plains. The soil is frequently sandy; vegetation is less vigorous in the northern than in the southern part; the grass, in general, is high, but thin; and the trees, where they are largest, are seldom less than forty feet asunder. The coast, or at least that part of it which lies to the northward of twenty-five degrees south, abounds with fine bays and harbours. The country appears to be well watered.

Of trees there is no great variety:—the largest is the gum-tree, which grows all over the country: it has narrow leaves, not very unlike the willow; and the gum, or rather resin, which it yields, is of a deep red. They found the palm of three different kinds;—the first has leaves plaited like a fan; the cabbage of this sort is small, but exquisitely sweet; and the nuts, which it bears in great abundance, are very good food for hogs: the second bore a much stronger resemblance to the true cabbage-tree of the West Indies: the third, like the second, is found only in the northern parts; its leaves are similar to those of some sorts of fern.

Among the animals may be mentioned the dog, the kangaroo, and an animal of the opossum kind; to which may be added, one more resembling a pole-cat—

the back is brown spotted with white, and the belly white unmixed. Of bats there were many species, particularly one which was larger than a partridge.

The sea-fowl are—gulls, soland geese, &c.; the land birds—crows, parrots, cockatoos, paroquets, &c. The pigeons of New South Wales are very beautiful, and the pelicans of an enormous size.

There are serpents, both noxious and harmless,—scorpions, centipedes and lizards.

The principal insects are the musquito and the ant. The ants are of various kinds; some are green, and live entirely upon trees, where they build their nests, which are from the size of a man's fist to that of his head. The nests are of a very curious structure: they are formed by bending down several leaves, each of which is as large as a man's hand, and by gluing the points of them together, so as to form a purse; the viscous matter used for this purpose is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. The method of first bending down the leaves was not ascertained, but thousands of these little animals were seen uniting their strength to hold the leaves down, while yet other thousands were actively engaged in applying the glutinous matter. The sting of this ant is scarcely less painful than that of a bee, but unless it be repeated, the pain does not last more than a minute.

There is another species of ants, quite black, whose operations and manner of life are not less extraordinary. Their habitations are the inside of the branches of a tree, which they contrive to excavate, by working out the pith almost to the extremity of the slenderest twig, the tree all the time flourishing as if it had no such

inmate. When the tree was first found, the English gathered some of the branches—instantly they were covered with legions of ants, swarming from every broken bough, and inflicting their sting with incessant violence.

A third kind was found, nested in the root of a plant which grows on the bark of trees, and which these little animals had perforated for their use. The root is commonly as large as a turnip, and sometimes larger: upon being cut, it was found intersected by innumerable winding passages, all filled by these insects, by which, however, the vegetation of the plant did not appear to have sustained any injury. Every root appeared to be inhabited, though some roots were not larger than a hazel-nut. The ants themselves are very small, about half the size of the common red ant in England.

A fourth species was also found, but these are perfectly harmless; they almost exactly resemble the white ants of the East Indies. The architecture of these is, if possible, much more curious than the others: they have houses of two sorts,—one is suspended on the branches of trees, the other erected upon the ground. Those upon the trees are about three or four times the size of a man's head, and are built of a brittle substance, which appears to consist of small parts of vegetables kneaded together with a glutinous matter, which their bodies probably supply. Upon breaking this crust, innumerable cells, swarming with inhabitants, appear in a great variety of winding directions, all communicating with each other, and with several apertures, which lead to other nests on the same tree.

they have also one large avenue, or covered way, leading to the ground, and carried on under it to the other house, or nest, that is constructed there. This house is usually at the root of a tree, but not of that upon which the other dwellings are constructed: it is formed like an irregularly sided cone, and sometimes is more than *six feet* high, and nearly as much in diameter. Some are smaller, and these are generally flat-sided. The outside of these is of well-tempered clay, about two inches thick, and within are the cells, which have no opening outwards, but communicate only with the subterranean way to the houses on the tree. To these structures on the ground they probably retire during the winter, or rainy seasons, as they are proof against any wet that can fall.

The sea of this country is much more liberal of food to the inhabitants than the land. The fish are of various sorts,—most of them are palatable, and some of them are very delicious. Upon the shoals and reef there are incredible numbers of the finest green turtle in the world,—gigantic cockles, crayfish, lobsters and crabs in abundance. In the rivers and salt creeks there are aligators.

The number of inhabitants, in proportion to the extent of the country, is very small. Their features are far from disagreeable,—their noses are not flat, nor are their lips thick. The principal ornament they wear is a bone thrust through the cartilage which divides the nostrils from each other. The bone is as thick as a man's finger, and about five or six inches long, so that it reaches quite across the face, and moreover so effectually stops up the nostrils, that they are compelled to

keep their mouths wide open for breath, and snuffle so, when they attempt to speak, that they are scarcely intelligible even to each other. Besides this nose jewel, they have necklaces made of shells, very neatly cut, and strung together. They wear no clothes, are excessively dirty, and paint both white and red. They have no fixed habitation, and their temporary houses, if houses they may be called, are rude and inconvenient in the extreme. Their fish-hooks are easily made, and some of them are very small. For striking turtle, they have a peg of wood, about a foot long, and very well bearded: this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, about as thick as a man's wrist, and seven or eight feet in length: to the staff is tied one end of a line, three or four fathoms long; the other side is fixed to the peg. To strike the turtle, the peg is fixed into the socket, and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves as a float, to trace the victim in the water; it assists also to tire him, till he is overtaken by the canoes and hauled on shore. Their lines are of various degrees of thickness, and are formed of some vegetable substance. To produce fire, the natives take two pieces of dry soft wood; one is a stick about eight or nine inches long, the other is flat: the stick they shape into an obtuse point at one end, and pressing it upon the other, turn it nimbly, by holding it between their hands, often shifting their hands up and then moving them down upon it, to increase the pressure as much as possible. By this method they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark increase it with much dexterity and speed.

After leaving New Holland, the ship touched at New Guinea and the island of Savu, and from thence ran to Batavia, where she was to be repaired.

Batavia, the capital of the Dutch dominions in India, is situated on the north side of the island of Java, in a low fenny plain. The Dutch appear to have fixed upon this spot for the convenience of water carriage, and in that it is indeed a second Holland, and superior to any other place in the world. There are very few streets that have not a canal of considerable length running through them, or rather, perhaps, stagnating in them. The town is also intersected by five or six rivers, which are navigable forty or fifty miles up the country. The streets are spacious and open, and the banks of the canals are planted with rows of trees, which, though they may add to the beauty, certainly do not increase the salubrity of the place. In the dry season, the stagnant canals exhale an intolerable stench, and the trees impede the current of air, by which, in some degree, the putrid effluvia would be dissipated. In the wet season, the inconvenience is, if possible, greater, for the canals overflow their banks, in the lower parts of the town,—the water penetrates into the houses, and, upon retiring, leaves behind an inconceivable quantity of slime and filth. The canals are sometimes cleaned, but the very cleaning of them is so managed, as to become as great a nuisance as the foulness of the water; for the mud is thrown upon the banks, that is to say, into the middle of the street, and is there left till it has acquired a sufficient degree of hardness to be carried away in a boat.

The houses are admirably adapted to the climate:

they consist of one very large room or hall on the ground floor, having a door at each end, which are generally left open: at one end, a room is taken off by a partition, where the master of the house transacts his business; and in the middle, between each end, there is a court, which gives light to the hall, and increases the circulation of air. From one corner of the hall, you ascend, by a flight of steps, to the rooms above, which are at once large and airy. In the alcove, which is formed by the court, the family dine; at other times it is occupied by the female slaves, who are not permitted to sit down any where else. Most of the public buildings are old and heavy; but the new church is not inelegant: it is built with a dome, which is visible from a considerable distance at sea.

The town is enclosed by a stone wall, of moderate height; but the whole of it is old, and many parts of it are out of repair. The wall itself is surrounded by a river, which in some places is fifty, and in others is a hundred yards wide. In the north-east corner of the town stands the castle, or citadel, and within the castle are apartments for the governor-general, and all the council of India, to which they are enjoined to repair in case of a siege. Besides the fortifications of the town, numerous forts are dispersed about the country, which, if not formidable in themselves, are rendered so by their situation, for they are among morasses, where the roads, which are nothing more than a bank thrown up between a canal and a ditch, may easily be destroyed, and consequently the approach of heavy artillery either totally prevented or greatly retarded.

The country round Batavia is for many miles a

continued range of gardens and villas: many of the gardens are very large, and by some strange fatality are planted with trees, almost as thick as they can stand, so that the country derives no advantage from being cleared of the wood which originally covered it, except the fruit of that which has been planted in its room. It is not singular that the inhabitants of such a country should be familiar with disease and death;—preventative medicines are taken almost as regularly as food, and every one appears to expect the return of sickness, as we in this country do the seasons of the year. When an acquaintance is said to be dead, the common expression is, “Well, he owed me nothing;” or, “I must get my money of his executors.”

One or two curious customs, incident to the natives of this place and the islands immediately adjoining, may be mentioned:—

They chew a very great quantity of betel, but whatever their teeth may suffer in colour in consequence of this practice, they are still objects of great attention. The ends of them, both in the upper and under jaw, are rubbed with a kind of whetstone, by a very troublesome and painful operation, till they are perfectly even and flat, so that they cannot lose less than half a line in their length. A deep groove is then made across the teeth of the upper jaw, parallel with the gums, and in the middle between them and the extremity of the teeth: the depth of the groove is at least equal to one-fourth of the thickness of the teeth, so that it penetrates far beyond what is called the enamel, the least injury to which, according to the dentists of Europe, is fatal; yet among these people, where the practice of thus

wounding the enamel is universal, a decayed tooth is never seen, nor is the blackness a stain, but a covering which may be washed off at pleasure, and the teeth then appear as white as ivory, which, however, be it remembered, is not an excellence among the belles and beaux of Batavia.

These are the people among whom the practice of *a mock*, or running *a muck*, has prevailed from time immemorial. To run a muck, in the original sense of the word, is to get intoxicated with opium, and then rush into the streets with a drawn weapon, and kill whoever comes in his way, till the party is himself either killed or taken prisoner. Of this, several instances occurred while Captain Cook was at Batavia. In one of the instances which came to his knowledge, the party had been severely injured by the perfidy of women, and was made mad by jealousy, before he made himself drunk with opium. The Indian who runs a muck is always driven to this act of desperation by some outrage;—he is generally a slave, because he is least likely to obtain legal redress; but sometimes freemen have been provoked to this extravagance. Proper officers are appointed, to endeavour to take these *amocks*, or *mohawks*; and if they are taken alive, the officer's reward is very considerable, but if dead, the man has no more than his usual pay. Those who happen to be taken alive are generally wounded, but they are always broken alive upon the wheel; and if the physician who is appointed to examine their wounds thinks them likely to prove mortal, the punishment is inflicted immediately, and the place of execution is the spot where the first murder was committed.

These people believe the devil to be the source of all evil, and they offer a variety of things to him as a propitiation. If any one among them is restless, and dreams for two nights successively, he concludes that Satau has taken this method of laying his commands upon him, which if he neglect to fulfil, he will assuredly suffer either sickness or death, though they are not revealed with sufficient perspicuity to ascertain their meaning. To interpret his dream, therefore, he taxes his wit to the uttermost, and if he can put no satisfactory explanation upon it, he has recourse to the *cawin*, or priest, who perfectly reveals the mysterious suggestions of the night. It generally appears that his Satanic majesty wants—what even the monarchs of the earth cannot dispense with—victuals or money: these are always given, and being placed on a little plate of cocoa-nut leaves, are hung upon the branch of a tree near the river, so that it seems not to be the opinion of these people, that in prowling through the earth, “the devil walketh through dry places.” Sir Joseph once asked, if they thought the devil kept the money or eat the food?—he was told, so that the money was devoted by the dreamer, it mattered not what became of it; but that as to the victuals, the gross parts of them were not eaten by this prince of darkness, though he managed to suck out all savour, without changing the position of the food, and at last left it as tasteless as water.

But they have another superstition, which deserves mention merely from its singularity. They imagine, that when a woman is confined, she frequently gives birth, not only to a human being, but at the same time to a young crocodile. They say these animals are re-

ceived most carefully by the midwife, and instantly carried down to the water. The family where such an event occurs ever afterwards carry down food to the river side for their amphibious relative, and particularly the *twin*, who fulfils this fraternal duty with the most anxious solicitude. These crocodile twins are called *sudaras*.

On the 27th of December, after having sadly experienced the unhealthiness of the Batavian climate, in the loss of several of the crew, Captain Cook left the place, and sailing for Prince's Island, remained there ten days, and proceeded homeward, without any thing remarkable having occurred,—crossed their first meridian on the morning of the 29th of April, having circumnavigated the globe in the direction from east to west, and consequently lost a day, for which an allowance was made at Batavia. On the morning of the 1st of May, they saw the island of St. Helena, and at noon anchored before James' fort. On the 4th, the Endeavour put to sea again; and on the 12th of June came to anchor in the Downs.

CAPTAIN COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.



ON the 9th of April 1772, Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the *Resolution*, and Captain Tobias Furneaux to that of the *Adventure*, ships. They were sent out, by order of his late Majesty, for the

purpose of ascertaining whether the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere was only an immense mass of water, or whether it contained another continent. This was a question which had for a length of time engaged the attention, not only of learned men, but of most of the maritime powers of Europe. But that we may give the reader some idea of what, at this period, had been done in the southern hemisphere, we shall prefix a *short* account of the several voyages which had been made prior to the year 1772.

The first who crossed the Pacific Ocean was Ferdinand Magalheans, a Portuguese, who, in the service of Spain, sailed from Seville, with five ships, on the 10th of April 1519. He discovered the straits which bear his name, and having passed through them, on the 27th of November 1520, entered the South Pacific Ocean. In this sea, he discovered two uninhabited islands, whose situations are not well known. He afterwards crossed the line, discovered the Ladrone Islands, and proceeded to the Philippines, in one of which he was killed, in a skirmish with the natives. His ship, called the Victory, was the first that circumnavigated the globe, and the only one of his squadron that surmounted the dangers which attended the enterprise.

After Magalheans had shewed the Spaniards the way, they made several voyages from America to the westward, previous to that undertaken by De Negra, in 1595, which is the first that can be traced step by step.

On the 9th of April 1595, Mendana De Negra sailed from Allao, with four ships; and his discoveries were the Marquesas, the island of St. Bernardo, Solitary

Island, and Santa Cruz, otherwise called Egmont Island. In this last island Mendana died, and the shattered remains of his squadron were conducted by the chief pilot to the Manillas.

One of the next attempts to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean was conducted by Le Maire and Schouton: they sailed from the Texel on the 14th of June 1615, in the ships Concord and Horse,—the latter was accidentally burnt in Port Desire. With the other they discovered the straits that bear the name of Le Maire, and were the first who entered the Pacific Ocean by the way of Cape Horn. They discovered a variety of islands, coasted the north side of New Britain and New Guinea, and arrived at Batavia in October 1616.

In 1642, Captain Tasman sailed from Batavia, with two ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and discovered Van Dieman's Land, part of the western coast of New Zealand, the Friendly and Prince William's Islands.

In 1699, that celebrated astronomer, Dr. Edmund Halley, was appointed to the command of his Majesty's ship the Paramour pink, on an expedition for improving the knowledge of the longitude and of the variation of the compass, and for discovering the unknown lands supposed to lie in the southern direction of the Atlantic Ocean.

The Dutch, in 1721, fitted out three ships, to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, under the command of Admiral Roggewein. He made some discoveries, but none of great importance.

After the voyage of Bourot, in 1739, the spirit of discovery ceased, and did not revive among the Euro-

pean powers till his late Majesty, George the Third, formed the design of exploring the southern hemisphere, and in 1764 directed it to be put in execution. The voyages of Byron, Wallace and Carboret have already been briefly noticed.

The year 1769 was rendered remarkable by the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disk, a phenomenon of great importance to astronomy, and one which engaged the attention of the learned. In the beginning of the year 1768, the Royal Society presented a memorial to his Majesty, setting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate observations of this transit in various parts of the world, but the memorial went on to state that the Society was in no condition to defray the expense of such an undertaking. The Admiralty were therefore directed by his Majesty to provide a proper vessel for the purpose, and to fit her out for a southern voyage. The Endeavour bark, as we have already seen, was purchased and equipped,—Lieutenant, or, as we have called him, Captain Cook, was appointed to command her, and, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green, the astronomer, to make the requisite observations on the transit. The island of Otaheite, recently discovered by Captain Wallis, was fixed upon as the place of observation, on account of several important conveniences which it afforded. The Endeavour sailed from Deptford in July 1768, and returned to England on the 12th of June 1771.

Captain Cook sailed from Deptford on the 9th of April 1772, and fell down to Long Reach. On the 10th of May, the Resolution and Adventure left Long Reach,

and, touching at Plymouth, Captain Cook received his instructions, which were dated the 25th of June. On the 13th of July, the ships sailed from Plymouth, and anchored on the 29th in Funchiale Road, in the island of Madeira, when they took on board a supply of water, wine and other necessaries. They arrived at the Cape of Good Hope without any material circumstance having occurred, and on the 22d of November weighed anchor, and directed their course for Cape Circumcision; but the wind after continuing easterly for two days, blew a moderate gale, which, however, increased with such violence, as to leave them no hopes of reaching Cape Circumcision.

After various tackings, they arrived in the latitude $55^{\circ} 8'$, and had not run long to the southward before they fell in with a large field of ice. Dangerous as it is to sail among floating rocks of ice, if we may be allowed to call them so, it is yet more dangerous to be entangled with immense fields of them. As they proceeded, they saw more ice, and some penguins, which occasioned them to sound, but they found no ground with 150 fathoms. These penguins differed not from those seen in other parts of the world, except in some minute particulars, distinguishable only by naturalists.

The ships continued their course to the westward, the weather being sometimes tolerably clear, at others thick and hazy. Nothing material occurred till the arrival of the *Resolution* in Dusky Bay, the north entrance to which lies in the latitude of $45^{\circ} 38'$ south. The country is exceedingly mountainous, not only about the bay, but through all the southern part of this western coast of Tavai Poonammoo. A prospect more

rude and craggy is rarely to be met with, for inland appears nothing but the summits of mountains of a stupendous height, and consisting of rocks, that are tolerably barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow. But the land immediately bordering upon the sea coast, and all the islands, are thickly covered with wood. The trees are of various kinds. Except in the river Thames, Captain Cook did not see finer timber in all New Zealand. The most considerable tree was the spruce, called so from its similarity to the American spruce, though the wood was more ponderous, and bore a greater resemblance to the pitch pine. The soil of the country is a deep black mould, evidently composed of decayed vegetables, and so loose, that it sinks under you at every step. All the ground about the trees is covered with moss and fern, of both which there is great variety; but except the flax or hemp plant, and a few others, there is very little herbage of any description. What Dusky Bay most abounds with is fish, and in particular the coal-fish, which is both larger and finer flavoured than any seen before.

They found in the bay five different kinds of ducks, the largest about the size of a Muscovy duck, with a very beautiful variegated plumage, on which account it was called the painted duck. Both male and female have a large white spot on each wing: the head and neck of the latter is white, but all the other feathers, as well as those on the head and neck of the drake, are of a dark variegated colour. The second have a brown plumage, with bright green feathers in their wings, and are about the size of an English tame duck. The

third sort is the blue-grey duck ; and what is most remarkable in this species is, that at the end of their beaks is a sort of a cartilaginous substance. There are but few of the fourth sort, and they were seen no where but in the river, or at the head of the bay.

Among the small birds, the wattle-bird, poy-bird and fan-tail must not be omitted. The wattle-bird is so called because it has two wattles under its beak, as large as those of a small cock: it is larger than an English black-bird ; its bill is short and thick ; its feathers are of a dark lead colour, and its wattles yellow. The poy-bird is less than the wattle-bird: the feathers are of a fine mazarine blue, except those of the neck, which are of a beautiful silver-grey: under its throat hang two little tufts of curled snow-white feathers, called its *poins*, which, being the Otaheitan word for ear-rings, induced the English to call the bird by that name. Of the fan-tail, there are different sorts ; but the body of the most remarkable one is little bigger than a filbert, yet it spreads a tail of most exquisitely beautiful plumage, full three-quarters of a semi-circle of at least four or five inches radius.

The most mischievous animals here are the small black sand-flies, which are very numerous, and excessively troublesome. Wherever they bite, they cause a swelling, and such an intolerable itching, that it is not possible to refrain from scratching, which at last brings on ulcers similar to the small-pox. The almost continued rains may be considered another evil attending Dusky Bay, though, perhaps, this may only happen at one particular season of the year.

After leaving the bay, Captain Cook directed his

course along the shore for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he expected to find the Adventure, from which vessel he had for some time been separated. Being about three leagues to the westward of Cape Stephens, having a gentle gale, at west by south, and clear weather, the wind at once flattened to a calm, the sky became suddenly obscured by dark clouds, and every thing seemed to forebode a storm. Presently six water-spouts were seen: four rose, and spent themselves between the vessel and the land; the fifth was without the ship; the sixth appeared in the southward, at the distance of two or three miles. Its progressive motion was to the north-east, not in a straight, but in a crooked line; it passed within about fifty yards of the ship's stern. The diameter of the base of this spout might be about sixty feet; that is, the sea within this space was much agitated, and foamed up to a great height: from this, a tube or round body was formed, by which the water, or air, or both, was carried in a spiral stream up to the clouds. During the time these spouts lasted, there were light puffs of wind from all points of the compass, and a few showers of rain, which fell in large drops. Some of the sailors said, that they observed a bird in the spout nearest the vessel, which was whirled round, like the fly of a jack, as it was carried upwards. From the ascending motion of the bird, and other circumstances, it was apparent that these spouts were caused by whirlwinds, and that the water in them was violently hurried upwards, and did not descend from the clouds, as some have asserted. The first appearance of them is by the violent agitation and rising of the water; and presently after a round column, or tube, is observed

forming from the clouds above, and which apparently descends till it joins the agitated water below. The word, apparently, is used, because it is believed that the water does not really descend, but that the tube is already formed from the agitated water below, and ascends, although at first it is either too thin or too small to be visible. When the tube is formed, its apparent diameter increases; it then decreases, and at last breaks, or becomes invisible towards the lower part. Soon after, the sea resumes its natural state, and the tube is drawn by little and little up to the clouds, where it is dissipated. The same tube would sometimes have a vertical, and sometimes an inclined direction. In Mr. Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*, there is an interesting article on water-spouts, which is chiefly collected from the philosophical writings of the excellent and ingenious Dr. Franklin.

The Adventure having joined the Resolution, Captain Furneaux gave the following short account of what had occurred in his ship:—

On the 7th of February 1773, the Resolution being then about two miles ahead, there came on so thick a fog, that the vessels were separated. The Adventure kept in lat. 52° 53' south, and on the night of the 26th observed a meteor of uncommon brightness: it directed its course to the south-west, with a very great light in the southern sky, similar to the aurora borealis. The light was observed for several nights, and, what was somewhat singular, but one ice island was seen after the ships had separated. On the morning of the 10th of March, the ship being about four miles from land, the second lieutenant was sent in search of a

harbour, or a good bay. In a few hours he returned, and stated that he had seen several places where the Indians had been, and one place in particular, which they had recently left, as there were evident marks of a fire having been kindled, and a great number of pearl or collop shells were ranged round it. The ship came to anchor in a bay, and while there, several large fires were visible, at the distance of about eight or ten miles in shore; but, with the exception of the fires, there were but few traces of inhabitants. Captain Furneaux called this Adventure Bay; and on leaving it, stood for Mount Edgecumbe and Charlotte Sound.

On the 2nd June 1773, the ships were ready to put to sea, when Captain Cook gave Captain Furneaux an account, in writing, of the route he intended to take. In case of separation, he appointed the island of Otaheite as the place of rendezvous, and then prepared to proceed on discoveries as far south as the forty-sixth degree of latitude.

As the ships arrived to the northward of Captain Carteret's Tracts, all hopes of discovering a southern continent vanished. Islands were all they were to expect to find, till they returned again to the south. Some days afterwards, Osnaburgh Island was seen; and in the afternoon Captain Cook landed, in company with Captain Furneaux, in order to view the watering-place, and sound the disposition of the natives.

Early in the following morning, Captain Cook sent the two launches, and the Resolution's cutter, to endeavour to recover some anchors which had been left behind; but they were unsuccessful in their attempt. Several of the natives brought fruit to the ships, and

a party of them traded with the Europeans on shore. It was soon discovered, however, that they were worse even than the Otaheitans, and would endeavour to pilfer whatever came in their way. In the evening, Captain Cook was informed that a prince called Waheatoua, was come into the neighbourhood, and desired to see him. Accordingly, the following morning, Captain Cook set out, in company with Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and several of the natives, and met the chief about a mile from the landing-place. He was seated upon a stool, with a circle of people round him. After the first salutation was over, he began to enquire after several persons who were with Captain Cook on the former voyage. The party remained with him all the morning; during which time he never suffered the Captain to go from his side. The natives had not the least knowledge of any other European nation, nor probably will they, though they told several of them that Bougainville came from France, a name they could not pronounce; nor could they pronounce that of Paris much better.

When the ships got to an anchor in Mataroi Bay, the decks were crowded with the natives, with many of whom Captain Cook was acquainted; and almost all appeared to know him. A considerable crowd was collected upon the shore, amongst whom was Otoo, their king, and it was agreed that Captain Cook should pay him a visit on the following morning, whom they found seated under a tree, with an immense number of people around him. After the first compliments were over, Captain Cook presented him with such articles as he judged were most valuable in his eyes.

In return, the Captain was offered cloth, which he refused to accept, telling the natives that what he had given was for the sake of friendship.

Early on the morning of the 27th, Otoo paid the Captain a visit. He first sent into the ship a large quantity of cloth, fruits, a hog, and two large fish; and, after some persuasion, came on board himself, accompanied by his sister, a younger brother, and several other attendants. After breakfast, the Captain took the king, his sister, and as many as he had room for, into his boat, and carried them home to Oparree. He had no sooner landed, than he was met by a venerable old lady, the mother of the late Toutaha;—she seized him by both hands, and burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming, “Toutaha, your friend, (or the friend of Cook,) is dead.” The Captain was so much affected by her behaviour, that it would have been impossible for him to have refrained from tears, had not Otoo hurried him away.

Very early on the morning of the 28th, Captain Cook sent Mr. Pickersgill to purchase a supply of provisions at Ottahourou; but he was unsuccessful in his expedition.

At Oparree, some of the English were entertained with a dramatic *heava*, or play. The performers were five men and one woman, who was no less a person than the king's sister. The music consisted of three drums only. It lasted about an hour and a half, and on the whole was well conducted. The dancing dress of the lady was more elegant than any which had been seen before; it was decorated with long tassels, made of feathers, hanging from the waist downwards.

After the departure of the ships from the Society Isles, they steered to the west inclining to the south, in order to get into the latitudes of Middleburg and Amsterdam. On the 1st of October 1773, they arrived near the island of Middleburg; and when near the shore, a party embarked in two boats, for the purpose of landing. On the bank they found an immense crowd of people, who welcomed them on shore with loud acclamations. Not one person had even so much as a stick in his hand. The natives thronged round the boats with cloth, matting and other things, which they offered in exchange for nails. They appeared to be more anxious to give than to receive; for many who could not get near the boats threw into them, over the others' heads, whole bales of cloth, and then retired, without either asking or waiting for remuneration. At length the chief ordered them to open to the right and left, and make room for the English to land. He then conducted them to his house, which was about three hundred yards from the beach, at the head of a fine lawn, and under the shade of some shaddock trees. The situation was delightful;—in front was the sea, with the ships at anchor; behind, and on each side, were plantations, in which were some of the richest productions of nature. The floor of the house was laid with mats, on which the English were seated. The natives ranged themselves in a circle outside. Having the bagpipes with them, Captain Cook ordered them to be played; and, in return, the chief directed three young women to sing a song, which they did with an exceedingly good grace,—the songs were musical and harmonious. After sitting some time, the

strangers were conducted into one of the adjoining plantations, where the chief had another house, into which they were introduced. Bananas and cocoa-nuts were set before them, and a bowl of liquor prepared from the juice of the eava. Pieces of the root were first offered them to chew; but as they excused themselves from assisting them in the operation, it was performed by others. When sufficiently chewed, it was put into a large wooden bowl; it was then mixed with water, and as soon as it was properly strained for drinking, the natives made cups, by folding green leaves, and presented them filled with liquor to their guests. It was observed, that they never filled the same cup twice, nor did two persons drink out of the same,—each had a fresh cup, and fresh liquor. In the evening the English returned to their ships, highly delighted with the country, and with the very obliging behaviour of its inhabitants, who seemed to vie with each other in doing whatever they conceived might give pleasure.

From Middleburg, they sailed to Amsterdam; they ran along the south-west coast of that island, at about half a mile from the shore. Every part of the island appeared to be laid out in plantations. The natives were observed running along the shore, displaying small white flags, which were believed to be signals of peace, and were answered by hoisting St. George's ensign. After breakfast, Captain Cook landed, accompanied by several of his officers, having along with them a chief, or person of note, named Attago, who had attached himself to Captain Cook. After they had spent some time on the beach, Attago conducted them to a tree, under the shade of which they were seated,

and the natives directed to form a circle round them. After resting for some time, the English signified their desire to see the country. The chief immediately took the hint, and conducted them along a lane that led to an open green, on the one side of which was a place of worship, built on an artificial mount, rising sixteen or eighteen feet above the common level. It had an oblong figure, and was enclosed by a wall or parapet of stone, three feet in height. From this wall the mount rose with a gentle slope, and was covered with a green turf. On the top was the house, of the same figure as the mount, and about twenty feet in length, and fourteen or fifteen in breadth.

The party seated themselves about fifty or sixty yards from the front of the house. Three elderly men then came in, and seated themselves between the house and the party, and began a prayer, which was wholly directed to it. This prayer lasted about ten minutes, after which the priests came amongst the company, who presented them with the few things they had about them; and after this they were permitted to examine every part of the premises.

In the front were two stone steps, leading to the top of the wall; beyond this the ascent to the house was easy, and round it was a fine gravel walk. The house was built with posts and rafters, like their common dwelling-houses, and covered with palm thatch. The eaves came within three feet of the ground, and the space below was filled up with strong matting, made of palm leaves. The floor was laid with fine gravel, except in the middle, where was an oblong square, formed of blue pebbles, raised about six inches higher

than the floor. Rudely carved images lay in the corners of the house; but the difficulty each party had in understanding the other, prevented their learning whether these images were their gods, or whether their dead were buried under the spot on which they were laid; neither could the Otaheitean youth, nor the man on board the *Adventure*, assist in the explanation. Before they left the house, they laid upon the blue pebbles an offering of medals, nails and several other things; but no sooner was this done, than Attago took them up, and put them into his pocket. The stones with which this mount was enclosed were about nine or ten feet by four, and about six inches thick. It is surprising they could cut such stones from coral rocks. This mount stood in a kind of grove, open only on the side fronting the road. There were several sorts of trees in the grove, and amongst them the etoa tree, as it is called in Otaheite, of which clubs are made. There was also a low palm tree, common in the northern part of New Holland.

The company then were led into the interior of the country, by a road sixteen feet broad, and as level as a bowling-green. Many other roads led into it from various parts, and all were enclosed on each side with neat fences. They might have fancied themselves in the most fertile part of Europe. There was not an inch of waste ground, neither road nor fences taking up more space than what was absolutely necessary. Nature, assisted by a little art, could no where appear with more splendour. Numbers of persons were travelling down these delightful walks, towards the ships, with burdens of fruit. They all yielded up the road to the stranger party, by either sitting down, or

standing with their backs to the fences, till they had passed.

The *afiatoucas*, or houses of worship, were found generally at the meeting of two or more roads, differing only from the one just described, by having palisadoes, instead of stone walls, round the mount. After walking several miles, they came to one larger than common, and near it was a large house, belonging to an old chief; here they stopped, and were treated with fruit, &c. When seated, the eldest priest began a speech, or prayer, directed to the *afiatouca* and to the Captain alternately. The Captain he expected to nod after every address to him; the rest of the people were silent and attentive during the whole ceremony.

The party made but a short stay at this place, and returned to the ship to dinner, Attago accompanying them. An old gentleman came alongside the vessel, and the Captain, on being informed that he was a king, or some great man, invited him on board, and endeavoured to purchase his friendship by presents, and by seating him at the dinner-table. He was evidently a man of consequence, for Attago refused to sit down and eat before him, but removed to the other end of the table, and taking advantage of the old chief's blindness, sat there, and ate with his back towards him; but as soon as the old chief departed, he returned to his place at the table. After dinner, the Captain and party went again on shore, met the old chief, who presented them with a hog, and walked with them into the country.

Before they set out, a laughable accident befel Mr. Wales. He had pulled off his shoes and stockings, to wade on shore, and when on the point of putting

them on again, some one behind him snatched them away, and instantly mixing with the crowd, was no where to be found. The sharp coral rocks threatened to cut his feet to pieces, if he attempted to pursue the thief. The boat was put back to the ship ;—his companions made the best of their way through the crowd, and he was left alone in this ridiculous, yet distressing condition. Attago recovered the stolen property, and set the poor man at liberty.

They proceeded by the first-mentioned aflatouca,—were shewn a pool of water, which they conjectured was called the *washing-place* of the king and his nobles. Thence they were conducted to Maria Bay, where they were shewn, in a boat-house, a fine large double canoe, not launched. The old chief made them aware it belonged to him. Night coming on, they took leave of him, and returned to the ship.

Mr. Forster spent the day in botanizing, and some of the officers were out shooting. All of them were very civilly treated by the natives.

On the morning of the 4th, the pinnace was sent on shore, but soon returned ;—the officer who commanded her said that the natives were for taking every thing out of the boat, and in other respects were extremely troublesome. The day before they stole the grapling, at the time the boat was riding by it, and carried it off undiscovered. Captain Cook, therefore, judged it necessary to have a guard on shore, to protect the boats and people.

The island of Middleburg is about ten leagues in circuit. The skirts of the isle are chiefly taken up in plantations ; the interior is little cultivated, and in this particular it essentially differs from the neighbouring

island of Amsterdam, which is wholly laid out in plantations, in which are to be found some of the richest productions of nature. In neither of the isles are there towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires. The materials of which they are constructed are for the most part similar to those used in the other islands. The floor is a little raised, and covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to enclose them on the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas in front of their houses, which are generally planted with ornamental trees, whose fragrance perfumes the very air. The household furniture consists of a few wooden platters, cocoonut shells, and some neat wooden pillows, shaped like four-footed stools or forms. Their common clothing, with the addition of a mat, serves them for bedding.

The only domestic animals were hogs and fowls: the former are similar to those of the other isles; but the latter are far superior, being as large as any in Europe, and their flesh equally good, if not better. The land birds are pigeons, turtle-doves, parrots, parquets, owls, &c.

The construction of their canoes is novel, and highly ingenious. They are built with several pieces, sewed together with bandage, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to distinguish the joints. All the fastenings are on the inside, and pass through kauts, or ridges, which are wrought on the edges or ends of the several boards which compose the vessel. They are of two kinds, double and single canoes: the single ones are from twenty to thirty feet long, and about

twenty or twenty-two inches broad in the middle ; the stern terminates in a point, and the head something like the point of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, for about one-third of the whole length, and open in the middle. In some canoes the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white shelves. These single canoes have all outriggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles. The two vessels which compose the double canoe are each about sixty or seventy feet long, and four or five broad in the middle, with each end terminating nearly in a point, so that the body, or hull, differs little in construction from the single canoe. Two such vessels are fastened to, and parallel with each other, at the distance of about six or seven feet, by strong cross beams, secured by bandages to the upper part of the risings. Over these beams, and others which are supported by stancheons, fixed on the bodies of the canoes, is laid a boarded platform. It is impossible for these vessels to sink, so long as they hold together. They are rigged with one mast, which rests upon the platform, and can easily be raised or taken down, and are sailed with a latteen sail, or a triangular one. The sail is made of mats ; the rope they make use of is similar to ours. On the platform is built a little shed, or hut. They carry a moveable fire-hearth, which is a square but shallow trough of wood, filled with stones. The way into the hole of the canoe is from the platform down a sort of uncovered hatchway, in which they stand to bail out the water.

Their working tools are made of stone, bone, shells, &c. and when we saw the work performed by these

tools, we were astonished at the ingenuity and patience of the workmen. Their knowledge of the utility of iron was no more than sufficient to teach them to prefer nails to beads, and any person would exchange a pig for a nail, or a large hatchet.

Both men and women are of a common size with Europeans. Their colour is that of a lightish copper ;—some of the gentlemen maintained that they were much handsomer than the natives of Otaheite, or the other Society Islands. The women are remarkably lively, and will keep chattering by one's side, without the least invitation, or considering whether they are understood, provided the auditor does but appear pleased with them. The men are in general tattooed from the middle of the thigh to above the hip ; but this operation is performed on the women only on their arms and fingers, and there but very slightly. Their ornaments are amulets, necklaces and bracelets, of bones, shells and beads of mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, &c. and their only covering a piece of cloth wrapped round the waist.

Among other useful utensils, they have various sorts of baskets,—these are not only durable, but beautiful. They have many little nic nacs, which prove that they neither want taste to design, nor skill to execute, whatever they take in hand.

Captain Cook observed several musical instruments amongst them : one was a large flute, made of bamboo, which they fill with their noses, as at Otaheite : another flute was composed of ten or eleven small reeds, of unequal lengths, bound together, side by side, as the Doric pipe of the ancients is said to have been ;

and the open ends of the reeds, into which they blow with their mouths, are of equal height, or in a line.

The common method of saluting one another is, as in New Zealand, by touching or meeting noses; and the sign of peace to strangers is the displaying a white flag or flags.

Their bows and arrows are but indifferent; but some of their spears have many barbs, and must be dangerous weapons, where they take effect.

They have a singular custom of putting every thing you give them to their heads: this mode of returning thanks is taught them from their very infancy, for when things were given to children, the mother lifted up her infant's hand to its head. They also used this custom in their exchanges with the English: sometimes they would look at the goods, and, if not approved, return them; but whenever they lifted them to the head, the bargain was infallibly concluded. A yet more singular custom prevails in these isles. It was observed, that the greater part of the people, of both sexes, had lost one or both their little fingers. The English could not find the reason of this mutilation. It is not peculiar to rank or age. As it was somewhat more common to the aged than the young, some conjectured that it was occasioned by the death of parents, or near relations. They also burn, or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bones.

So little did the English know of their religion, that Captain Cook gives scarcely any account of it. They have buildings set apart for religious worship, or for burial places, it could not be ascertained for which. The areas, or open spaces before the *afiatoucas*, which

were covered with green sod, and the grass being short, shewed that these places were frequently resorted to, either for the one purpose or the other, its growth being prevented evidently by being often trod or sat upon.

Four or five days' residence amongst these islanders did not allow sufficient time to obtain much information respecting either their civil or religious policy, especially as their language was but little understood by the English. Their language and customs bear a great affinity to those of the Otaheitans, the difference not being greater than what is found betwixt the northern and western parts of England. The difference between these tribes (originally of one stock) seems to arise from the various peculiarities of the islands. Wood which abounds in the Society Islands, is scarce in the Friendly Isles;—the consequence is, that the houses in the former are larger and more commodious than in the latter; the canoes also are more numerous, and of greater dimensions. In the Society Isles, streams descend from the mountains, and wind their serpentine course to the sea: in these pure rivulets the inhabitants frequently bathe, and thus keep their skins free from the impurities which are perceived among the natives of those islands where nature has been less bountiful of this blessing. There, having only stagnant rain water, or dirty pools, they are obliged to have recourse to other expedients, to preserve any degree of cleanliness. Their hair is cut off, and their beards shaved close; but these precautions are insufficient, especially for want of a pure fluid to drink: these people are therefore troubled with leprous complaints, and few

are to be seen without a burning or blistering of the cheek bone, which was supposed to arise from the use of the pepper-root water, a specific for some disorders.

The soil of the Society Isles in the vallies is rich, and abundant moisture is supplied by the streams which intersect them. Vegetables, in abundance, thrive luxuriantly, and afford a profusion amongst the chiefs, not to be met with at Tonga-tattoo. There the coral rock is covered with a thin bed of mould, which but sparingly nourishes vegetation,—the bread-fruit tree, the most useful of all, thrives imperfectly, for want of moisture. The labour of the natives, therefore, exceeds that of the Otaheitans, and accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate distribution of property. They also set a higher value on their provisions, than on their tools, dresses, ornaments and weapons, though these must have caused them much time and application. The articles of food are their principal riches, the loss of which is not to be remedied. Labour has rendered their bodies more slender, and their muscles harder than those of the Otaheitans, the consequence of a greater exertion of strength. Habit has rendered them industrious, and they employ their vacant hours in fabricating a variety of tools and instruments, on which they bestow time, patience, labour and ingenuity. They excel the Otaheitans in the cultivation of their arts: they have hit upon new inventions, and introduced spirit and cheerfulness even into their amusements. Their systems of politics and religion, from resembling the Otaheitan, seems to argue the same origin,—their language is a decisive proof of this.

Leaving Amsterdam, Captain Cook sailed for Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand, with the view to take in wood and water ; and on the morning of the 21st he made the land of New Zealand. The Captain wished to have intercourse with the natives of the northern part of this country, believing them to be more civilized than in the other districts. The wind permitting, the ships stood as near to the shore as they could with safety. Several people were ashore, but none ventured to come off to the vessel.

The Captain continued his course, and when off Black-head, he perceived two canoes putting off. In the first were fishermen, who exchanged fish for some pieces of cloth and nails. In the other canoe were two men, whose dress and manner bespoke them to be chiefs. They were easily prevailed on to come on board, and were presented with nails and other articles. The value of the nails was shewn, by the avidity with which they seized upon them. Pigs, fowls, seeds and roots were given to the principal of these men ; but he accepted them with indifference, compared with the delight he shewed upon receiving a spike-nail, half the length of his arm ;—he did not forget what had been given him, and watched them carefully, that none should be taken away from him ;—he promised Captain Cook that none of them should be killed ; if he kept his word the island would soon be stocked. The seeds which were given him were of an excellent kind, namely, wheat, French-beans, pease, cabbage, turnips, carrots, onions, parsnips and yams. These people were afraid of the guns, which proved they had not forgot the Endeavour being on their coast,—experience

had taught them to have regard to these instruments of death. As soon as they departed, the vessel sailed to the southward.

On the 23d, the weather became stormy; the waves rose to a vast height, and were, by the violence of the storm, broken, and dispersed into vapour. The surface of the sea was thus rendered hazy, and as the sun shone out without a cloud, the white foam was dazzling to behold. The only sail the Captain ventured to shew was torn to pieces by the furious wind, and the vessel was rolled about at the mercy of the waves, frequently shipping quantities of water, which fell on the decks, and swept all away that stood before them. The rigging and ropes of the ship, gradually yielding to the continual strain, at length gave way, and occasioned a scene of the greatest confusion. This warring of the elements did not frighten away every bird: from time to time a black shearwater hovered over the ruffled surface of the sea, and artfully withstood the force of its tempest, by keeping under the lee of the high tops of the waves. The appearance of the deep was magnificent, but terrible: now, on the summit of a broad and heavy billow, they beheld an immeasurable expanse of sea; then, on a sudden, the wave broke under them, and plunged them into a deep and dreary valley, while a fresh mountain rose to windward, and threatened to overwhelm them. Night, with added horrors, came on. The dead lights were put up. This operation disturbed from its retreat a scorpion, which had lain concealed in a chink, and which was brought, probably, with fruit from the islands. It was said to be harmless, but its appearance alone filled the mind with apprehensions,

and added to every dismal foreboding. Some of the beds were soaked with water ;—the roar of the waves, the creaking of timbers, and the rolling motion, prevented even the hope of repose. To complete the catalogue of horrors, the curses and oaths of the sailors were heard from time to time, even louder than the blustering winds or roaring ocean. At length the storm abated, and after various shiftings of the wind, hopes were entertained that a favourable one would arise ; but after beating up against a hard gale for two days, and arriving within sight of port, another furious storm arose, and drove them off: fortunately it was fair over head, and no apprehensions were entertained of a lee shore

The storm continued all day without intermission. The Adventure being out of sight to leeward, the other ship bore down to look for her, but without success. At midnight, the gale abated, and shifted to south-west. The vessel, when joined by the Adventure, then sailed. The favourable wind did not last long: it fell by degrees, and at length to a calm ; but this was succeeded by a fresh breeze from the north, with which they stretched westward.

In the morning of the 29th, the wind abated, and shifted to south-west, a gentle gale. Of this they took advantage, set their sails, and stood for Cape Palliser, which by noon bore west by north, distant about six leagues. Soon after, the wind again rose to the north-west, with which they stretched to the south-west. The Adventure was missed again about midnight, and was not within sight of the other vessel at day-light.

At noon, Cape Campbell was seen, distant seven or

eight leagues. At three in the afternoon, the gale abated, and veered to the north, so that the vessel fetched in with the land, under the Snowy Mountains, about four or five leagues to the windward of the Lookers-on, where there was the appearance of a large bay. The Captain regretted the loss of the Adventure; had she been with him, he would have sought for wood and fresh water farther south than Queen Charlotte's Sound, the wind being favourable for ranging along the coast; but the Sound being the place of rendezvous, he was obliged to repair to it.

Smoke was seen along the coast, a sure sign of inhabitants; yet, in the hope of meeting with the Adventure, the Resolution stood to the eastward all night. After many variations of wind and weather, for two or three days, a breeze sprung up at north-west, with which the Resolution run up into Ship Cove; but the Adventure was not there, as was expected.

The first thing then to be done, after mooring the ship, was to unbend the sails, every one of which wanted repairing. Both sails and rigging had been much injured in beating off the strait's mouth.

When the ship had anchored, many of the natives came on board; some of them the Captain remembered to have seen before, when he was with the Endeavour, particularly an old man, named Goubiah. He, as well as the others, were much pleased to find their names were remembered, which they fancied proved how much interest had been taken in their welfare. Though the weather was warm, the New Zealanders were all dressed in shaggy cloaks, their winter dress. In the afternoon, the casks were emptied, in order to be re-

paired ; they were then cleaned, and filled : tents were set up for the sail-makers, coopers and others, whose business required them to be on shore. The natives brought plenty of fish, and exchanged it for Otaheitan cloth.

On the 5th, the casks in which most part of the bread had been deposited were opened, but great was the mortification to find it damaged. The copper oven was immediately set up, to bake such parcels of it which there was a chance of recovering by such means. Clothes were stolen out of the tents by some of the natives, for which the Captain was not sorry, as it taught his people to guard their property better, while amongst thieves : the clothes, however, were recovered.

Captain Cook saw one of the sows Captain Furneaux had put on shore in Cannibal Cove : it was in good condition, and very tame. The two goats the Captain had put on shore at the same time had been killed by the rascal Goubiah. The effort to stock this country with useful animals had been frustrated by the very people it was meant to serve. The gardens formed at the time the animals were left had fared better, most of them having been left to nature, who had acted her part well, every thing being in a flourishing condition except the potatoes, most of which had been dug up. The radishes and turnips had shot into seed ; the cabbages and carrots were very fine ; onions and parsley were in abundance, and in good order ; but the pease and beans were entirely lost, perhaps destroyed by rats. The thriving state of European pot-herbs proved the mildness of the winter in this part of New Zealand,

where it had not frozen enough to kill them, though they perish in the winter in this country.

When traficing with the natives, many attempts were made to pick the Captain's pockets, and even to take away the fish with one hand which they had just given with the other. One of the chiefs undertook to prevent this evil, and, with fury in his eyes, made signs to the people to keep at a distance: the Captain applauded his conduct, but at the same time detected him in the act of picking his pocket of his handkerchief. The Captain suffered him to put it into his bosom, before he noticed the loss: he appeared quite innocent and ignorant, till the Captain took it from him, when he laughed, and acted his part with so much address, it was impossible to be angry with him. He and the Captain remained good friends, and he went on board to dinner.

Thieving seems to be a natural propensity among these islanders,—nothing was safe amongst them: a party of new comers, who had taken up their quarters in a cove near to that in which the English were stationed, all at once made their retreat; but it was found they had carried off six small water-casks. Unfortunately this retreat prevented that supply of fish which they had hitherto had at a trifling expense.

On the 9th, a morning of fair weather gave hopes of seeing the Adventure once more, but the Captain was again disappointed; and in the afternoon the wind and weather became again unfavourable. Heavy squalls of wind seemed to hurry with redoubled velocity from the mountains, and, with violent showers, retarded all their occupations. The air was cold and raw, and

vegetation made slow advances ;—the birds sought shelter in the vallies from the cold southern blasts. This kind of weather, probably, prevails during the winter months, without a much greater degree of cold than in the summer. Islands not situated near a continent, or at least not near a cold one, seem to have an uniform temperature of air, caused, perhaps, by the ocean, which every where surrounds them. The mountains in New Zealand are of an immense height, and some being covered with snow throughout the year contribute in rendering the climate as cold as the Falkland Islands, though it is situated in a warmer latitude.

Fair weather on the 12th permitted the picking and airing of the biscuits to be finished, above four thousand pounds of which was found totally unfit for use ; and about three thousand pounds more would not have been eaten, by people in a better situation.

On the same morning, Mr. Forster and one or two more went to the Indian cove, which they found uninhabited. They discovered a path, through a forest, up a considerable steep mountain : the quantity of fern, the root of which the New Zealanders use for food, was probably the cause of this path being made. The steepest part was cut in steps, paved with shingles, or slate ; but beyond that the climbers rather impeded their progress. About half-way up, the forest ended, and the rest of the mountain was covered with ferns and shrubs, though from the ship it appeared entirely naked and barren. Many plants were found at the summit, which grew only in the valleys and by the sea-side at Dusky Bay, owing to the difference of

climate, which is so much more vigorous at the southern extremity of New Zealand. A talcous clay and stone is universal over the whole island : its colour is whitish, greyish, and sometimes tinged with a dirty, yellowish red, caused, perhaps, by irony particles. The south side of the mountain is clad in forests, almost to the summit. The view from thence was extensive and pleasing,—East Bay appeared like a fish-pond, and Cape Tera-wittee was seen beyond the strait. The mountains in the south were capped with snow ; and the whole prospect on that side was wild in the extreme.

On the 13th, the weather was clear and pleasant ; and the natives brought fish again, and exchanged as usual ; but their greatest branch of trade was the green talc, or stone, which, though of trifling value, was sought by the English with such great eagerness, that there was hardly any thing they would not give for a piece of it.

On the 15th, a pleasant morning, a party went to East Bay, and climbed a hill, which overlooked the eastern part of the straits, to look out for the Adventure. The walk was fatiguing, and to little purpose ; when at the summit, the horizon was so foggy, not beyond two miles could be seen. Mr. Forster profited by this excursion, in collecting new plants. But the hope of seeing the Adventure was now almost at an end. What had befallen her?—became an anxious question. If she had put into some port in the strait, she could not have remained twelve days in the neighbourhood of the Resolution without having been discovered.

Nothing material occurred during the remainder

of the time the *Resolution* was off the coast of New Zealand, from which place she sailed without being able to gain any tidings of the *Adventure*.

The general behaviour of the inhabitants of New Zealand was at once mild and manly, uniformly evincing a readiness to oblige in every thing which lay in their power. They have some arts among them, which they execute with considerable ingenuity and unwearied patience; and they are far less addicted to thieving than the other islanders of the South Sea. The horrid custom of devouring their enemies, who may unfortunately be taken prisoners, or slain in battle, has undoubtedly been handed down to them from the earliest ages; and the great argument by which they defended, or reconciled to themselves this abominable practice, was, "Our enemies will do precisely the same to us,—why should we have more pity for them?"

About eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th of March, Easter Island was seen; and, by the assistance of glasses, the inhabitants could be distinguished, and also some of those colossal statues, or idols, mentioned in the account of Roggewin's voyage.

Easter Island does not appear to contain above six or seven hundred inhabitants, and of these by far the greater proportion are males. Their clothing consists of a piece of quilted cloth, or a mat,—one piece wrapped round their loins, and another thrown over their shoulders, form a complete dress. The cloth is made of the same material as that of Otaheite. Their hair is black;—the women permit it to grow to a considerable length, and sometimes tie it on the crown of the head; but the men invariably wear it short. The

head-dress is a round fillet, adorned with feathers, and a straw bonnet, something similar to a Scotch one: the former is generally worn by the men, the latter by the women. Both men and women have very large holes, or rather slits, in their ears, extending two or three inches in length: they sometimes turn this slit over the upper part, and then the ear appears as if the flap were cut off. The principal ear ornaments are the white down of feathers, and rings, which they wear in the inside of the hole, made of some elastic substance, and rolled up like a watch-spring: they also wore amulets made of bones or shells. Their offensive weapons are short wooden clubs or spears, the latter of which are crooked sticks, nearly six feet in length, and armed at the point with a piece of flint. Their houses are low, miserable huts, constructed by setting sticks upright in the ground, at six or seven feet distance, and then bending them together, and tying them at the top, forming a sort of Gothic arch: the whole of the hut is thatched with leaves of the sugar-cane: the door-way is low and narrow, and barely admits a man to enter on all-fours. Some of the natives have a sort of vaulted house, built of stone, and partly underground. The natives were extravagantly fond of cocoa-nut shells; they dressed their victuals in a similar manner to the Otabeitans. Their canoes are few, and mean. Their colossal statues are not, in the opinion of Captain Cook, looked upon as idols, at least were not so when he visited the island; on the contrary, he supposes they are burying-places, for some of their principal families or tribes.

Many of the statues are erected on platforms, some

of which are twenty or thirty feet long, and twelve or sixteen broad, and sometimes twelve or fifteen feet in height, which, however, depends on the nature of the ground ; for they are usually at the brink of the bank, facing the sea, so that this face may be ten or twelve, and the other not more than three or four feet, in height. They are built, or more properly faced, with hewn stones, of a very large size ; and the workmanship is by no means inferior to the best plain masonry in England. They use no kind of cement, yet the joints are exceedingly close, and the stones well morticed into one another. The side walls incline a little inwards, in the same manner that breast-works, &c. are built in Europe.

The statues, or at least many of them, are erected on these platforms, which answer the purpose of foundations : they are about half-length, ending in a sort of stump, on which they stand. The workmanship, though rude, is not bad. The nose and chin are tolerably well formed, but the ears are far too long ; and as to the body, it has hardly any thing like a human figure belonging to it.

The Captain had not an opportunity of examining many of these statues, which were generally of grey stone, similar to that of which the platforms were built. Some of the gentlemen, who travelled through the island, were of opinion the stone was factitious ; none could be found on the island resembling it. How could these islanders, unacquainted with mechanical power, raise such stupendous figures, and afterwards place large cylindric stones on their heads ? The only way to be imagined, is to raise the upper end by degrees,

and build about it till it is quite erect : thus, a mount or scaffolding being made, the cylinder may be rolled up to the summit, and placed on the head, and the supporting stones then removed. But if the stones are factitious, then the statues must have been put together in their present position. However they were built, they were doubtless a work of immense time, and shew the ingenuity and perseverance of these islanders in past ages. The present inhabitants evidently had no hand in them, nor do they even attempt to repair the foundations of those which are going to decay. They give various names to these statues, such as Gotomoara, Marapate, &c. to which they prefix the word *Moi*, and sometimes *Areeke* : the latter signifies chief, and the former burying or sleeping place.

The most diligent inquiries could throw little light on these singular objects : it cannot, however, be doubted they are the work of better times, for the present inhabitants are few in number, and their time devoted to the task of providing the necessaries of life ; and being without tools, shelter or clothing, their existence is too precarious, to permit them to attempt works which would require ages to finish. In fact, there is not a single instrument amongst them which can serve them in the arts of sculpture and masonry. No quarries, recently dug, were to be found ; but every thing carried conviction, that these people must have been far more numerous, more opulent and happy, when they had time and strength to flatter the vanity of their princes, by erecting lasting monuments to perpetuate their names. The remains of plantations found on the summits of hills, give strength and sup-

port to this conjecture. It is impossible to determine, how a flourishing nation could be degraded to an opposite degree of misery, though many causes may be assigned as probable. A volcano alone would heap a load of miseries on a people confined to so small a space. Perhaps this island may originally have been produced by a volcano: its minerals being all volcanic, render this supposition probable; and its destruction may have proceeded from the same cause. Trees, plants, animals, and even a part of the inhabitants themselves, may have perished in the dreadful convulsion of nature. Hunger and misery must have made grievous havoc amongst the survivors. The little carved images in the possession of many of the islanders, and which were made of a wood not now to be found on the island, may have escaped the fire, either by accident or by predilection.

In numberless circumstances these people agree with the tribes who inhabit New Zealand, the Friendly and Society Islands. Their features are similar; their complexion a yellowish brown; their art of puncturing; the use of the mulberry bark for cloth; their predilection for red paint and red cloth; the shape and workmanship of their clubs; the mode of dressing their victuals;—all form a strong resemblance to the natives of those islands. These people are far from being warlike: their numbers are too inconsiderable, and their poverty too general, for civil dissensions; and there is no island near enough for foreign war. These circumstances considered, it is extraordinary they should have amongst them different kinds of defensive weapons, and especially such as resemble those of the

New Zealanders. Supposing Easter Island to have undergone a volcanic eruption, the inhabitants are greatly to be pitied,—their acquaintance with a number of conveniences, comforts and luxuries, which they formerly possessed, must embitter their loss.

Leaving Easter Island, Captain Cook steered north-west by north, intending to touch at the Marquesas Islands. He had not been long at sea, before another bilious disorder attacked him, fortunately not so violent as the last; it was caused by fatigue and exposure at Easter Island.

When in latitude $9^{\circ} 24'$, he judged that he was in the parallel of the Marquesas, where he intended to touch, in order to settle their situation, which differed in various charts. Having now a steady settled trade wind, the forge was set up, and repairs made in the many necessary articles of iron; the caulkers had already commenced caulking the decks, weather works, &c.

In April 1774, being in lat. $9^{\circ} 20'$, long. $138^{\circ} 14' W$. an island was discovered, bearing west by south, distant about nine leagues. Two hours afterwards, another was seen, bearing south-west by south, more extensive than the former. A third was discovered in the morning; and Captain Cook now felt assured these were the Marquesas Islands, first discovered by Mendana in 1595. The first was a new discovery, and was therefore named Hood's Island, after the young gentleman who first saw it; the second was that of St. Pedro; the third La Dominica; and the fourth St. Christina. The south-east coast of La Dominica was ranged, without discovering any signs of anchorage; several coves were seen, in which there seemed to be

an anchorage, but a great surf broke on all the shores. The Captain searched for Mandana's Port; but when he came before it, the violent squalls from the high land prevented the ship turning into it, and obliged her to stand out to sea, and to make a stretch to windward; after which she stood in again, and anchored in the entrance of the bay, in thirty-four fathoms water, and a fine sandy bottom.

Many of the natives came off to the ship, in ten or twelve canoes, but it required address to get them alongside. At last, a hatchet and spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to venture under the quarter-gallery; after which, the others put alongside, and exchanged bread-fruit and fish for small nails, &c. The sun being set, they retired ashore. A heap of stones on the bow of each canoe was observed, and every man had a sling tied to his hand.

Early the next morning, the natives renewed their visit to the ship, and brought bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged for nails. But in this traffic they would attempt to keep the English goods without making any return, which induced Captain Cook to fire a musquet over the head of one man, who had several times served him in this manner: they afterwards dealt more fairly, and several came on board. Here a melancholy event occurred, of which there are two accounts. Captain Cook was going in a boat, to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in. Observing too many natives on deck, he gave orders to the officers to look well after them, or many things would be stolen. He had scarcely spoken, before he was informed, that the iron stanchions

on the opposite side of the gang-way were carried off into the canoe : he gave orders that a musquet should be fired over the canoe, but that care should be taken not to kill any one. The natives were so noisy, the orders were not heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot. The stancheons were thrown into the sea. One of the natives, a full-grown man, sat baling the blood and water out of the canoe, laughing hysterically ; another, a youth of about fourteen years of age, looked on the deceased with a serious and dejected countenance,—he was supposed to be his son.

This unhappy affair was differently related by Mr. Forster, who states the fatal deed to have been done by an officer, who was ignorant of the nature of the offence committed, but coming on deck after the second ineffectual shot, hastily snatched up a musquet, and fired with fatal precision. This might be the case, and unknown to Captain Cook, whose representation was, no doubt, according to his own immediate understanding of the circumstance ; and there were reasons sufficient for not altering his own statement, in consequence of subsequent information. It is, however, a melancholy proof of the little value placed on human life, by those who are continually exposing their own existence. An Otaheitan who was on board burst into tears when he saw one man killing another on so trifling an occasion. “ Let his feelings,” said Mr. Forster, “ put those civilized Europeans to the blush, who have humanity so often on their lips and so seldom in their hearts.”

All the natives retired with precipitation after this unhappy accident. Captain Cook followed them into the bay, and, by presents of nails, endeavoured to allay

their fears, and in which he in some measure succeeded. He then surveyed the bay, and having discovered fresh water, returned on board, and, to use his own terms, "carried out a kedge anchor, with three hawsers upon an end, to warp the ship in by, and hove short on the bower." Though the natives had just seen the effect of fire-arms, their propensity to pilfer was not restrained, for no sooner had the boat left the kedge anchor, than two men put off from shore in a canoe, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it on shore, not aware what was fastened to it. To prevent their carrying off the buoy, the Captain ordered a musquet to be fired at them, but the ball fell short of them, and they took no notice of it; but on a second shot passing over them, they let go the buoy, and hurried on shore. This was the last shot fired at any of them, and caused amongst them great dread of fire-arms, as it proved that distance did not render them secure.

The trouble these people gave retarded the heaving the anchor, so that the wind increasing, and blowing in squalls out of the bay, obliged the ship to lie fast. The natives soon ventured again to the ship. One man, who appeared to be of consequence, brought a pig on his shoulders;—when he came alongside, Captain Cook presented him with a hatchet, and other articles: he, in return, sent his pig on board, and was at last prevailed on to come himself up to the gang-way. The reception this man met with, afterwards induced the people in other canoes to put alongside, and exchanges were soon re-established.

Captain Cook then went on shore, to see what

effect the events of the morning had produced there. He was received with courtesy, and trafficked with the natives for fruit, and a few small pigs. The launch he loaded with water, and then returned on board. After dinner, the boats were sent ashore for water, under the protection of a guard, at which the natives fled, with the exception of one man, and he seemed terribly frightened: presently two more men came down, but these were all that were seen that afternoon.

The next morning, the 9th, the boats were again sent for water; but no native was to be seen, until the boats were putting off. To ascertain the cause of this fright, Captain Cook went on shore before the guard, when the people flocked round him immediately; but he had some difficulty in preventing their running off, as soon as they saw the guard landed. He succeeded in lessening their fears, and a traffic was again began. Their alarm probably arose from Captain Cook's absence from the head of the guard the day before. At noon, a chief of some consequence came down to the landing-place, and, by mutual exchanges, a good understanding was established between him and the English.

In the afternoon, watering and trading parties were sent on shore; but the latter did nothing, for the natives had retired from the shore. At the southern cove, a party went on shore and procured five pigs, and afterwards visited the house of the person that had been killed. He must have been a person of consideration, as there were six pigs in and about the house, and which, they were told, belonged to the son of the deceased. The son fled at the approach of the party,

and prevented Captain Cook's wish of proving to him, by kind treatment, that the death of his father was not caused by any bad design against his nation ; nor would it have done any good to have left any thing in the house for him,—other people would have taken it, for honesty is little observed among these people. Captain Cook mentions an exchange he made of a six-inch spike for a pig : the owner of the pig sent another man for the spike, but he, when he had safe possession of it, kept it for himself, and gave his employer only a sixpenny nail. Words ensued, and as the thief seemed resolved to keep the spike, the quarrel lasted too long to allow the Captain to see how it ended.

The people were always obliging, friendly and conciliatory. But the trade was soon spoiled, and the Captain's hopes of an abundant supply of food frustrated, by some of the young gentlemen exchanging a variety of things the natives had not before seen : one of them bought a pig for a quantity of red feathers he had got at Amsterdam, and which were held here in great estimation. Every thing else was considered valueless in comparison with these red feathers ; and when Captain Cook found he could not supply his ship on any other conditions at this island, and that it was not very convenient for taking in wood and water, he resolved to leave it immediately. After having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living upon salt diet, refreshment became essential, though the crew were all healthy, which was in great measure to be attributed to the particular attention of the surgeon, and to the quantity of anti-scorbutic articles on board.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the ship weighed

anchor, and stood over from St. Christina for La Dominica, that Captain Cook might view the west side of the island ; but it was dark before he reached it. The next day, no good anchorage could be found on that side the island, being too much exposed to easterly winds. Hence he steered south-south-west for Otaheite, with a view to fall in with some of those islands discovered by former navigators, particularly by the Dutch, whose situations were not well determined.

But it will be first right to give a longer account of the Marquesas Islands :—They were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him they obtained the name they now bear. Captain Cook's chief reason for touching at them was to fix their exact situation, and this settled, the situation of Mendana's other discoveries might then in a great measure be fixed. The Marquesas are five in number, and the northernmost is situated in lat. $9^{\circ} 26'$ S. long. 13° W. five degrees and a half from the east point of La Dominica, which is the largest of all the isles, extending east and west six leagues : its breadth is unequal, and about sixteen leagues in circuit. It is full of rugged hills, disjoined by deep vallies, which are clothed with wood, as well as the sides of some of the hills. The aspect is, however, barren, though the place is inhabited. The productions of this and the adjacent islands are similar to those of Otaheite, and the other Society Isles.

The inhabitants, taken collectively, are a remarkably fine race of people. In fine shape and features they probably surpass every other nation. The men are curiously tattooed, from head to foot,—the marks are various, and appear to be directed more by fancy than

by custom. These *puncturations* make the men appear dark ; but the women and young children, who are not so disfigured, are exceedingly fair. The clothing is similar to that of Otaheite ; but the materials of which it is made are not so plentiful, nor is the workmanship so good. The principal head-dress, and what indeed appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibres of the husks of cocoa-nuts : in the front is fixed a mother-of-pearl shell, wrought round to the size of a tea-saucer : before that is a smaller one, of very fine tortoise-shell, perforated into figures of various kinds : in the centre, and before this, is another piece of mother-of-pearl, about the size of half-a-crown ; and before even the mother-of-pearl, another piece of tortoise-shell, about as large as a shilling. Besides this singular decoration in front, some have similar, but smaller decorations on each side ; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of birds. They wear round the neck a kind of ruff, or necklace, made of light wood, the outer and upper side of which is ornamented with small red pease, fastened on with gum. Small bunches of human hair, attached to a string, are also tied round their legs and arms. Their dwellings are in the vallies, and on the sides of the hills, near the plantations : they are nearly similar to those of Otaheite.

In the passage from the Marquesas to Otaheite, several islands were either again seen or discovered ; but about this period in the voyage we find nothing very interesting, except it be the description of a naval review.

The vessels ~~of~~ war consisted of one hundred and

sixty large double canoes, very well equipped, manned and armed. The chiefs, and all those on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits, that is, in a vast quantity of cloth turbans, breast-plates and helmets; some of the latter were so large as greatly to encumber the wearer. The vessels were decorated with flags, streamers, &c. so that the whole made an appearance equally imposing and unexpected. The instruments of war were clubs, spears and stones. The canoes were ranged close alongside of each other, with their heads towards the shore and the stern to the sea, the admiral's vessel lying nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were one hundred and seventy smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These, in all probability, were designed for transports, victuallers, &c. for in the war canoes no sort of provision was observed. In these three hundred and thirty sail were about seven thousand men, a number almost incredible, when we take into the account that they were stated to be natives of the districts of Attahouron and Ahopatea.

After Captain Cook had viewed the fleet, he was very desirous of seeing the Admiral, and to have gone on board the war canoes. It was to no purpose, however, they inquired for him, as they rowed past the fleet. In a short time the whole armament was in motion to the westward, from whence it came.

In a few days afterwards, Captain Cook had an opportunity of seeing the war canoes go through part of their paddling exercise. They had put off from the shore before he was apprised of it, so that he was

present only at the landing. They were properly equipped for war, the warriors with their arms, and dressed in their war habits, &c. In landing, it was observed, that the moment the canoe touched the ground, all the rowers leaped out, and, with the assistance of a few people on the shore, dragged the canoe on dry land to her proper place, which being done, every one walked off with his paddle. All this was executed with great celerity,—in five minutes after putting ashore, you would not have guessed that any thing of the kind had been going forward. It was observed, that the warriors on the stage encouraged the rowers to exert themselves. Some youths sat high up in the curved stern, above the steersman, with white wands in their hands. They were probably placed in that situation for the purpose of looking out and directing. Captain Cook was present when the warriors undressed, and was much surprised at the quantity and weight of cloth they had about them. Not a little was wrapped round their heads as a turban, and made into a cap.

It will be remembered, that the principal object of the *second* voyage undertaken by Captain Cook was to ascertain the existence or non-existence of a southern continent. That the object was diligently pursued, no one who reads the long and interesting journal delivered in by the Captain can possibly entertain a doubt; but to the general reader this voyage presents but few interesting details. It is true, new islands were discovered, and unknown seas were visited; but the manners and persons of the natives of these islands were in general very similar, and their productions not very

different. We have eagerly sought for those parts of the journal where we might hope to find a detail of interesting events, and have endeavoured to be accurate in our abridgment of them. How far we have succeeded, it must be for the reader to determine. As Captain Cook very justly remarks, “this voyage was not remarkable for any sudden transitions of fortune,—the journal was more employed in tracing the course by sea, than in recording the operations on shore. Had a southern continent been found, they might have been better able to gratify curiosity.”

After an absence from England of three years and eighteen days, Captain Cook arrived at Portsmouth on the 29th of July 1775.

Government acknowledged his merit and his services, by immediately raising him to the rank of post captain; the Royal Society elected him a member of their body, and Sir G. Copley’s gold medal was presented to him.

It may not be amiss to lay before the reader the course which Captain Cook pursued in his second voyage:—

From Deptford to the Cape of Good Hope—to Dusky Bay—Queen Charlotte’s Sound—from New Zealand to Otaheite—Huaheine—Ulietea—Friendly Islands—discovery of Hervey’s Island—Middleburgh and Amsterdam—Queen Charlotte’s Sound—from New Zealand to Easter Island—Marquesas Islands—St. Christina—Otaheite—Huaheine—Ulietea—Friendly Islands—Onamocka—New Hebrides—Mallecollo Island—Tanna—discovery of New Caledonia—New Zealand—Terra del Fuego—Christmas Sound—Cape Horn and

Strait Le Maire—Staten Land—discovery of the Isle of Georgia—Sandwich Island—Cape of Good Hope—St. Helena—Ascension and Fernando Narouha—Fayal—England.

The Resolution and the Adventure were unfortunately separated from each other at Amsterdam. In the narrative of his proceeding, which Captain Furneaux delivered to Captain Cook, there is nothing particularly interesting, except indeed it be the melancholy recital of the fate of Mr. Rowe, and nine others of the Adventure's crew, as related by Lieutenant Burney.

While in Tolaga Bay, Mr. Rowe and a boat's crew were ordered on shore, to gather wild greens for the ship's company; but as they did not return, Mr. Burney and a party were sent in search of them. About eleven o'clock at night Mr. Burney returned, and made a report equally horrible and distressing, of which the following is the substance:—

That he, with his company, arrived at an Indian settlement;—the houses were searched, but contained nothing suspicious, and it was deemed necessary to pursue the inquiries elsewhere. Near to Grass Cove, a large double canoe was seen, with two men and a boy. These people left the canoe, and ran into the woods; and from this circumstance it was conjectured that some information might be obtained from them of the men who were missing: they were followed, but first the canoe was examined, and in it was found one of the rullock pieces of the cutter; a pair of shoes were also found in the canoe, the property of Mr. Woodhouse, who was of Mr. Rowe's party. One of Mr.

Burney's men also brought away from the canoe a piece of meat, which he imagined to have belonged to the crew of the cutter;—the horrid truth, however, was not long to be concealed. A great many baskets (about twenty) were lying upon the beach: these were ordered to be cut open: some were full of roasted flesh, and some of fern root, which served the natives for bread; and on further search, more shoes were found, and a hand, which it was known was that of Thomas Hill, from the circumstance of its having been marked T. H. by an Otaheitan tattoo instrument. Nothing more was visible in the progress up the woods; but on their return, Burney and his companions observed a round spot of fresh earth, about four feet in diameter, where something had evidently been buried. For want of a spade, they began to remove the earth with a cutlass, and in the mean time Mr. Burney launched the canoe with the intention of destroying her, but seeing a great smoke on a hill at a considerable distance, the whole party abandoned their various employments, and hastened to the spot from whence it arose. On opening the next bay, which was Grass Cove, they observed some canoes and many people on the beach, who retreated to the next hill, and there stood talking to the English. A large fire was at the top of the hill, the declivity of which was thronged like a fair. The savages kept hallooing from the hill, and making signs for the people to land. The crew did so, and immediately fired a volley; the natives did not appear much intimidated by the first volley, but on the second they ran away in every direction. On the beach were two bundles of celery, which had been gathered for the

cutter. No boat was seen, but instead of her such a scene of horror presented itself, as can hardly be imagined, and certainly not described ;— the heads, lungs and hearts of the late happy and dauntless navigators were seen lying about, and at a distance were the dogs gnawing their entrails. Whilst the companions of these wretched victims gazed upon this dreadful sight, Mr. Fannin gave notice that the savages were gathering in the woods ; and as the force under Mr. Burney was perfectly inadequate for an attack upon them, it was judged more prudent to retire.

This was the substance of Mr. Burney's relation. Deep, but unavailing was the regret. The few remains of the unfortunate victims which had been collected were consigned to the watery deep.

In the progress of our voyages, we have touched as little as possible upon scenes of perfidy or atrocity. Why should we not rather delight to contemplate the good, than to proclaim the wicked actions of human beings? Should we not rather dwell upon the magnificence or the beauty which may be found in a solitary island in the great Southern Ocean, than upon the cruelties which its inhabitants may exercise? But the time is fast approaching, when scenes such as the crew of the Adventure witnessed shall cease to be heard of. The religion of Jesus is making perceptible and rapid progress in every quarter of the globe; and, what is at once equally remarkable and delightful, every church that bows its head to that sacred name, however differing in points of minor importance, is equally solicitous to propagate the grand fundamental truths of christianity. It was urged as a reason for the

non-abolition of the slave-trade, that if the poor negroes were taken prisoners in their own country, their cannibal neighbours would devour or ill-treat them ;—but they knew no better, while we were aware of the iniquity of our proceeding. The inhabitants of this favoured island, however, could not rest satisfied with the mere abolition of this cruel trade : they now send their missionaries to preach that religion, which first taught a Wilberforce the sinfulness of trafficking in human flesh, and which enabled him to pursue his object to its accomplishment. He may feel assured of the blessings of millions of Christian negroes yet unborn, and will long have been in a better and a happier world, ere the poor native of Africa shall have ceased to reverence his name.

CAPTAIN COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.



THE third voyage of Captain Cook was undertaken with the hope of finding a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by a northerly course. Former circumnavigators had returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope ; but Captain Cook, in his last voyage, from which, alas ! he never returned, anticipated reaching his own country from the high northern latitudes between Asia and America. Instead,

therefore, of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried ; and the Captain was directed to proceed to the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of new islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic.

After having crossed the equator, into the northern parts of the Pacific, he was to hold such a course as might, probably, fix many interesting points in geography, and produce many intermediate discoveries in his progress towards the north.

With regard to his grand object, it was determined, after much deliberation and inquiry, that upon his arrival at the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward as high as the latitude 65°, and lose no time in exploring seas or rivers, till he had arrived in such latitude.

The vessels fixed upon for this voyage were the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, the former commanded by Captain Cook, and the latter by Captain Clerke. Both ships were equipped in the most complete manner, and furnished with such an establishment and apparatus as might most effectually contribute to the improvement of the sciences of Astronomy and Navigation.

On the 12th of July 1776, the ships stood off Plymouth Sound, and on the 1st of August, after having touched at Teneriffe, anchored in the road of Santa Cruz. On the 15th, the *Resolution* arrived off Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, and not finding the *Discovery* there, stood to the northward. On the 18th of October, the *Resolution* came to anchor in Table Bay, off the Cape of Good Hope ; and on the 10th of

November, had the satisfaction of being rejoined by the *Discovery*. Having taken their departure from Table Bay, about the 12th of December, two islands were discovered. To these Cook gave the name of Prince Edward's Islands; and to four smaller islands, which lay near them, he gave the names of Marion's and Croset's Islands. These islands had been discovered, but not named, by Marion and Croset, French navigators, in the year 1774. Passing southward of these islands, he steered his course with the hope of arriving in the latitude of the land which had been discovered by Kerguelen. The place where they come to anchor received the name of Christmas Harbour. About the 12th of February 1777, the ships arrived at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand. It was here, they found, that ten men, who had on a former voyage been separated from Captain Furneaux's crew, had been murdered, and their flesh consumed by the cannibal inhabitants. The fear of revenge prevented the natives from approaching the English vessels in the manner they otherwise would have done.

Various adverse circumstances had so much retarded the expedition, that nothing could be effected that year, in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere; and therefore the Captain determined to proceed to the Friendly Islands, where he was sure of meeting with a hospitable reception, and abundance of provisions.

On the 1st of May, he arrived at Annamooka. When lying off this island, the crews were, as usual, provoked and annoyed by the thievish disposition of the inhabitants. Captain Clerke, with the hope of in some degree counteracting this propensity, ordered every

native who was detected of theft to be delivered over to the barber, who, without the slightest ceremony, immediately shaved the head. This mode of punishment was not without its effect, and the inhabitants became less eager for the possession, by stealth at least, of what did not belong to them.

Having exhausted the stock of provisions at Annamooka, the Captain proceeded to various other islands, where he was kindly received, but somewhat molested by the thievish disposition of the inhabitants.

On the 12th of August, he reached Otaheite, and steered for Oheitepeha Bay, intending to anchor there, before he went down to Matavai.

In the course of the second voyage, Captain Furneaux had received on board his ship a young man called Omai, a native of the island of Huaheine. This youth, after having visited England, was now returned to his own country. There was nothing peculiarly striking in his first interview with his friends, after so long an absence,—his aunt and sister, indeed, appeared rejoiced to see him.

On the 24th of August, the Captain resumed his old station off Matavai Bay. On this visit he was satisfied that human sacrifices formed part of the religious institutions of Otaheite. He has given us the following account of one of these horrid ceremonies, which he had permission to witness:—A man was killed, and ordered to be sacrificed to the god Eatooa, from whom assistance was implored against some neighbouring islanders. The dead body was in a small canoe that lay on the beach, and partly on the wash of the sea, fronting the *morai*. The ceremony commenced—one

of the priest's attendants brought a young plantain tree, and laid it down before the chief Otoo. There were four priests, and many subordinate officers. One of the priests, seated at the morai, began a long prayer. During this prayer, a man who stood by the officiating priests, held in his hands two bundles, apparently of cloth: in one of them was the royal *maro*, and in the other the ark of the Eatooa. As soon as the prayer was over, the priests at the morai, with their attendants, went and sat down by those on the beach, carrying with them the two bundles. Here they renewed their prayers. The dead body was now taken out of the canoe, and laid upon the beach, with the feet towards the sea. The priests placed themselves around it, some sitting and some standing, and one or more of them repeated sentences for about ten minutes. The body was now laid in a parallel direction with the sea shore: one of the priests then, standing at the feet of it, pronounced a long prayer, in which he was at times joined by the others, each holding in his hand a tuft of red feathers. In the course of this prayer, some hair was pulled off the head of the sacrifice, and the left eye taken out, both which were presented to Otoo, wrapped up in a green leaf. He did not, however, touch them, but gave to the man who presented them a tuft of feathers, which he had previously received from a person named *Towha*. The tuft, the hair, and the eye were then carried back to the priests. Soon after, Otoo sent another tuft of feathers, which he had previously given to Captain Cook.

During part of the last ceremony, a king-fisher happening to make a noise among the trees, Otoo

turned to Captain Cook, and said, "That is the Eatooa;" and he appeared to consider it as a good omen.

The body was then carried a little way, with its head towards the morai, and laid under a tree, near which were fixed three pieces of wood, differently but rudely carved. The bundles of cloth were laid on part of the morai, and the tufts of feathers were placed at the feet of the victim, near which the priests took their stations, and permitted Cook and his few companions to approach. The chief priest, who sat at a little distance, now spoke for a quarter of an hour, with various tones and gestures, apparently interrogating the victim: sometimes it would appear as if he considered that the deceased had interest with the divinity, and for this reason he was desired to request, that the inhabitants of a neighbouring isle might be delivered into the power of the supplicants. Then came more prayers;—the tufts of feathers were laid on the bundles of cloth, and the ceremony at that place closed.

The corpse was then carried up to the most conspicuous place of the morai, with the feathers, the two bundles of cloth, and the drums, the last beating slowly. The feathers and bundles were laid against the pile of stones, and the corpse at the foot of them. The priests then seated themselves round the body, while some of the attendants dug a hole, about two feet deep, into which the unhappy victim was thrown, and covered with earth and stones: while they were putting the body in the grave, a boy squeaked aloud, and Otoo again whispered, "that is the Eatooa." A fire was then made,—a dog was produced and killed, his

entrails taken out and thrown into the fire, and his hair singed off; but the heart, liver and kidneys were roasted, by being laid on hot stones, and then taken, with the remains of the body of the dog, to the priests, who sat praying over the grave. The prayers continued, the drums beat, and the boy squeaked as before.

All this was to invite Eatooa to feast on the banquet prepared for him. When the prayers were ended, the carcase of the dog, with what belonged to it, was laid on a scaffold about six feet high, on which were also the bodies of other dogs, and two pigs, which had recently been sacrificed, and which emitted a most intolerable stench. When the dog was placed on the scaffold, the priests gave a kind of shout, which for that time closed the ceremony.

On the following morning, after a pig had been sacrificed, the duties of the preceding day were resumed. A young plantain was brought, and laid at the king's, or chief's (Otoo) feet: after this, prayers were repeated by the priests, who held in their hands tufts of red feathers, which, however, were by degrees deposited upon the ark of Eatooa. Soon after, four pigs were produced, one of which was instantly sacrificed, and the others put aside for some future sacrifice. One of the bundles was then untied, and found to contain the *maro* with which the people invested their sovereigns, and which answered in some degree to the European ensigns of royalty. It was a kind of giridle of cloth, ornamented with the yellow and red, but particularly the yellow, feathers of a dove. The one end was bordered with eight pieces of cloth, each about the size and shape of a horse-shoe, having their edges fringed

with black feathers: the other end was forked, with points of different lengths. A long prayer was then said; the cloth was carefully folded up again, and deposited on the morai. The other bundle was then opened, but the Europeans were not permitted to approach it;—it was presumed to contain a representation of the god Eatooa. The pig, which had been killed, was now by this time cleaned, and its entrails taken out; and the priests declared the convulsive motions they exhibited might be considered as favourable omens. They were then laid down before the priests, turned round by one of them, and afterwards thrown into the fire. The sacrificed pig and its liver were then placed upon the scaffold; most of the feathers were enclosed in the ark, and the solemnity finally closed.

The poor fellow who had thus been sacrificed to the cruel worship of the Otaheitans, had been put to death by a sudden blow on the head with a stone. It is not the practice to apprize the victim of the fate which awaits him; and either criminals, or the lowest dregs of the people, are selected for this abominable sacrifice.

Here too (Matavai Bay) Captain Cook was cured of a rheumatic complaint, extending from the hip to the foot, in a very extraordinary manner. The mother of Otoo, his three sisters, and eight other women, undertook this remarkable cure. The Captain was desired to lay himself down amongst them: as many as could then get round him, began to squeeze him with both hands from head to foot, but more particularly in that part where the pain was lodged, till they made his bones crack, and his flesh become a perfect mummy.

After undergoing this discipline for about a quarter of an hour, he was glad to be emancipated from his female friends. The operation, however, gave him immediate relief, so that he submitted to another *rubbing down* before he retired to rest, the consequence of which was, that he was tolerably easy the whole succeeding night. The prescription was repeated the following morning, and again in the evening, after which the Captain felt himself perfectly recovered. The operation is called *romee*, and is universally practised among the islanders.

Having finally settled Omai in his native island of Huaheine, the ships steered for Bolabola, the last of the Society Isles. They afterwards discovered and touched Christmas Island, Atooi and Onacheow. A very considerable accession of knowledge, regarding the manners, &c. of the Otaheitans, was gained during this voyage. From the account of Mr. Anderson, the surgeon, it appears that they do not pay respect to one supreme deity, but that they pay adoration to several, all of whom they regard as very powerful. In different parts of the islands, the natives choose those deities who, in their opinion, are most likely to befriend them; if they are disappointed, they dismiss them without ceremony, and choose others. They believe the soul to be immaterial and immortal.

In the night between the 22d and 23d of December 1777, the ships crossed the line in the longitude of 203° 15' east; and on the 24th, a low, uninhabited island was discovered, to which the name of Christmas Island was given.

After the ships had passed Christmas Island, they

fell in with a number of other islands, situated in lat. $21^{\circ} 30'$ N. and between the long. of $199^{\circ} 20'$ and $201^{\circ} 30'$ W. To these the Captain gave the name of Sandwich, in honour of his patron, Lord Sandwich, at that time head of the Admiralty.

The island of Atooi, which is the largest of the five Sandwich Islands, does not resemble any of those which Captain Cook had, as yet, visited within the tropic on the south side of the equator. Hogs, dogs and fowls were the only domestic animals found, and they were similar to those in the islands of the South Pacific Ocean. The inhabitants are of a small stature, and firmly made; and there is less difference in the appearance of the sexes than was observable in the other islands. In every thing manufactured at Atooi there is an uncommon degree of neatness,—the fish-hooks in particular are beautiful, and highly polished. The inhabitants had made very considerable progress in agriculture; and the language was almost word for word the same as the Otahaitan.

On the 7th of March 1778, the coast of Albion was seen, the ships being in lat. $44^{\circ} 33'$ N. long. $235^{\circ} 20'$ E. On the 29th, they came to anchor in an inlet, where the appearance of the country varied considerably from what they had passed: it was full of mountains, whose tops were covered with snow; and the vallies beneath were covered with tall, straight trees, resembling one continued forest. The country was well inhabited; and though the inhabitants would not venture on board the vessels, they yet plied round them, and seemed anxious to exchange what they had for iron, the uses and qualities of which they seemed perfectly to under-

stand. From the conduct of the natives, Captain Cook was induced to hope, that if a proper harbour could be found, this would be a convenient opportunity for giving his men a little of that repose they so much needed, and for revictualling his ships.

A harbour was speedily discovered, and a trade with the inhabitants commenced. They offered the English the skins of various animals, particularly the sea otter; but the most extraordinary articles which were brought for sale were the hands and skulls of human beings,—some of them were not quite stripped of the flesh, and many of them bore evident marks of having been recently in the fire. The articles for which these things were exchanged were knives, chisels, pieces of iron, nails, &c. in short, any kind of metal; but for glass beads they cared not, and to the value of cloth they were most perfect strangers.

As the natives, upon the whole, conducted themselves fairly, Captain Cook did not think it expedient to punish any slight deviation from honesty.

Among these people, one symptom of civilization appeared, which did not exist, at least in any newly discovered country, to an equal degree,—they had a most quick and acute sense of *property*: every thing which their country produced they considered exclusively as their own. At first, they wanted to be paid for the wood and water which were carried on board the ships, but the workmen refused to comply with their demands. At another time, some grass, which was not of the smallest use to the natives, but which was wanted for the goats, was not permitted to be cut till a most exorbitant price had been given for it.

Upon the whole, however, Captain Cook found the natives civil and obliging, though he met with one chief of quite a different disposition: this man could not be softened by presents, though he was willing enough to receive them. The females of the place of which he was the chief were more agreeable and mild; they dressed themselves in their best apparel, and welcomed the British to their villages by joining in a song, which was by no means harsh or disagreeable.

In the month of April, several of the natives, as they came towards the ships in their canoes, stood up, and began to sing. Their songs were accompanied by movements of the whole body, and were occasionally in quick and sometimes in slow time: the most regular motion of their hands accompanied their songs, and sometimes they beat in concert with paddles on the sides of their canoes. When each song was ended, there was silence for a few minutes. They had a kind of chorus, consisting of the repetition of the word *hosee*.

To this sound Captain Cook gave the name of King George's Sound. It is in lat. 49° 33' N. long. 233° 12' E. After leaving the sound, Captain Cook sailed along the coast of America, but frequently kept at a very considerable distance from it. As the communication with the east coast of America, of which they were in search, if it did exist, must be found in the inlets with which the coast they were traversing abounded, the Captain was anxious to explore every one of them which he discovered; and soon after leaving Prince William's Sound, he came to an inlet, which led him to hope he had arrived at the passage he so much desired: it was, however, merely a river,

which was afterwards called Cook's River. On the 9th of August, the ships came under a point of land, to which Captain Cook gave the name of Capé Prince of Wales: it is situated in lat. $65^{\circ} 46'$, long. $191^{\circ} 45'$: it is distant from the eastern cape of Siberia only thirteen leagues. On the 10th, Captain Cook came to anchor in a bay on the eastern extremity of Asia. When in lat. $70^{\circ} 33'$, long. $197^{\circ} 41'$, they perceived the first symptom of ice, viz. that brightness in the northern horizon, which in the Greenland seas is called a blink: this arises from the reflection from the ice. Soon afterwards, a large field of ice was discovered.

On the 29th, Captain Cook persevered in his endeavours to get further northward, by traversing the sea beyond Behring's Straits; but it was so full of ice, and there seemed so little appearance of its becoming more open, and free from it, that he soon began to despair of attaining, at least for this year, the great object of his voyage. But before he returned, he resolved to examine the geography of these straits, as far as it was in his power, both on the Asiatic and on the American sides; and in this examination he ascertained the accuracy of Behring, as far as he went, and made large additions to the geographical knowledge of this part of the world.

On the 2d of October, they again came in sight of the island Oonalashka, and the next day anchored. The great object which Captain Cook had in view was the repairing of the ships; and, while this was going on, he permitted one-third of the crew to go on shore, and obtain berries, with which the island abounds. These, along with spruce-beer, happily eradicated every

symptom of scurvy. A considerable quantity of fish was also procured.

On the 8th of October, Captain Cook received a very singular and unexpected present,—a rye loaf, or rather a pie, in the form of a loaf, inclosing some highly seasoned salmon. A similar present was sent to Captain Clerke. Along with these presents were two notes, written in what was supposed to be the Russian characters. In return for these, Captain Cook sent an intelligent corporal of marines, in company with the natives who brought the presents, with a few bottles of rum, porter and wine. The corporal was desired to make the Russians understand that the voyagers were Englishmen, and consequently favourable to their country.

On the 10th, the corporal returned, with three Russian seamen. They informed the Captain, that they resided in a village at a little distance, where they had a small sloop: they seemed to be employed in collecting furs.

On the 14th, another Russian arrived, from whom Captain Cook obtained two maps, or charts, one of which was very interesting, for it contained all the discoveries made by the Russians to the eastward of Kamschatka, towards the coast of America: these, however, were neither extensive nor numerous.

On the 26th of October, the ships sailed for the Sandwich Islands. Nothing important occurred till they came to the latitude $20^{\circ} 55'$ S. when various islands were discovered. One, much larger than the others, was called by the natives Owhyhee; and Captain Cook spent nearly seven weeks in sailing round, and exa-

mining its coast: the inhabitants appeared friendly and accommodating.

On the 16th of January 1779, not fewer than one thousand canoes were round the two ships: most of them were crowded with people, and laden with hogs, and other productions of the island. The thievish disposition of the natives now began to appear, and although two or three musquets and four-pounders were fired over their heads, they did not seem surprised or alarmed. A bay, possessing a good anchorage and fresh water, having been discovered, the Captain resolved to carry the vessels thither, in order to repair them, and obtain every necessary refreshment. The vessels were almost immediately surrounded by the natives, and the shore was crowded by spectators. Here, unfortunately, the propensity to steal was manifested to a greater extent, partly in consequence of detection being more difficult, and partly because such practices were encouraged by the chiefs, who obtained a considerable share of the booty. One of the principal objects which engaged Captain Cook's attention, while at Owhyhee, was the salting of hogs for sea store.

On the 26th of January, the Captain had his first interview with the king of the island, whose name was Terreeoboo. The intercourse with the natives continued friendly; but the warrior chiefs were observed not to be equally assiduous with the priests, who were remarkably kind.

The departure of the ships was fixed for the 4th of February. On the 3d, the king invited Captain Cook, and some others, to attend him to the place where another great man resided;—when the visit was con-

cluded, the greater part of the cloth, and all the hogs, were presented to the Captain, or the *Orono*, as he was called. Early on the following morning, the ships sailed out of the harbour, and were followed by an immense number of canoes.

The life of Captain Cook was now drawing to a close, and as every thing attending it must be of the highest importance and interest, we shall not apologize to the reader for extracting Mr. Samwell's (one of the officers) minute, and scarce narrative, of this most melancholy transaction.

“ On the 6th, we were overtaken by a gale of wind, and the next night the *Resolution* had the misfortune of springing the head of the foremast, in such a dangerous manner, that Captain Cook was obliged to return to *Keragegooah*, in order to have it repaired ; for we could find no other convenient harbour on the island.

“ The same gale had occasioned much distress among some canoes that had paid us a visit from the shore. One of them, with two men and a child on board, was picked up by the *Resolution*, and rescued from destruction ; the men, having toiled hard all night, in attempting to reach the land, were so much exhausted, that they could hardly mount the ship's side. When they got upon the quarter-deck, they burst into tears, and seemed much affected with the dangerous situation from which they had escaped ; but the little child appeared lively and cheerful. One of the *Resolution's* boats was also so fortunate as to save a man and two women, whose canoe had been upset by the violence of the waves. They were brought on board, and, with

the others, partook of the kindness and humanity of Captain Cook.

“On the morning of Wednesday, the 10th, we were within a few miles of the harbour, and were soon joined by several canoes, in which appeared many of our old acquaintances, who seemed to have come to welcome us back. Among them was *Coo, aha*, a priest: he had brought a small pig, and some cocoa-nuts in his hand, which, after having chaunted a few sentences, he presented to Captain Clerke: he then left us, and hastened on board the *Resolution*, to perform the same friendly ceremony before Captain Cook. Having but light winds all that day, we could not gain the harbour. In the afternoon, a chief of the first rank, and nearly related to *Kariopoo*, paid us a visit on board the *Discovery*. His name was *Ka, mea, mea*: he was dressed in a very rich feathered cloak, which he seemed to have brought for sale, but would part with it for nothing except iron daggers. These the chiefs some time before our departure had preferred to every other article, for having received a plentiful supply of hatchets, and other tools, they began to collect a store or warlike instruments. *Kameamea* procured nine daggers for his cloak, and, being pleased with his reception, he and his attendants slept on board that night.

“In the morning of the 11th of February, the ships anchored again in *Keragegooah Bay*, and preparation was immediately made for landing the *Resolution's* foremast. We were visited but by few of the Indians, because there were but few in the bay. On our departure, those belonging to other parts had repaired to their several habitations, and were again to collect from

various quarters, before we could expect to be surrounded by such multitudes as we had once seen in the harbour. In the afternoon, I walked about a mile into the country, to visit an Indian friend, who had, a few days before, come near twenty miles in a small canoe to see me, while the ship lay becalmed. As the canoe had not left us long before a gale of wind came on, I was alarmed for the consequence: however, I had the pleasure to find that my friend had escaped unhurt, though not without some difficulties. I take notice of this short excursion, merely because it affords me an opportunity of observing, that there appeared no change in the disposition or behaviour of the inhabitants. I saw nothing that could induce me to think that they were displeased with our return, or jealous of the intention of our second visit; on the contrary, that abundant good-nature which had always characterised them, seemed still to glow in every bosom, and to animate every countenance.

“The next day, February 12th, the ships were put under a taboo by the chiefs, a solemnity, it seems, that was requisite to be observed before Kariopoo, the king, paid his first visit to Captain Cook after his return. He waited upon him the same day, on board the *Resolution*, attended by a large train, some of which bore the presents designed for Captain Cook, who received him in his usual friendly manner, and gave him several articles in return. This amicable ceremony being settled, the taboo was dissolved. Matters went on in the usual train; and the next day, February 13th, we were visited by the natives in great numbers. The *Resolution's* mast was landed, and the astronomical

observatories erected on their former situation. I landed, with another gentleman, at the town of **Kava-roah**, where we found a great number of canoes, just arrived from different parts of the island, and the Indians busy in constructing temporary huts on the beach, for their residence during the stay of the ships.

“ On our return on board the *Discovery*, we learned that an Indian had been detected in stealing the armourer’s tongs from the forge, for which he received a pretty severe flogging, and was sent out of the ship. Notwithstanding the example made of this man, in the afternoon another had the audacity to snatch the tongs and a chisel from the same place, with which he jumped overboard, and swam for the shore. The master and a midshipman were instantly dispatched after him, in a small cutter. The Indian, seeing himself pursued, made for a canoe ; his countrymen took him on board, and paddled as swift as they could towards the shore. We fired several musquets at them, but to no effect, for they soon got out of the reach of our shot. **Pareah**, one of the chiefs who was at that time on board the *Discovery*, understanding what had happened, immediately went on shore, promising to bring back the stolen goods. Our boat was so far distanced, in chasing the canoe which had taken the thief on board, that he had time to make his escape into the country.

“ Captain Cook, who was then ashore, endeavoured to intercept his landing ; but it seems that he was led out of the way, by some of the natives, who had officiously intruded themselves as guides. As the master was approaching near the landing place, he was met by some of the Indians in a canoe : they brought back

the tongs and chisel, together with another article that we had not missed, which happened to be the lid of the water-cask. Having recovered these things, he was returning on board, when he was met by the *Resolution's* pinnace, with five men in her, who, without any orders, had come from the observatories to his assistance. Being thus unexpectedly reinforced, he thought himself strong enough to insist upon having the thief, or the canoe which took him in, delivered up as reprisals: with that view he turned back, and having found the canoe on the beach, he was preparing to launch it into the water, when Pareah made his appearance, and insisted upon his not taking it away, as it was his property. The officer not regarding him, the chief seized upon him, pinioned his arms behind, and held him by the hair of his head; on which, one of the sailors struck him with an oar: Pareah instantly quitted the officer, snatched the oar out of the mau's hand, and snapped it in two across his knee. At length, the multitude began to attack our people with stones: they made some resistance, but were soon overpowered, and obliged to swim for safety to the small cutter, which lay further out than the pinnace. The officers, not being expert swimmers, retreated to a small rock in the water, where they were closely pursued by the Indians. One man darted a broken oar at the master, but his foot slipping at the time, he missed him, which fortunately saved that officer's life. At last, Pareah interfered, and put an end to their violence. The gentlemen, knowing that his presence was their only defence against the fury of the natives, entreated him to stay with them, till they could get off in the boats;

but that he refused, and left them. The master went to seek assistance from the party at the observatories, but the midshipman chose to remain in the pinnace. He was very rudely treated by the mob, who plundered the boat of every thing that was loose on board, and then began to knock her to pieces, for the sake of the iron work ; but Pareah fortunately returned in time to prevent her destruction. He had met the other gentleman on his way to the observatories, and suspecting his errand, had forced him to return. He dispersed the crowd again, and desired the gentlemen to return on board : they represented that all the oars had been taken out of the boat, on which he brought some of them back, and the gentlemen were glad to get off without further molestation. They had not proceeded far, before they were overtaken by Pareah, in a canoe : he delivered the midshipman's cap, which had been taken from him in the scuffle, joined noses with them in token of reconciliation, and was anxious to know if Captain Cook would kill him for what had happened. They assured him to the contrary, and made signs of friendship to him in return. He then left them, and paddled over to the town of Kavarooah, and that was the last time we ever saw him. Captain Cook returned on board soon after, much displeas'd with the whole of this disagreeable business, and the same night sent a lieutenant on board the *Discovery*, to learn the particulars of it, as it had originated in that ship.

“ It was remarkable, that in the midst of the hurry and confusion attending this affair, Kanynah (a chief who had been on terms particularly friendly with us) came from the spot where it happened, with a hog to

sell, on board the *Discovery*: it was of an extraordinary large size, and he demanded for it a pahowa, or dagger, of an unusual length; he pointed to us that it must be as long as his arm. Captain Clerke, not having one of that length, told him he would get one made for him by the morning; with which, being satisfied, he left the hog, and went ashore, without making any stay with us.

“It will not be altogether foreign to the subject, to mention a circumstance that happened to-day on board the *Resolution*. An Indian chief asked Captain Cook, at his table, if he was a tata toa, which means a fighting man, or a soldier. Being answered in the affirmative, he desired to see his wounds. Captain Cook held out his right hand, which had a scar upon it, dividing the thumb from the finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bones. The Indian being thus convinced of his being a toa, put the same question to another gentleman present, but he happened to have none of those distinguishing marks. The chief then said, that he himself was a toa, and shewed the scars of some wounds he had received in battle.

“Those who were on duty at the observatories were disturbed during the night with shrill and melancholy sounds, issuing from the adjacent villages, which they took to be the lamentations of the women. Perhaps the quarrel between us might have filled their minds with apprehensions for the safety of their husbands, but be that as it may, their mournful cries struck the sentinels with unusual awe and terror.

“To widen the breach between us, some of the Indians, in the night, took away the *Discovery's* large

cutter, which lay swamped at the buoy of one of her anchors: they had carried her off so quietly, that we did not miss her till the morning, Sunday, February the 14th. Captain Clerke lost no time in waiting upon Captain Cook, to acquaint him with the accident: he returned on board, with orders for the launch and small cutter to go, under the command of the second lieutenant, and lie off the east point of the bay, in order to intercept all canoes that might attempt to get out, and, if he found it necessary, to fire upon them. At the same time, the third lieutenant of the *Resolution*, with the launch and small cutter, was sent on the same service to the opposite point of the bay; and the master was dispatched in the large cutter, in pursuit of a double canoe, already under sail, making the best of her way out of the harbour. He soon came up with her, and, by firing a few musquets, drove her on shore, and the Indian left her: this happened to be the canoe of Omea, a man who bore the title of orono. He was on board himself, and it would have been fortunate if our people had secured him, for his person was held as sacred as that of the king. During this time, Captain Cook was preparing to go ashore himself, at the town of Kavaroah, in order to secure the person of Kariopoo, before he should have time to withdraw himself to another part of the island, out of our reach. This appeared to be the most effectual step that could be taken on the present occasion for the recovery of the boat: it was the measure he had invariably pursued in similar cases, at other islands in those seas, and it had always been attended with the desired effect; in fact, it would be difficult to point out any other mode of

proceeding, on these emergencies, likely to attain the object in view. We had reason to suppose that the king and his attendants had fled; in that case, it was Captain Cook's intention to secure the large canoes, which were hauled up on the beach. He left the ship about seven o'clock, attended by the lieutenant of marines, a serjeant, corporal, and seven private men; the pinnace's crew were also armed, and under the command of Mr. Roberts. As they rowed towards the shore, Captain Cook ordered the launch to leave her station at the west point of the bay, in order to assist his own boat. This is a circumstance worthy of notice, for it clearly shews, that he was not unapprehensive of meeting with resistance from the natives, or unmindful of the necessary preparation, for the safety of himself and his people. I will venture to say, that, from the appearance of things just at that time, there was not one, beside himself, who judged that such precaution was absolutely requisite; so little did his conduct on the occasion bear the marks of rashness, or a precipitate self-confidence. He landed, with the marines, at the upper end of the town of Kavarooah; the Indians immediately flocked round, as usual, and showed him the customary marks of respect, by prostrating themselves before him. There were no signs of hostilities, or much alarm among them. Captain Cook, however, did not seem willing to trust to appearances, but was particularly attentive to the disposition of the marines, and to have them kept clear of the crowd. He first enquired for the king's sons, two youths who were much attached to him, and generally his companions on

board. Messengers being sent for them, they soon came to him, and informing him that their father was asleep at a house not far from them, he accompanied them thither, and took the marines along with them. As he passed along, the natives every where prostrated themselves before him, and seemed to have lost no part of that respect they had always shewn to his person. He was joined by several chiefs, among whom was Kaunyah, and his brother, Koohowroah. They kept the crowd in order, according to their usual custom ; and being ignorant of his intention in coming on shore, frequently asked him if he wanted any hogs, or other provisions ; he told them that he did not, and that his business was to see the king. When he arrived at the house, he ordered some of the Indians to go in, and inform Kariopoo that he waited without to speak to him. They came out two or three times ; and instead of returning any answer from the king, presented some pieces of red cloth to him, which made Captain Cook suspect that he was not in the house ; he therefore desired the lieutenant of marines to go in. The lieutenant found the old man just awakened from sleep, and seemingly alarmed at the message ; but he came out without hesitation. Captain Cook took him by the hand, and, in a friendly manner, asked him to go on board ; to which he very readily consented. Thus far, matters appeared in a favourable train, and the natives did not seem much alarmed, or apprehensive of hostility on our side, at which Captain Cook expressed himself a little surprised, saying, that as the inhabitants of that town appeared innocent of stealing the cutter, he should not

molest them, but that he must get the king on board. Kariopoo sat down before his door, and was surrounded by a great crowd. Kanynah and his brother were both very active in keeping order among them. In a little time, however, the Indians were observed arming themselves with long spears, clubs and daggers, and putting on thick mats, which they use as armour. This hostile appearance increased, and became more alarming, on the arrival of two men, in a canoe, from the opposite side of the bay, with the news of a chief called Karemoo having been killed by one of the Discovery's boats. In their passage across, they had also delivered this account to each of the ships. Upon that information, the women, who were sitting upon the beach at their breakfasts, and conversing familiarly with our people in the boats, retired, and a confused murmur spread through the crowd. An old priest came to Captain Cook with a cocoa-nut in his hand, which he held out to him as a present, at the same time singing very loud. He was often desired to be silent, but in vain; he continued importunate and troublesome, and there was no such thing as getting rid of him, or his noise: it seemed as if he meant to divert their attention from his countrymen, who were growing more tumultuous, and arming themselves in every quarter. Captain Cook being at the same time surrounded by a great crowd, thought his situation rather hazardous; he therefore ordered the lieutenant of marines to march his small party to the water-side, where the boats lay within a few yards of the shore: the Indians readily made a lane for them to pass, and did not offer to interrupt them. The distance they

had to go might be about fifty or sixty yards. Captain Cook followed, having hold of Kariopoo's hand, who accompanied him very willingly ; he was attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. The troublesome old priest followed, making the same savage noise. Keowa, the younger son, went directly into the pinnace, expecting his father to follow ; but just as he arrived at the water-side, his wife threw her arms about his neck, and, with the assistance of two chiefs, forced him to sit down by the side of a double canoe. Captain Cook expostulated with them, but to no purpose ; they would not suffer the king to proceed, telling him that he would be put to death if he went on board the ship. Kariopoo, whose conduct seemed entirely resigned to the will of others, hung down his head, and appeared much distressed.

“ While the king was in this situation, a chief, well known to us, of the name of Coho, was observed lurking near, with an iron dagger partly concealed under his cloak, seemingly with the intention of stabbing Captain Cook, or the lieutenant of marines. The latter proposed to fire at him, but Captain Cook would not permit it. Coho closing upon them, obliged the officer to strike him with his piece, which made him retire. Another Indian laid hold of the sergeant's musquet, and endeavoured to wrench it from him, but was prevented by the lieutenant making a blow at him. Captain Cook, seeing the tumult increase, and the Indians growing more daring and resolute, observed, that if he were to take the king off by force, he could not do it without sacrificing the lives of many of his people. He then paused a little, and was on the point of giving

his orders to re-embark, when a man threw a stone at him, which he returned with a discharge of small shot, with which one barrel of his double piece was loaded. The man, having a thick mat before him, received little or no hurt; he brandished his spear, and threatened to dart at Captain Cook, who, being still unwilling to take away his life, instead of firing with ball, knocked him down with his musquet. He expostulated strongly with the most forward of the crowd upon their turbulent behaviour. He had given up all thoughts of getting the king on board, as it appeared impracticable; and his care was then only to act on the defensive, and to secure a safe embarkation for his small party, which was closely pressed by a body of several thousand people. Keowa, the king's son, who was in the pinnace, being alarmed on hearing the first firing, was, at his own entreaty, put on shore again; for even at that time Mr. Roberts, who commanded her, did not apprehend that Captain Cook's person was in any danger, otherwise he would have detained the prince, which, no doubt, would have been a great check on the Indians. One man was observed behind a double canoe, darting his spear at Captain Cook, who was forced to fire at him in his own defence, but happened to kill another, close to him, equally forward in the tumult; and the sergeant observing that he had missed the man he aimed at, received orders to fire at him, which he did, and killed him. By this time, the impetuosity of the Indians was somewhat repressed; they fell back in a body, and seemed staggered, but being pushed on by those behind, they returned to the charge, and poured a volley of stones among the marines, who, without wait-

ing for orders, returned it with a general discharge of musquetry, which was instantly followed by a fire from the boats. At this, Captain Cook was heard to express his astonishment; he waved his hand to the boats, calling to them to cease firing, and to come nearer in, to receive the marines. Mr. Roberts immediately brought the pinnace as close to the shore as he could without grounding, notwithstanding the showers of stones that fell among the people; but ——, the lieutenant who commanded in the launch, instead of pulling in to the assistance of Captain Cook, withdrew his boat farther off, at the moment that every thing seems to have depended upon the timely exertion of those in the boats. By his own account, he mistook the signal; but be that as it may, this circumstance appears to me to have decided the fatal turn of the affair, and to have removed every chance that remained with Captain Cook, of escaping with his life. The business of saving the marines out of the water, in consequence of that, fell altogether upon the pinnace, which thereby became so much crowded, that the crew were in a great measure prevented from using their fire-arms, or giving what assistance they might otherwise have done to Captain Cook; so that he seems, at the most critical point of time, to have wanted the assistance of both boats, owing to the removal of the launch,—for, notwithstanding that they kept up a fire on the crowd, from the situation to which they removed in that boat, the fatal confusion which ensued on her being withdrawn, to say the least of it, must have prevented the full effect that the prompt co-operation of the two boats (according to Captain Cook's orders) must have had

towards the preservation of himself and his people.* At that time, it was to the boats alone that Captain Cook had to look for safety; for when the marines had fired, the Indians rushed among them, and forced them into the water, where four of them were killed; their lieutenant was wounded, but fortunately escaped, and was taken up by the pinnace.

“Captain Cook was then the only one remaining on the rock; he was observed making for the pinnace, holding his left hand against the back of his head, to guard it from the stones, and carrying his musquet under the other arm. An Indian was seen following him, but with caution and timidity, for he stopped once or twice, as if undetermined to proceed. At last, he advanced upon him unawares, and with a large club, † or common stake, gave him a blow on the back of the head, and then precipitately retreated. The

* “I have been informed, on the best authority, that, in the opinion of Captain Phillips, who commanded the marines, and whose judgment must be of the greatest weight, that it was extremely doubtful whether any thing could successfully have been done to preserve the life of Captain Cook, even if no mistake had been committed on the part of the launch.”—*Note by Dr. Kippis.*

† “I have heard one of the gentlemen who was present say, that the first injury he received was from a dagger, as is represented in the Voyage; but, from the account of many others who were also eye-witnesses, I am confident in saying, that he was first struck with a club. I was afterwards confirmed in this, by Kaireekea, the priest, who particularly mentioned the name of the man who gave him the blow, as well as that of the chief who afterwards struck him with the dagger. This is a point not worth disputing about,—I mention it as being solicitous to be accurate in this account, even in circumstances of themselves not very material.”

stroke seemed to have stunned Captain Cook ; he staggered a few paces, then fell on his hand, and one knee, and dropped his musquet. As he was rising, and before he could recover his feet, another Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck, with an iron dagger. He then fell into a bite of water, about knee deep, where others crowded upon him, and endeavoured to keep him under ; but struggling very strongly with them, he got his head up, and casting a look towards the pinnacle, seemed to solicit assistance.

“ Though the boat was not above five or six yards distant from him, yet from the crowded and confused state of the crew, it seems it was not in their power to save him. The Indians got him under again, but in deeper water ; he was, however, able to get his head up once more, and being almost spent in the struggle, he naturally turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to support himself by it, when a savage gave him a blow with a club, and he was seen alive no more. They hauled him up, lifeless, on the rocks, where they seemed to take a savage pleasure in using every barbarity to his dead body, snatching the daggers out of each other’s hands, to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage.

“ I need make no reflection on the great loss we suffered on this occasion, or attempt to describe what we felt. It is enough to say, that no man was ever more beloved or admired ; and it is truly painful to reflect, that he seems to have fallen a sacrifice merely for want of being properly supported,—a fate singularly to be lamented, as having fallen to his lot, who had ever been conspicuous for his care of those under his



Thomas Del^d

Loyel Sc^d

The Death of Capt.ⁿ Cook

command, and who seemed, to the last, to pay as much attention to their preservation, as to that of his own life.

“ If any thing could have added to the shame and indignation universally felt on this occasion, it was to find that his remains had been deserted, and left on the beach, although they might have been brought off. It appears, from the information of four or five midshipmen, who arrived on the spot at the conclusion of the fatal business, that the beach was then almost entirely deserted by the Indians, who at length had given way to the fire of the boats, and dispersed through the town, so that there seemed no great obstacle to prevent the recovery of Captain Cook's body ; but the lieutenant returned on board without making the attempt. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on this painful subject, and to relate the complaints and censures that fell on the conduct of the lieutenant ; it will be sufficient to observe, that they were so loud as to oblige Captain Clerke publicly to notice them, and to take depositions of his accusers down in writing. The Captain's bad state of health, and approaching dissolution, it is supposed, induced him to destroy these papers a short time before his death. It is a painful task to be obliged to notice circumstances which seem to reflect upon the character of any man : a strict regard to truth, however, compelled me to the insertion of these facts, which I have offered merely as facts, without presuming to connect with them any comment of my own, esteeming it the part of a faithful narrator, to ‘ nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice.’

“ The fatal accident happened at eight o'clock in the morning, about an hour after Captain Cook landed.

It did not seem that the king, or his sons, were witnesses to it, but it is supposed that they withdrew during the tumult. The principal actors were the other chiefs, many of them the king's relations and attendants; the man who stabbed him with the dagger was called Nooah. I happened to be the only one who recollected his person, from having, on a former occasion, mentioned his name, in the journal I kept. I was induced to take particular notice of him, more from his personal appearance, than any other consideration, though he was of high rank, and a near relation of the king: he was stout and tall, with a fierce look and demeanour, and one who united in his figure the two qualities of strength and agility, in a greater degree than I ever remember to have seen before in any other man. His age might be about thirty; and, by the white scurf on his skin, and his sore eyes, he appeared to be a hard drinker of kava. He was a constant companion of the king, with whom I first saw him when he paid a visit to Captain Clerke. The chief who first struck Captain Cook with the club was called Karimano craha, but I did not know him by his name. These circumstances I learnt of honest Kaireekea, the priest, who added, that they were both held in great esteem on account of that action. Neither of them came near us afterwards.

“When the boats left the shore, the Indians carried away the dead body of Captain Cook, and those of the marines, to the rising ground at the back of the town, where we could plainly see them with our glasses from the ships.

“This most melancholy accident appears to have

been altogether unexpected and unforeseen, as well on the part of the natives as ourselves. I never saw sufficient reason to induce me to believe that there was any thing of design, or a preconcerted plan, on their side, or that they purposely sought to quarrel with us ;—thieving, which gave rise to the whole, they were equally guilty of in our first and second visits : it was the cause of every misunderstanding that happened between us : their petty thefts were generally overlooked, but sometimes slightly punished : the boat, which they at last ventured to take away, was an object of no small magnitude to people in our situation, who could not possibly replace her, and therefore not slightly to be given up. We had no other chance of recovering her, but by getting the person of the king into our possession : on our attempting to do that, the natives became alarmed for his safety, and naturally opposed those whom they deemed his enemies. In the sudden conflict that ensued, we had the unspeakable misfortune of losing our excellent commander, in the manner already related. It is in this light the affair has always appeared to me, as entirely accidental, and not in the least owing to any previous offence received, or jealousy of our second visit, entertained by the natives. Pareah seems to have been the principal instrument in bringing about this fatal disaster. We learnt afterwards that it was he who had employed some people to steal the boat ;—the king did not seem to be privy to it, or even apprized of what had happened, till Captain Cook landed. It was generally remarked, that at first the Indians shewed great resolution in facing our fire-arms, but it was entirely owing to ignorance of their

effect. They thought that their thick mats would defend them from a ball as well as from a stone; but being soon convinced of their error, yet still at a loss to account how such execution was done among them, they had recourse to a stratagem, which, though it answered no other purpose, served to show their ingenuity and quickness of invention. Observing the flashes of the musquets, they naturally concluded that water would counteract their effect, and therefore very sagaciously dipped their mats or armour in the sea, just as they came on to face our people; but finding their last resource to fail them, they soon dispersed, and left the beach entirely clear. It was an object they never neglected, even at the greatest hazard, to carry off their slain, a custom probably owing to the barbarity with which they treat the dead body of an enemy, and the trophies they make of his bones.”

Captain James Cook was born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, in the year 1727. His father was a labourer in husbandry, or perhaps a very small farmer. Very early in life, his son was put apprentice to a shopkeeper in an adjacent village, but, as it often happens to those who are brought up in the vicinity of the sea, he inclined to a seafaring life: not being, therefore, pleased with the occupation to which he was bound, he soon quitted the counter in disgust, and bound himself for nine years to the master of a vessel which sailed in the coal-trade. The remark is very true, that sailors who are brought up in the vessels engaged in this trade are some of the best that this kingdom produces: the navigation between Newcastle, Sunderland, and the

other coal ports, is very perilous, particularly when carried on, as it is by the colliers, at all times in the year ; and the vessels themselves, both when in ballast on their return, and when loaded with coals on their voyage to London, are so difficult to be managed, and so defectively manned, that great skill, enterprize and attention are necessary on the part of the masters and crew, to conduct them safe backward and forward. Captain Cook, without doubt, learnt, in one of these vessels, several of those excellencies and qualifications which afterwards proved of such great use to him in his character and pursuits as a circumnavigator.

At the commencement of the war in 1755, he entered into the king's service, on board the *Eagle*, first under the command of Captain Harmer, and afterwards of Sir Hugh Palliser. The latter soon discovered his merit, and introduced him on the quarter-deck. In 1758, he was master of the *Northumberland*, which was the flag ship of Lord Colville, who then commanded the squadron that was stationed in the North American station. Here, during a hard winter, he studied mathematics, commencing with the elements of Euclid : his industry and application were his only assistants, and a few books supplied him. At the siege of Quebec, he was desired by Sir Charles Saunders to pilot the boats to the attack of Montmorency ; he also conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham, examined the passage, and laid buoys for the safety of the large ships in their passage up the river. By the bravery and skill which he exhibited on these occasions, he gained the friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who patronized him for the rest of their

lives with great zeal and affection. When the war was at an end, his Lordship and Sir Hugh Palliser recommended him as a proper person to survey the Gulph of St. Lawrence, on the coast of Newfoundland. He continued, with great judgment, dexterity and attention, fulfilling his task till the year 1767, when Sir Edward Hawke decided upon him as the commander of an expedition to the South Seas, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, and pursuing discoveries in that part of the globe. His character and services are depicted with such genuine zeal and friendship, and likewise so impartially, by his coadjutor in his last voyage, Captain King, that we shall offer no apology for laying it before our readers.

“From this period, as his services are too well known to require a recital here, so his reputation has proportionally advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyric. Indeed he appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprize; the earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge which can fall to the lot of very few. The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships: his stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food; indeed temperance in him was scarcely a virtue, so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy and vigorous kind as those of his body: his understanding was strong and perspicacious; his

judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure; his designs were bold and manly, and, both in the conception and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great, original genius; his courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger; his manners were plain and unaffected; his temper might, perhaps, have been justly blamed as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

“Such were the outlines of Captain Cook’s character; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers, and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated: no incidental temptation could detain him for a moment: even those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provisions for the more effectual prosecution of his designs.

“It is not necessary here to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprises in which he was engaged,—I shall content myself with stating the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which

they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, placing each in a separate and distinct point of view.

“ Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labour of a single man, than geography has done from those of Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the Society Islands; determined the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which separate the two islands, and are called after his name, and made a complete survey of both: he afterwards explored the eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown, an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upwards of two thousand miles.

“ In his second expedition, he resolved the great problem of a southern continent, having traversed that hemisphere between the latitude of 40 and 70°, in such a manner as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage he discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand, the island of Georgia, and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the *thule* of the southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries. But the voyage we are now relating is distinguished above all the rest, by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the north of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands, which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence in the system of European navigation than

any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterwards explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the western coast of America, from the latitude of 43° to 70° north, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles ; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America ; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast on each side, to such a height of northern latitude as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur, and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe.

“As a navigator, his services were not, perhaps, less splendid, certainly not less important and meritorious. The method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, of preserving the health of seamen, forms a new æra in navigation, and will transmit his name to future ages, amongst the friends and benefactors of mankind.

“Those who are conversant in naval history need not be told, at how dear a rate the advantages which have been sought through the medium of long voyages at sea have always been purchased. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoverers with circumstances almost too shocking to relate, must, without exercising an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our seamen, have proved an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprizes. It was reserved for Captain Cook to shew the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and

under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life in the smallest degree. The method he pursued has been fully explained by himself, in a paper which was read before the Royal Society in the year 1776,* and whatever improvements the experience of the present voyage has suggested are mentioned in their proper places.

“With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required, not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required.

“Having given the most faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own observation and the relations of others, of the death of my ever honoured friend, and also of his character and services, I shall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of posterity, accepting, with a melancholy satisfaction, the honour which the loss of him hath procured me, of seeing my name joined with his, and of testifying that affection and respect for his memory, which, whilst he lived, it was no less my inclination than my constant study to shew him.”

* “Sir G. Copley’s gold medal was adjudged to him on that occasion.”

CAPTAIN BLIGH'S AND OTHER VOYAGES.



WE are now about to present our readers with an account of a voyage, which will not fail most powerfully to attract their attention, and excite their interest.

The bread-fruit tree has been mentioned more than once in the course of this selection of voyages, and its uses and appearances have been attempted to be described.

It is to the Naval History of Great Britain, and Lives of the Admirals, by Campbell and others, that we are principally indebted for the following melancholy and romantic adventures, which occurred to Captain Bligh, in his voyage to transplant the luxuriant bread-fruit from the South Sea Islands to the British West India possessions.

A ship named the *Bounty* was fitted out expressly for the voyage. Her great cabin was appropriated for the preservation of the plants, and extended as far forward as the after hatchway: it had two large skylights, and on each side shutters for air; and had a false floor cut full of holes, to contain the pots in which the plants were to be brought home. The deck was covered with lead, and at the foremost corners of the cabin pipes were fixed, to carry off the water that was drained from the plants, into tubs placed below, to save it for future use. A person named David Wilson, assisted

by a man named Brown, were engaged to superintend the plants.

The *Bounty* having been stored and victualled for eighteen months, and furnished with every article which could facilitate a friendly intercourse with the natives of the islands she was about to visit, commenced her voyage from Spithead on the 23d of December 1787. On the 23d of the May following, she came to anchor off the Cape of Good Hope; and on the 29th of August 1788, anchored in Adventure Bay in Van Diemen's Land.

In the land surrounding Adventure Bay are many trees, one hundred and sixty feet high; some were measured, the girth of which was thirty-three feet.

On the 4th of September, the *Bounty* sailed out of Adventure Bay; and on the 19th came in sight of a cluster of islands, to which the name of *Bounty Isles* was given.

Soon afterwards, Captain Bligh observed that in the night time the sea was covered with luminous spots, caused by amazing quantities of small blubbers, or medusæ, which emit a light similar to the blaze of a candle, the strings or filaments extending from them, while the rest of the body continues perfectly dark.

On the 25th of September, the island of Otaheite was discovered, the ship having run, since she left England, a distance of 27,086 miles.

At Otaheite, Captain Bligh collected and took on board 1015 bread-fruit plants, and many other plants, some of them bearing fruit of the most exquisitely delicious flavour, and others valuable from the brilliant dyes which they afforded.

On the 4th of April 1789, the *Bounty* quitted Otaheite, and on the following day the island Huaheine was in sight.

Soon after the vessel left the latter island, a water spout was seen at no great distance, the weather having previously become squally, and a thick body of clouds having collected in the east. The upper part of the water spout might be about two feet in diameter, and the lower about eight inches: it rapidly advanced towards the ship, on which Captain Bligh ordered the course to be altered, and all the sails to be taken in, except the foresail. Soon after, it passed within ten yards of the stern, with a rustling noise: it seemed to be travelling at the rate of ten miles an hour, in the direction of the wind; and about a quarter of an hour after it had passed the vessel, it dispersed.

On the 23d of April, they anchored at Annamooha.

On Sunday the 26th of April, they again sailed, and then steered for Tofoa. Just before sun-rise, on Tuesday the 28th, while Captain Bligh was asleep, Mr. Christian, who acted as a lieutenant, accompanied by other seamen, entered the Captain's cabin, and seizing him, tied his hands behind him with a cord. They then declared they would shoot him through the head, if he made the least noise; notwithstanding this savage assertion, Captain Bligh called loudly for assistance; no one, however, came,—the officers who had not joined the mutineers were in custody, and sentinels had been placed at the door of their cabins. Three men were now placed at the Captain's door, besides the four men who were in the cabin. Christian, who was evidently the leader, was armed with a cutlass,

while his companions had musquets and bayonets. The captain was soon after dragged out of his bed, and forced upon deck in his shirt. Upon his asking the cause of such violent and mutinous conduct, he was only abused for not being silent. The boatswain, carpenter and clerk, were permitted to come on deck; the master, gunner, master's mate, Nelson, and the surgeon, were confined below.

Captain Bligh was not long in suspense respecting the fate which awaited him, for the boatswain was directed to hoist out the launch. As soon as the boat was ready, Mr. Haryard and Mr. Hallett, two of the midshipmen, and Mr. Samuel, the clerk, were ordered into it. The boatswain, and such of the seamen as were to enter the boat, were permitted to take with them a few necessary articles; and, among other things, an eight-and-twenty gallon cask of water. Mr. Samuel secured an hundred and fifty pounds of bread, and a small quantity of rum and wine; also a quadrant and compass; but he was forbidden, on pain of death, from touching any map or astronomical book, or any instrument, or any of Captain Bligh's surveys or drawings.

The mutineers having thus forced into the boat those of the seamen whom they desired to get rid of, Christian ordered a dram to be given to each of his own crew. The officers were next called on deck, and compelled to enter the boat, while the captain was kept at a distance from every one. Christian then, armed with a bayonet, held the cord fastening the captain's hands, while the guard stood round with their musquets cocked; but, on the captain daring

them to fire, they uncocked them. Isaac Martin, one of these mutineers, evidently had a desire to assist his captain; and as he fed him with shaddock, his lips being parched, they explained each other's sentiments; but this having been observed, he was removed. Martin then got into the boat, but was compelled to return to the ship. The carpenter was then ordered into the boat, and was permitted to carry with him his chest of tools; four cutlasses were also thrown into the boat as she left the ship. The captain was next ordered to enter the boat, and his hands were untied. The whole number in the boat was eighteen besides the captain, and about five-and-twenty continued on board the *Bounty*.

There being little or no wind, they rowed towards the island of Tofoa, which lay north-east, at the distance of about ten leagues. Captain Bligh's first determination was, to secure a supply of bread-fruit at Tofoa, and afterwards to sail for Tongataboo, and to request permission of the king of that island to allow him to equip the boat, and grant them such a supply of provisions as would enable them to reach the East Indies.

On examination, there were found on board, an hundred and fifty pounds of bread, eighty-two pounds of pork, six quarts of rum, six bottles of wine, and twenty-eight gallons of water.

They reached Tofoa late in the evening. At day-break, they dropped anchor in a cove, about twenty yards from shore; Mr. Samuel and some others then went out in search of provisions, and towards noon returned with a few quarts of water, when a glass of

wine and a morsel of bread were given to each person for dinner. They continued for some time at the island of Tofoa, procuring small supplies of water and provisions; but at last, the natives evidently manifesting their intention to attack them, they deemed it expedient to leave it, but not without one of their men having been killed by the savages.

They continued to steer along shore. Captain Bligh's mind was constantly and painfully occupied with the thought of what was best to be done. He was solicited, by them all, to take them towards home. On this, he told them, that except what hopes of relief they might find at New Holland, they could expect none before reaching the island of Timor, a distance of full twelve hundred leagues. At this place there was a Dutch settlement; but in what part of the island, Captain Bligh was ignorant.

It was agreed, an ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water, should be the allowance of each man per day. After an examination of their stock of provisions, the captain strongly urged them not to depart from this resolution. They then bore across a sea, of which the navigation is but imperfectly known, in a small boat, only twenty-three feet long, and deeply laden with eighteen men.

At day-break, indications of a storm added to their sufferings. The sun rose red and fiery, the wind blew violently, and their danger became imminent. The sea curled over the stern of the boat, and obliged them to bale with all their might. Their great care was, to keep the bread dry: two sails were kept for each person, and the rest were, along with clothes and ropes,

thrown overboard. This lightened the boat considerably; and, as the carpenter had a strong chest on board, the bread was stowed in it, and thus, in a great measure, secured from the salt water. A tea-spoon-full of rum, with a quarter of a bread-fruit, was served to each person. In the afternoon, the sea ran higher still, and the fatigue of baling was very great. It was necessary to put the boat before the wind, but she sailed so well in this direction, the captain no longer dreaded danger in that respect. They were all extremely wet, the night was cold, and at day-light their limbs were so benumbed, they could scarcely find the use of them; a tea-spoon-full of rum, at this time, to each, was of great benefit.

On the 4th of May, several small islands were discovered, and the course of the boat was kept towards them: the gale had abated. At noon of the 5th, they were in latitude $18^{\circ} 10'$ S. and their longitude, by Tofoa, $4^{\circ} 29'$. They had, since the day before at noon, run ninety-four miles. The allowance for the day, was a quarter of a pint of cocoa-nut milk, and the meat of it, which was about two ounces to each person. To remedy the inconvenience of want of room, the men were put at watch; one half of them sitting up, while the other half were lying at the bottom of the boat, on the chest. Their limbs were dreadfully cramped; the nights were so cold, and they were so constantly wet, that after sleeping a few hours, they could scarcely move.

Such sufferings and trials seem, in description, not to be borne; and, to the continuance of them, one would imagine death would be preferable; yet, so

powerful is the desire to preserve this frail existence, that, while a ray of hope remains, the enfeebled body urges on its exertions almost to a miracle. The melancholy narrative we are relating, exemplifies the truth of this remark.

On the morning of the 7th, land was again discovered ; it was agreeably interspersed with hill and dale, and in many places covered with wood. Two fast-sailing canoes were observed in pursuit of the boat ; but when within two miles of her, gave up the chase, and thus relieved them from an encounter so undesirable in their present condition.

Heavy rain in the evening enabled them to catch some water, and to increase their stock to thirty-four gallons ; besides allaying their thirst completely, for the first time since they had quitted the ship. Though they obtained this comfort, the rain made them cold and wet. The next morning proving fair, they stripped and dried their clothes. They attempted to increase their stock of provisions by fishing ; but though they saw abundance of fish, they could catch none.

Captain Bligh, feeling the importance of being exact in dealing out the provisions, now made a pair of scales, and, with a bullet weighing two hundred and seventy grains, he weighed out to each man his miserable pittance of bread. Besides the task of thus apportioning the daily allowance of food, Captain Bligh endeavoured to draw off the thoughts of his people from their alarming situation, and to animate them with the hope, that this perilous voyage would, at last, end happily. He amused them with describing the situation of New Guinea and New Holland ; and

gave them every information in his power, to enable them to find their way to Timor, should any thing befall him.

During a shower of rain, they again caught about twenty gallons of water; but the sea constantly breaking over them, the labour of two men was required to bale the boat. On Monday, their situation was extremely dangerous, the sea frequently running over the boat's stern. They were now in latitude $14^{\circ} 50' S$. Their clothes being wet with the continual rain, Captain Bligh recommended they should strip, and wring them in the sea water, by which means they received a warmth, which, while wet with rain, they could not derive from them.

During the following day, they discovered several islands; a tantalizing sight,—since they could not venture near them, in consequence of the dreadful sea that was running, and the fear of attacks from the inhabitants. These islands were supposed to be the New Hebrides.

The night of the 15th was dark; not a star to be seen by which their course could be steered, and the sea broke continually over them. Next day, about an ounce of salt pork for each person was given out, with their allowance of one twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water. This night was truly horrible, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

The good sense and firmness of Captain Bligh induced him to refuse extra allowance, when these unfortunate and exhausted beings earnestly requested it. The little rum they had was of great service, animating their spirits and recruiting their bodily strength, dur-

ing their dreadful and harassing nights. At one moment, they had a narrow escape of a water spout, which was nearly on board the boat.

On Wednesday the 20th, the effect of the dreadful weather was too visible on many of them : they seemed half dead ; their hunger excessive, but the moisture the skin had imbibed from the rain, perhaps, prevented their suffering equally from thirst. Their sleep was in the midst of water, from which they awoke with severe cramp and pains in their limbs. They could scarcely see, for the salt water and heavy rain which fell ; and constant baling alone kept the boat from filling.

On Friday, their situation was no better : they were obliged to take the course of the sea, running straight before it, and watching with the utmost care,—the least error at the helm would have caused their immediate destruction. They had run one hundred and thirty miles in the course of the preceding day. The night was dreadful, and Captain Bligh began to apprehend neither he nor his people could sustain such weather longer.

Happily Sunday morning proved fine, and animation and hope again appeared in every countenance. For the first time, during the space of fifteen days, they felt the warmth of the sun. In the afternoon, many birds were observed, and amongst them some boobies and noddies, which are never seen far from land. Fair weather gave Captain Bligh an opportunity to examine into the stock and condition of their bread. He found it expedient to diminish the usual allowance ; and to this the men cheerfully assented, upon his

representing to them the necessity of being prepared for those casual delays which might arise from adverse winds, and other causes. By omitting the usual allowance for supper, they found they had still allowance for forty-three days.

On Monday they caught a noddy. Captain Bligh divided it, entrails and all, into fifteen parts, and it was distributed in a manner well known at sea. Each person turns his back on the different portions, to which one man points separately, and they each ask aloud, "Who shall have this?" The first man answers, by naming somebody; and thus every one has a fair chance. The bird, distributed in this way, was eat up, bones, entrails and all, with salt water for sauce.

The next day, they fortunately caught three boobies; in the stomachs of two were several flying-fish and two cuttle-fish, which were all served for dinner on Wednesday. Most of the people dipped their bread into salt water, to make it savoury. Captain Bligh generally broke his bread into his allowance of water, and eat out of a cocoa-nut shell, taking care to put but little into his mouth at once: his dinner lasted as long as a more abundant meal would have done.

The next day the coast of New Holland began to shew itself distinctly, in high and low land, some of which was covered with wood. Two islands were seen, about four miles off. On approaching the nearest, it was found to be merely a heap of stones, and could afford no shelter for the boat; they therefore proceeded to the other. Every one was anxious to find something to eat, and oysters were soon discovered on the rocks.

One half of the company slept on shore, the other half in the boat. While the boat was repairing, a party was sent out in search of supplies. Plenty of oysters and fresh water were procured ; and, by the help of a magnifying glass, a fire was lighted. One of the people had brought a copper pot from the ship ; and a stew was made, of oysters, pork, and bread, of which each had a full pint. By this they were much refreshed ; indeed, considering the hardships they had undergone, their state was not alarming : giddiness, and weakness of the joints, were the chief complaints they had. The oysters were of considerable size and of good flavour ; they adhered so closely to the rock, that time and trouble were saved by opening them where they were fixed. By merely thrusting a stick into the ground, good water sprung up ; besides which, there was a small stream to the south of the island.

There were signs of the natives of New Holland having visited this island : ill-constructed huts, and a pointed stick, having a slit in one end, such as is used in slinging stones by the natives of Van Dieman's Land, were proofs of its having been recently visited. The tracks of some animal, probably the kangaroo, were also visible.

The people neglected to attend to Captain Bligh's repeated and strict injunctions not to eat of the fruits or berries they might find on this island ; and, though the fruits fortunately proved wholesome, many of them eat too much, and became ill : the alarm became general that they had been poisoned. One fruit, which grew on a delicate vine, was as large as a gooseberry, and of a sweet taste. As they were all eaten by the

birds, Captain Bligh felt assured they were wholesome. There were plenty of wild pigeons, parrots, and other birds ; but the want of fire-arms prevented their obtaining any. Lizards were seen ; and the blackberry bushes were full of the nests of ants, so compactly webbed together, that rain could not penetrate them.

On Saturday, a visible alteration for the better had taken place in all the company ; and Captain Bligh again sent them to obtain oysters. As there were only two pounds of pork remaining, and this, like the bread, had been pillaged, he determined to divide what remained for dinner that day. While one party gathered oysters, the other prepared the boat for sea ; and nearly sixty gallons of water were put into the water-casks. Early in the afternoon the party returned with what had been collected for sea store, and all was put into the boat. There were still thirty-eight days' allowance of bread, at the rate of a twenty-fifth part of a pound for breakfast, and as much for dinner. Being ready for sea, all hands were directed to attend prayers. Then, as they were preparing to embark, about twenty of the natives appeared on the opposite shore, evidently wishing Captain Bligh and his people to come to them ; but, being all armed, Captain Bligh did not dare to trust them, nor did he think it prudent to remain longer on the coast.

At day-break, the face of the country had entirely changed, the coast being low and sandy. Many small islands were seen, and the boat passed in a channel between the nearest and the main land. Large shoals of fish were seen, but none were caught. Some natives were again seen, who, by waving green branches

of bushes, would fain have enticed the people on shore. Some of them, however, did not evince the same amicable temper; and Captain Bligh did not like to venture on land. He laid his boat close to the rocks, and beckoned the natives to approach, but none came within two hundred yards. They were black, with short woolly hair, and were quite naked, like the natives of Restoration Island.

On an island about four miles distant they ventured to land, and a party was sent to search for supplies. And here appeared the first symptoms of discontent and disobedience to the authority of Captain Bligh. Some of the people expressed dissatisfaction at having worked harder than their companions, and refused to go in search for provisions. One man spoke insolently to the captain, telling him he was as good a man as himself. Had Captain Bligh permitted his authority to be questioned, there would have been an end of all hopes of safety, either for himself or people: acting, therefore, with prompt and decisive resolution, he seized a cutlass, ordering the man to take hold of another, and defend himself; on which the man immediately made concessions. To this island Captain Bligh gave the name of Sandy Island. Their dinner this day was abundant, each man having a pint of stewed oysters and claws, thickened with small beans.

On Monday, June 1st, they landed on another island, and parties were dispatched in search of food. About noon, Nelson returned, in so weak a condition, two men were obliged to support him. As he was evidently suffering from over exertion, and had no fever upon him, Captain Bligh ventured to give him

wine with pieces of bread soaked in it, and he soon began to recover.

The people being all indisposed, Captain Bligh thought a night's quiet rest on the island would be of service to them ; but, to prevent the natives, if there were any, from being aware of this design, he cautioned his people against making large fires, and particularly desired that none might be suffered to blaze up after dark. Having committed the charge of this to Mr. Samuel and the gunner, he strolled about the beach, to observe whether the island could be seen from the main land. He had just satisfied himself that it could not, when on a sudden the island appeared in a blaze : he ran to learn the cause, and found it had been occasioned by the imprudence and obstinacy of one of the men, who, resolving to have a fire to himself, while lighting it, suffered the flames to catch the grass, and it spread rapidly. Fortunately, the natives did not notice this fire ; but it prevented the captain and his men from enjoying that sound repose they so much needed.

Parties were again sent in search of turtles and birds : the bird party returned with only twelve noddies ; and, complaining that one of the men had separated himself from them, and disturbed the birds, the captain gave the offender a beating, who afterwards confessed he had eaten nine birds raw. The party who searched for turtles had no success.

Their time had been regulated by the watch of the gunner, who was the only person who had brought one from the ship : this was now unfortunately stopped,

so that sun-rise, noon, and sun-set, were the only points of which they were now certain.

They now launched once more upon the open ocean. The captain was apprehensive that this would have a dreadful effect on his people; but in this he was happily mistaken: they seemed as if they were embarked on a voyage to Timor, in a vessel equally calculated for safety and convenience. He encouraged them with hopes that eight or ten days would bring them to a land of safety; and prayed to God for a continuance of his gracious protection. He then served out an allowance of water for supper, and stood away west-south-west.

Next day, Thursday, June 4th, a number of water-snakes were seen: they were tinged yellow and black. Some boobies in the evening came near them, and Captain Bligh caught one in his hand. The blood of it was divided between three of the weakest of the men, and the bird itself kept for a future meal. The captain examined into the state of the bread, and found he had nineteen days' allowance, at the rate of one twenty-fifth of a pound three times a-day: therefore, seeing every prospect of a quick voyage, he ventured to grant an allowance for supper. There were many complaints: the surgeon, and an old hearty seaman, appeared to be giving way very fast. A small quantity of wine was administered to each, and was the only relief that could be given them. The wind blew strong all night, and they shipped much water. There was much complaining and suffering from cold; but the captain encouraged them with the hope, that in a

few days more they would be safely landed at Timor. Ganarettes, boobies, men-of-war, and tropic birds, were constantly about them.

The people every day shewed symptoms of declining health and strength: extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, and debility of understanding, were melancholy presages that nature could hold out but little longer. The surgeon and an old seaman, in particular, were deplorable objects. The captain occasionally gave them a few tea-spoons-full of wine, which was of great service to them.

The following day, ganarettes and other birds bespoke land near. They kept an anxious look-out at sun-set, and at three o'clock the next morning, to their inexpressible delight, Timor was discovered; and by day-light they were within two leagues of the shore. Thus, in an open boat, miserably provided in every respect, they had reached this island in forty-one days after leaving Tofoa; having, in that time, run a distance of three thousand six hundred and eighteen miles. Notwithstanding their extreme distress, no one perished in the voyage.

Captain Bligh was not certain on what part of the island the Dutch settlement was; but he conjectured it to be on the south-west, and in that direction he steered. The land appeared to them beautifully interspersed with wood and lawn; the interior mountainous, the shore low. They continued their course along a low shore, covered with innumerable trees, of the fan-palm kind, so called, from the leaf spreading like a fan. Coming to a grapnel, in a sandy bay, they had view of a country beautiful in the extreme: it seemed

as if formed, by art, into lawns and parks. At two o'clock, they run through a dangerous breaking sea ; but discovered a spacious bay, with an entrance four miles wide. They thought this a likely place for an European settlement, and came to a grapnel, near the east side of the entrance. Here they saw a dog, a hut, and some cattle. Captain Bligh sent the gunner and boatswain towards the hut : they soon returned, with several of the natives. From them he learnt, that the governor resided at a place called Coupang, at some distance to the north-east. One of the natives readily agreed to come into the boat, and direct it to his residence.

The Indians here were of a dark tawny colour ; had long black hair ; and chewed a great deal of betel. They brought turtle and Indian corn, and offered other refreshments ; but Captain Bligh, wishing to get forward, declined the offer.

Their dangers and sufferings were now drawing to a close ; for, after alternately sailing and rowing near to shore for two more days, they came to a grapnel off a small fort, and town, which the pilot told them was Coupang. A bundle of signal-flags, which the boatswain had thrown into the boat, when he left the *Bounty*, and which had been used, occasionally, during their voyage, as a jack, was now hoisted on the main shrouds, as a signal of distress. Captain Bligh did not think it would have been either prudent or decorous to land without leave.

Scarcely was it day-light, when a soldier from the fort made a signal they might land, and this was immediately done, amidst a crowd of Indians. Captain

Bligh soon discovered an English sailor on shore, who informed him, that the commander of his vessel was the second person in the place. Captain Bligh was anxious to be introduced to him, having heard the governor was ill, and could not be seen. Captain Spikerman, the commander of the vessel, received him with great humanity, and gave immediate orders for their kind reception at his house. The captain's people could not have walked to the house, had they not been supported. A breakfast of tea and bread and butter was provided for them.

“A painter,” to use Captain Bligh's own words, “might have ably delineated 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 our preservers, at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the causes had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bone, our limbs full of sores, and we were clothed in rags. In this condition, with tears of joy and gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and commiseration.”

The governor himself, though seriously ill, became anxious respecting Captain Bligh and his people; and therefore hastened his introduction to Captain Bligh; and, by the kindest reception and expressions, proved himself a tender and humane man. He said, he regarded it as the greatest blessing of his life, that he was able to relieve and comfort them; and though his

infirmity prevented his performing, himself, the office of a friend, he would give directions for their being immediately supplied with every thing likely to alleviate their distress. The only uninhabited house in Coupang was assigned to Captain Bligh, and his people were directed to be sent either to the hospital or on board Captain Spikerman's ship.

When Captain Bligh returned from his interview with the governor, he found his people had received every attention requisite. The surgeons had dressed their sores, and the cleaning their persons had not been less attended to. He found the house assigned him ready for his reception, with servants in waiting. Wishing his people to be near him, he reserved one room only for himself, another for the master, surgeon, botanist, and gunner; a loft for the other officers, and the men had a back piazza. When the governor was informed of this arrangement, he sent down bedding, chairs, tables, and other necessaries, for the use of every one. He desired Captain Bligh would inform him of every thing they required; but as he was then in a dying state, and had very few intervals of ease, the captain could not think of troubling him.

At noon, a plentiful dinner was set before the people. Captain Bligh, after seeing them all eat an abundant meal, dined with Mr. Wanfou, son-in-law to the governor; but, more disposed for rest and reflection than for conviviality, he soon retired to his own room. There he reflected on their late sufferings, and on the failure of the expedition; but chiefly on the goodness of God, who had given them strength to endure such heavy calamities, and had enabled Captain Bligh to be

the means of saving eighteen lives. It was not the least of the distress he endured, to be assailed by the pressing demands of his people for food, which it grieved him to refuse. When they left the ship, the quantity of provisions in the boat might have been consumed in five days. Thus the most rigid economy was necessary, and by practising it, they had provisions left for eleven days more when they arrived at Timor. Had they been unfortunate enough to have missed the Dutch settlement of Timor, they might, on the same scanty allowance, have proceeded to Java.

“ When,” says Captain Bligh, in his narrative, “ I reflected how providentially our lives had been spared at Tofoa, by the natives delaying their attack, and that, with scarce any thing to support life, we had crossed a sea of more than twelve hundred leagues in an open boat, without shelter ; when I reflected that, in such stormy weather, we escaped foundering, and that none of us were taken off by disease ; that we passed the hostile natives of other countries without accident, and at last happily met the most friendly people to relieve our distress, I was enabled to bear with cheerfulness and resignation the failure of the expedition, the success of which I had so much at heart. With respect to the preservation of health, during the sixteen days of heavy and almost continued rain, I would recommend to every one in a similar situation the method we practised ; which was, to dip the clothes in salt water as often as they become drenched with rain, and then wring them out. It was our only resource, and I believe it was of the greatest service to us, for they then

felt more like a change of dry clothes than can 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, with either rain or sea."

Soon after his arrival at Timor, Captain Bligh gave in to the government a formal account of the loss of the *Bounty*, and a requisition in the name of the King of England, that orders might be sent to all the Dutch settlements, for the purpose of stopping her, should she appear on the coasts; and this requisition was accompanied with a very minute description of the persons of the mutineers.

At Timor Captain Bligh procured a schooner, for the purpose of conveying himself and his people to Batavia. They left Coupang, in Timor, on the 20th of August, and on the 1st of October they landed at Batavia.

Previous to Captain Bligh's leaving Coupang, Mr. David Nelson died. His loss was much lamented by Captain Bligh. This was the second voyage he had undertaken, having been sent out by Sir Joseph Banks, in Captain Cook's last voyage, to collect plants and seeds.

On the 16th of October, Captain Bligh, his servant, and his clerk, embarked on board a Dutch packet bound for Middleburgh; and on the evening of the 14th of March, 1790, he left the packet, and landed on the Isle of Wight. Such of his people as were left at Batavia, were provided with passages in the earliest

ships ; but of the nineteen, who were forced into the boat by the mutineers, twelve only lived to revisit their native country.

Notwithstanding the almost unparalleled hardships to which Bligh had been exposed in the *Bounty*, and his subsequent voyage in the boat, he was yet bold enough to undertake another expedition for a similar purpose, viz. to benefit the West India Islands, by transplanting to them the bread and other fruits from the Society Islands. On the 3d of August, 1791, he sailed in command of his Majesty's ship *Providence*, accompanied by a small vessel, called the *Assistant*, accomplished the object of the expedition, and arrived at the Downs on the 2d of August, 1793.

It was of the utmost consequence, that so flagrant an instance of mutiny, as that exhibited by Christian and his men, should not go unpunished ; and it was, therefore, determined to send out the *Pandora* frigate, commanded by Captain Edwards, to search for the *Bounty*, or any of the mutineers, and to survey Endeavour Straits, in order to facilitate the passage to Botany Bay. The *Pandora* left England in the latter end of the year 1790 ; on the 23d of March, 1791, she anchored at Matavai Bay in Otaheite. Several of the mutineers were then resident at that island. Many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves, and the remainder were soon intimidated, and grounded their arms. They were all secured on board the *Pandora*. Several of them had married the daughters of the most respectable chiefs. Their wives visited them daily, bringing

every possible delicacy. The interviews were very affecting: one circumstance is mentioned, which deserves a particular account. A midshipman, who had joined the mutineers, had married the daughter of an Otaheitan chief. He had one daughter by his wife; an infant at the breast: the offender was seized, put on board the Pandora, and heavily ironed. Frantic with grief, the lovely Otaheitan wife procured a canoe. She took the infant in her arms, dashed through the stormy element, hastened to her miserable husband, and "clung to his embrace." More than painful—heart-rending was the scene—the officers of the Pandora were overwhelmed—the unfortunate youth was distracted—he entreated his wife might not be permitted to revisit the vessel. She was conveyed on shore in a state of desperation—the pang was too great; withheld from her husband, the unhappy female sunk never to rise again; in two months, the beautiful creature was cold and lifeless, and the most fragrant flowers of her enchanting island blossomed over her grave.

On the 8th of May, the Pandora left Otaheite. Her search after the Bounty, or in quest of others of the mutineers, was fruitless.

Near Endeavour Straits, the Pandora was wrecked; she had for some hours been in danger, and the mutineers had been released from their irons. Several lives were lost. The survivors, in open boats, and with but a very slender allowance of provision, made for Timor. They arrived at Coupang. From Coupang they went to Samaravai in Java, where they found the Pandora's tender, which had been put in commission at Otaheite, and which every one believed was lost.

The mutineers, and the survivors of the crew of the *Pandora*, obtained a passage from Batavia for the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence reached their native country.

After the brutal and licentious Christian and his associates had committed Captain Bligh and his party to the mercy of the winds and waves, no doubt, with the earnest hope that they would all soon perish, they directed their course for Otaheite, drawn there by the courteous manners of the inhabitants, and the beauty and gallantry of the females. They afterwards went to the island of Toobouai; but their conduct was ill calculated to gain the affection of the inhabitants, and they returned to Otaheite in September, 1789. Sixteen out of twenty-five remained on this island; fourteen out of the sixteen were afterwards taken by the crew of the *Pandora*; of the remaining two, one was killed by the natives, and the other by a mutineer named Thomson. Christian, with eight companions, left Otaheite, and, for many years, all enquiry for them, or search after them, was fruitless; but it afterwards appeared, that Christian and his companions, with whom were several Otaheitan women, and a few men, established themselves at Pitcairn's Island, and that Christian became insane, and threw himself into the sea. The subsequent information we extract from the 26th Number of the Quarterly Review.

“About the commencement of the year 1815, Rear-Admiral Hotham, when cruizing off New London, received a letter addressed to the Lords of the

Admiralty, of which the following is a copy, together with the azimuth compass to which it refers.

‘ *Nantucket, March 1, 1813.*

‘ MY LORDS,

‘ The remarkable circumstance which took place on my last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, will, I trust, plead my apology for addressing your Lordships at this time. In February, 1808, I touched at Pitcairn’s Island, in latitude $25^{\circ} 2' S.$ longitude $130^{\circ} W.$ from Greenwich. My principal object was to procure seal-skins for the China market; and, from the account given of the island in Captain Carteret’s voyage, I supposed it was uninhabited; but, on approaching the shore in my boat, I was met by three young men in a double canoe, with a present, consisting of some fruit and a hog. They spoke to me in the English language, and informed me that they were born on the island; and their father was an Englishman, who had sailed with Captain Bligh.

‘ After discoursing with them a short time, I landed with them, and found an Englishman, of the name of Alexander Smith, who informed me that he was one of the Bounty’s crew, and that, after putting Captain Bligh in the boat with half the ship’s company, they returned to Otaheite, where part of their crew chose to tarry; but Mr. Christian, with eight others, including himself, preferred going to a more remote place; and, after making a short stay at Otaheite, where they took wives and six men servants, they proceeded to Pitcairn’s Island, where they destroyed the ship, after taking

every thing out of her which they thought would be useful to them. About six years after they landed at this place, their servants attacked and killed all the English, excepting the informant, and he was severely wounded. The same night, the Otaheitan widows arose and murdered all their countrymen, leaving Smith with the widows and children, where he had resided ever since without being resisted.

‘ I remained but a short time on the island ; and, on my leaving it, Smith presented me a time-piece and an azimuth compass, which he told me belonged to the *Bounty*. The time-keeper was taken from me by the governor of the island of Juan Fernandez, after I had it in my possession about six weeks. The compass I put in repair on board my ship, and made use of it on my homeward passage, since which a new card has been put to it by an instrument-maker in Boston. I now forward it to your Lordships, thinking there will be a kind of satisfaction in receiving it, merely from the extraordinary circumstances attending it.

(Signed) ‘ MAYHEW FOLGER.’

“ Nearly about the same time, a further account of these interesting people was received from Vice-Admiral Dixon, in a letter addressed to him by Sir Thomas Staines, of his Majesty's ship *Briton*, of which the following is a copy.

‘ *Briton, Valparaiso, Oct. 18, 1814.*

‘ SIR,

‘ I have the honour to inform you, that on my passage from the Marquesas Islands to this port, on the

morning of the 17th of September, I fell in with an island where none is laid down in the Admiralty or other charts, according to the several chronometers of the Briton and Tagus. I therefore hove-to until daylight, and then closed, to ascertain whether it was inhabited, which I soon discovered it to be, and, to my great astonishment, found that every individual on the island (forty in number) spoke very good English. They prove to be the descendants of the deluded crew of the *Bounty*, which, from Otaheite, proceeded to the above-mentioned island, where the ship was burnt. Christian appeared to have been the leader and the sole cause of the mutiny of that ship. A venerable old man, named John Adams,* is the only surviving Englishman of those who last quitted Otaheite in her, and whose exemplary conduct, and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared, the correct sense of religion which has been instilled into their young minds by this old man, have given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, to whom they look up as the father of the whole, and one family.

‘ A son of Christian’s was the first born on the island, now about twenty-five years of age, (named Thursday October Christian ;) the elder Christian fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitan man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island. They were accompanied thither by six Otaheitan men,

* There was no such name in the *Bounty*’s crew ; he must have assumed it in lieu of his real name, Alexander Smith.

and twelve women; the former were all swept away by desperate contentions between them and the Englishmen, and five of the latter have died at different periods, leaving at present only one man and seven women of the original settlers.

‘The island must, undoubtedly, be that called Pitcairn’s, although erroneously laid down in the charts. We had the meridian sun close to it, which gave us 25° 4’ S. latitude, and 130° 25’ W. longitude, by chronometers of the Briton and Tagus. It is abundant in yams, plantains, hogs, goats, and fowls, but affords no shelter for a ship or vessel of any description; neither could a ship water there without great difficulty. I cannot, however, refrain from offering my opinion, that it is well worthy the attention of our laudable religious societies, particularly that for propagating the Christian religion, the whole of the inhabitants speaking the Otaheitan tongue, as well as English. During the whole of the time they have been on the island, only one ship has ever communicated with them, which took place about six years since by an American ship called the *Topaz*, of Boston, Mayhew Folger, master.

‘The island is completely iron-bound with rocky shores, and landing in boats at all times difficult, although safe to approach within a short distance in a ship.

(Signed) ‘T. STAINES.’

“We have been favoured with some further particulars of this singular society, which, we doubt not, will entertain our readers as much as they have our-

selves. As the real position of the island was ascertained to be so far distant from that in which it is usually laid down in the charts, and as the captains of the *Briton* and *Tagus* seem to have still considered it as uninhabited, they were not a little surprised, on approaching its shores, to behold plantations regularly laid out, and huts, or houses, more neatly constructed than those on the *Marquesas Islands*. When about two miles from the shore, some natives were observed bringing down their canoes upon their shoulders, dashing through a heavy surf, and paddling off to the ships; but their astonishment was unbounded, on hearing one of them, on approaching the ship, call out in the English language, ‘Won’t you heave us a rope, now?’

“The first man who got on board the *Briton* soon proved who they were. His name, he said, was *Thursday October Christian*, the first born on the island. He was then about five-and-twenty years of age, and is described as a fine young man, about six feet high; his hair deep black; his countenance open and interesting, of a brownish cast, but free from that mixture of a reddish tint which prevails on the *Pacific Islands*; his only dress was a piece of cloth round his loins, and a straw hat, ornamented with the black feathers of a domestic fowl. ‘With a great share of good humour,’ says *Captain Pipon*, ‘we were glad to trace in his benevolent countenance all the features of an honest English face. I must confess,’ he continues, ‘I could not survey this interesting person without feelings of tenderness and compassion.’ His companion was named *George Young*, a fine youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age.

“ If the astonishment of the captains was great, on hearing their first salutation in English, their surprise and interest were not a little increased, on Sir Thomas Staines taking the youths below, and setting before them something to eat, when one of them rose up, and, placing his hands together in a posture of devotion, distinctly repeated, and in a pleasing tone and manner, ‘ For what we are going to receive, the Lord make us truly thankful !’ They expressed great surprise on seeing a cow on board the Briton, and were in doubt whether she was a great goat or a horned sow.

“ The two captains of his Majesty’s ships accompanied these young men on shore. With some difficulty and a good wetting, and with the assistance of their conductors, they accomplished a landing through the surf, and were soon after met by John Adams, a man between fifty and sixty years of age, who conducted them to his house. His wife accompanied him, a very old lady, blind with age. He was at first alarmed lest the visit was to apprehend him ; but, on being told that they were perfectly ignorant of his existence, he was relieved from his anxiety. Being once assured that this visit was of a peaceable nature, it is impossible to describe the joy these poor people manifested, on seeing those whom they were pleased to consider as their countrymen. Yams, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, with fine fresh eggs, were laid before them ; and the old man would have killed and dressed a hog for his visitors, but time would not allow them to partake of his intended feast. This interesting new colony, it seemed, now consisted of about forty-six persons, mostly grown-up young people, besides a number of

infants. The young men, all born on the island, were very athletic, and of the finest forms; their countenances open and pleasing, indicating much benevolence and goodness of heart. But the young women were particular objects of admiration,—tall, robust, and beautifully formed, their faces beamed with smiles and unruffled good-humour, but wearing a degree of modesty and bashfulness that would do honour to the most virtuous nation on earth; their teeth (like ivory) were regular and beautiful, without a single exception: and all of them, both male and female, had the most marked English features. The clothing of the young females consisted of a piece of linen, reaching from the waist to the knees, and generally a sort of mantle, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and hanging as low as the ancles; but this covering appeared to be intended chiefly as a protection against the sun and the weather, as it was frequently laid aside, and then the upper part of the body was entirely exposed; and it is not possible to conceive more beautiful forms than they exhibited. They sometimes wreath caps or bonnets for the head, in the most tasteful manner, to protect the face from the rays of the sun; and though, as Captain Pipon observes, they have only had the instruction of their Otaheitan mothers, our dress-makers in London would be delighted with the simplicity, and yet elegant taste, of these untaught females.

“ Their native modesty, assisted by a proper sense of religion and morality, instilled into their youthful minds by John Adams, has hitherto preserved these interesting people perfectly chaste, and free from all kinds of debauchery. Adams assured the visitors, that,

since Christian's death, there had not been a single instance of any young woman proving unchaste, nor any attempt at seduction on the part of the men. They all labour while young in the cultivation of the ground ; and, when possessed of a sufficient quantity of cleared land, and of stock to maintain a family, they are allowed to marry, but always with the consent of Adams, who unites them by a sort of marriage ceremony of his own.

“The greatest harmony prevailed in this little society, their only quarrels, and these rarely happened, being, according to their own expressions, *quarrels of the mouth*. They are honest in their dealings, which consist of bartering different articles for mutual accommodation.

“Their habitations are extremely neat. The little village of Pitcairn forms a pretty square, the houses at the upper end of which are occupied by the patriarch John Adams, and his family, consisting of his old blind wife, and three daughters, from fifteen to eighteen years of age, and a boy of eleven ; a daughter of his wife by a former husband, and a son-in-law. On the opposite side is the dwelling of Thursday October Christian ; and in the centre is a smooth verdant lawn, on which the poultry are let loose, fenced-in so as to prevent the intrusion of the domestic quadrupeds. All that was done was obviously undertaken on a settled plan, unlike any thing to be met with on the other islands. In their houses, too, they had a good deal of decent furniture, consisting of beds, laid upon bedsteads, with neat covering ; they had also tables, and large chests, to contain their valuables and clothing,

which is made from the bark of a certain tree, prepared chiefly by the elder Otaheitan females. Adams's house consists of two rooms, and the windows had shutters to pull-to at night.

“ The younger part of the sex are, as before stated, employed with their brothers, under the direction of their common father, Adams, in the culture of the ground, which produced cocoa-nuts, bananas, the bread-fruit tree, yams, sweet potatoes, and turnips. They have also plenty of hogs and goats: the woods abound with a species of wild hog; and the coast of the island with several kinds of good fish. Their agricultural implements are made by themselves, from the iron supplied by the Bounty, which, with great labour, they beat out into spades, hatchets, crows, &c. This was not all. The good old man kept a regular journal, in which was entered the nature and quantity of work performed by each family, what each had received, and what was due on account. There was, it seems, besides private property, a sort of general stock, out of which articles were issued on account to the several members of the community; and, for mutual accommodation, exchanges of one kind of provision for another were very frequent, as salt for fresh provisions, vegetables and fruit for poultry, fish, &c. Also, when the stores of one family were low, or wholly expended, a fresh supply was raised for another, or out of the general stock, to be repaid when circumstances were more favourable; all of which was carefully noted down in John Adams's journal.

“ But what was most gratifying of all to the visitors, was the simple and unaffected manner in which they

returned thanks to the Almighty for the many blessings they enjoyed. They never failed to say grace before and after meals, to pray every morning at sun-rise, and they frequently repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. 'It was truly pleasing,' says Captain Pison, 'to see these poor people so well disposed to listen so attentively to moral instruction, to believe in the attributes of God, and to place their reliance on divine goodness.' The day on which the two captains landed was Saturday, the 17th of September, but, by John Adams's account, it was Sunday, the 18th; and they were keeping the Sabbath, by making it a day of rest and of prayer. This was occasioned by the *Bounty* having proceeded thither by the eastern route, and our frigates having gone to the westward; and the *Topaz* found them right according to her own reckoning, she having also approached the island from the eastward. Every ship from Europe, proceeding to Pitcairn's Island round the Cape of Good Hope, will find them a day later, as those who approach them round Cape Horn a day in advance, as was the case with Captain Folger, and the Captains Sir T. Staines and Pison.

"The visit of the *Topaz* is, of course, as a notable circumstance, marked down in John Adams's journal. The first ship that appeared off the island was on the 27th of December, 1795, but, as she did not approach the land, they could not make out to what nation she belonged. A second appeared some time after, but did not attempt to communicate with them. A third came sufficiently near to see the natives and their habitations, but did not attempt to send a boat on shore, which is the less surprising, considering the uniform

ruggedness of the coast, the total want of shelter, and the almost constant and violent breaking of the sea against the cliffs. The good old man was anxious to know what was going on in the Old World; and they had the means of gratifying his curiosity, by supplying him with some magazines and modern publications. His library consisted of the books that belonged to Admiral Bligh, but the visitors had not time to inspect them.

“They particularly inquired after Fletcher Christian. This ill-fated young man was never happy, it seems, after the rash and inconsiderate step he had taken: he became sullen and morose, and practised the very same kind of conduct towards his companions in guilt, which he and they so loudly complained against in their late commander. Disappointed in his expectations at Otaheite and the Friendly Islands, and most probably dreading a discovery, this deluded youth committed himself and his remaining confederates to the mere chance of being cast upon some desert island, and chance threw them on that of Pitcairn. Finding no anchorage near it, he ran the ship upon the rocks, cleared her of the live stock, and other articles, which they had been supplied with at Otaheite, when he set her on fire, that no trace of inhabitants might be visible, and all hope of escape cut off from himself and his wretched followers. He soon, however, disgusted both his own countrymen and the Otaheitans, by his oppressive and tyrannical conduct; they divided into parties, and disputes, and affrays, and murders were the consequence. His Otaheitan wife died within a twelvemonth from their landing, after which he carried

off one that belonged to an Otaheitan man, who watched for an opportunity of taking his revenge, and shot him dead, while digging in his own field. Thus terminated the miserable existence of this deluded young man, who was neither deficient in talent nor energy, nor in connexions, and who might have risen in the service, and become an ornament to his profession.

“John Adams declared, as it was natural enough he should do, his abhorrence of the crime in which he was implicated, and said that he was sick at the time in his hammock. This, we understand, is not true, though he was not particularly active in the mutiny. He expressed the utmost willingness to surrender himself, and be taken to England: indeed, he rather seemed to have an inclination to revisit his native country; but the young men and women flocked round him, and with tears and entreaties begged that their father and protector might not be taken from them, for without him they must all perish. It would have been an act of the greatest inhumanity to remove him from the island; and it is hardly necessary to add, that Sir Thomas Staines lent a willing ear to their entreaties, thinking, no doubt, as we feel strongly disposed to think, that if he even were among the most guilty, his care and success in instilling religious and moral principles into the minds of this young and interesting society, have, in a great degree, redeemed his former crimes.

“This island is about six miles long by three broad, covered with wood, and the soil, of course, very rich; situated under the parallel of 25° south latitude, and in the midst of such a wide expanse of ocean, the

climate must be fine, and admirably adapted for the reception of all the vegetable productions of every part of the habitable globe. Small, therefore, as Pitcairn's Island may appear, there can be little doubt that it is capable of supporting many inhabitants ; and the present stock being of so good a description, we trust they will not be neglected. In the course of time the patriarch must go hence ; and we think it would be exceedingly desirable that the British nation should provide for such an event, by sending out, not an ignorant and idle evangelical missionary, but some zealous and intelligent instructor, together with a few persons capable of teaching the useful trades or professions. On Pitcairn's Island there are better materials to work upon than missionaries have yet been so fortunate as to meet with, and the best results may reasonably be expected. Something we are bound to do for these blameless and interesting people. The articles recommended by Captain Pipon appear to be highly proper: cooking utensils; implements of agriculture; maize, or the Indian corn; the orange-tree, from Valparaiso, a most grateful fruit in a warm climate, and not known in the Pacific Islands; and that root of plenty the potatoe; bibles, prayer-books, and a proper selection of other books, with paper, and other implements of writing. The visitors supplied them with some tools, kettles, and other articles, such as the high surf would permit them to land, but to no great extent; many things are still wanting for their ease and comfort. The descendants of these people, by keeping up the Otaheitan language, which the present race speak fluently, might be the means of civi-

lizing the multitudes of fine people scattered over the innumerable islands of the Great Pacific. We have only to add, that Pitcairn's Island seems to be so fortified by nature, as to oppose an invincible barrier to an invading enemy: there is no spot, apparently, where a boat can land with safety, and perhaps not more than one where it can land at all; an everlasting swell of the ocean rolls in on every side, and breaks into foam against its rocky and iron-bound shores."

It will be seen that this account differs in some respects, and particularly as relates to the death of Christian, from that we mentioned before, and which was obtained from the log-book of the *Topaz*. The fate of the twenty-five mutineers may thus be stated: Christian and eight others settled on Pitcairn's Island, all killed except John Adams; sixteen remained at Otaheite, two of them killed there, the remaining fourteen came off with the *Pandora*; four of them lost with her; therefore ten arrived in England, who were tried for the mutiny: six were found guilty, and four were acquitted; of the six, three were executed, and three pardoned.

MUNGO PARK'S TRAVELS.



Soon after Mungo Park's return from the East Indies, in 1793, he learnt 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. He offered his services, which were accepted; and the liberality of the association gave him every encouragement which it was in their power to grant, or which he could with propriety demand.

Mr. Park was favored with a letter to Dr. John Laidley, a gentleman who had resided many years at an English factory on the banks of the Gambia. He was furnished with a letter of credit on him for 200*l.*, and took his passage in the brig Endeavour, Captain Richard Wyatt, which was bound to the Gambia for bees'-wax and ivory. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 22d of May, 1793. His instructions were plain and concise. He was directed, on his 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 he should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of that river: that he should use his utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo and Houssa: and that he 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 existing circumstances of his situation and prospects, should appear to him to be most advisable.

On the 4th of June, they saw the mountains near Mogadore, on the coast of Africa; and on the 21st anchored at Jillipee, a town on the northern bank of the river Gambia, opposite to James's Island, where the English had formerly a small fort. On the 23d, they departed from Jillipee, and proceeded to Vintain, a place much resorted to by Europeans, in consequence of the great quantity of bees'-wax which is brought thither for sale.

The wax is collected in the woods, by the Feloops, a wild and unsociable race of people. The honey which they collect is chiefly used by themselves, in making a strong intoxicating liquor, similar to 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 the reward for his trouble.

The river Gambia 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. At the entrance of the river from the sea, sharks are found in great abundance; and

higher up, the alligators and hippopotamus' are very numerous.

Upon Mr. Park's arrival at Jonkakonda, Dr. Laidley waited upon him, and requested that he would spend his time at his house, until an opportunity offered for prosecuting the journey.

Bisania, where the doctor resided, is a small village in the King of Yany's dominions. It is situated on the banks of the Gambia; and the few white inhabitants who live there carry on a trade in ivory and gold.

The first object of our enterprising traveller was to acquire a knowledge of the Mandingo tongue, and his next was to procure information relative to the interior of the country.

The grains chiefly cultivated are two species of Indian corn, and rice. The inhabitants in the vicinity of the towns and villages have gardens, which produce onions, calavauces, yams, cassavi, water-melons, &c. Near the towns were also several small patches of cotton and indigo: the former of these articles supplies them with clothing, and with the latter they dye their cloth of a beautiful 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. The corn, thus freed from the husk, is returned to the mortar, and beaten into meal, which is differently used in different countries. By the natives of the Gambia it is made into a sort of pudding, first by moistening the flour with water, and then stirring and shaking it about

in a large calabash, till it adherè together in small granules, resembling sage. 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 manure, and placed upon the fire. In the lower vessel is commonly some animal food, and water, the steam of which ascends through the holes into the upper vessel, and softens the kous-kous, or pudding. The natives have also another kind of pudding, and various modes of dressing their rice.

The natives of the countries bordering on the Gambia, though distributed into a great many governments, may be divided into four great classes,—the *Feloops*, the *Jaloffs*, the *Foulahs*, and the *Mandingoes*. Amongst all these nations, the religion of Mahomet has made, and is making, rapid strides; though some, adhering to the blind but harmless superstition of their ancestors, are yet called *kafirs*, or infidels, by the followers of the prophet. The *Feloops* are of a revengeful disposition, and exceedingly gloomy; but they display the utmost gratitude and affection towards their benefactors, and are singularly faithful. 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. They differ from the *Mandingoes* in language, in complexion, and in features. The noses of the *Jaloffs* are not so depressed, nor are their lips so protuberant, as among the generality of African tribes; and they are considered by the white traders as better-looking than the negroes of that part of the continent. In their

rude manufactures they excel the Mandingoes, and resemble them in manners, superstitions, and government. The Foulabs, who reside near the Gambia, are chiefly of a tawney complexion, soft silky hair, and pleasing features, and greatly attached to a pastoral life. The Mandingoes constitute the bulk of the inhabitants of those districts of Africa visited by Mr. Park. They originally migrated from Manding. The government of the parent state was republican; that of the new colony is monarchical, to a limited extent.

In every considerable town there is a chief magistrate called the *alkaid*, whose office is hereditary, and who presides in all their courts of justice. Their courts are composed of the free elders of the town, who are called *palavers*. The laws of Mahomet are now gradually introduced amongst those who have adopted his religion. The Mandingoes have their professional advocates, or expounders of the law, who are allowed to appear and plead for plaintiff or defendant, and who are well skilled in the forensic qualifications of cavil and procrastination.

While Mr. Park 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 are of a mild and obliging disposition. The chief peculiarity in the dress of the women consists of 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 elegant manner, with white sea-shells. In Kaarta and Ludama, the women raise their hair to a great height, by the addition of a pad, which they decorate with a species of coral brought from the Red Sea, by pilgrims returning from Mecca. The habitations of the Mandingoes are small and incommodious, and their household utensils few and simple. As every man of free condition has a plurality of wives, it is found necessary (probably for the sake of preventing 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 bamboo enclosure, called a *sirk*. A number of these enclosures, with narrow passages between them, form

a town; and in each town is a large stage, called *ben-tang*, which is used as a public hall, and in which the indolent meet to smoke their pipes, and hear the news of the day.

On the 2d of December, 1795, Mr. Park left the hospitable mansion of Dr. Laidley. He was provided with a negro servant named Johnson, and a negro boy named Demba. He was furnished with a horse for himself, and two asses for his attendants; and he carried with him provisions for two days, a small assortment of beads, amber, and tobacco, for the purchase of a fresh supply of provisions; a few changes of linen, an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, and a thermometer; two fowling-pieces, a pair of pistols, and some other small articles. A free man, named Madiboo, who was travelling to the kingdom of Bambarra, and two slave-merchants who were going to Bondou, and a negro named Tami, a native of Kassou, all offered their services, as they intended respectively to proceed. These men travelled on foot, driving their asses before them. Thus he had no less than six attendants, who had been taught to regard him with great respect, and to consider that their safe return to the countries on the Gambia would solely depend upon his preservation. Dr. Laidley and Messrs. Ainsley, with a number of domestics, accompanied Mungo Park for the two first days. They reached Jindey the same day, and rested at the house of a black woman. In the evening they walked out to see a village belonging to a *slatee*, or slave-merchant, named Jemaffoo Mamadoo, the richest of all the Gambia traders. They found him at home, and so delighted was he with the honour of

the visit, that he presented them with a fat bullock, which was immediately killed, and part of it dressed for the evening's repast.

The negroes do not go to supper till late; and, in order to amuse the visitors while the beef was preparing, a Mandingo was desired to relate some diverting stories, in listening to which, and in smoking tobacco, the travellers spent three hours. The stories bear a resemblance to those in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; but in general they are of a more ludicrous cast. One of them is abridged, for the amusement of the reader.

"Many years ago," said the narrator, "the people of Doomasana (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 properest means of taking him alive; a circumstance, it was said, which, while it furnished undeniable proofs 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 further, 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 letting down, both he 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 Doomasana; at which place it is dangerous even 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.”

On the 3d of December, Mr. Park took leave of his friends, and rode slowly into the woods. On the morning of the 4th, he passed Kootacunda; and on the 5th

reached Medina, the capital of the King of Woolli's dominions. On the following day, he waited upon the king, who was pleased to receive him graciously; and on the 7th he had his final audience with his Majesty, whom he found sitting upon a bullock's hide, and warming himself before a large fire. The king earnestly recommended Mungo Park not to pursue his journey, alluding to the untimely fate of Major Houghton.

Park then set out, with his guide, Johnson, and other attendants. A sheep having been killed in the course of the journey, a dispute arose between Johnson and one of the negroes concerning the horns. The matter was settled by giving a horn to each of them. It appeared that these horns were highly valued, as being easily convertible into portable cases, for containing and keeping secure certain charms called *saphies*, which the negroes wear constantly about them. These saphies are nothing more than sentences from the Koran, which the Mahometan priests write on paper, and sell to the simple and superstitious natives. Some of the negroes wear them to guard themselves against the bite of snakes or alligators; and on this occasion the saphie is enclosed in a snake's or alligator's skin, and tied round the ankle. Others of them have recourse to the saphies in time of war, to protect their persons from 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, or to conciliate the favour of superior powers.

It is not a little singular, that, whether the negro be a follower of Mahomet, or sunk in his own more blind idolatry, he is yet eager to possess and retain the

amulet. The fact is, that the natives consider the art of writing as bordering upon magic: it is not in the doctrine of the prophet, but in the art of the magician, that their confidence is placed. Park himself was fortunate enough, in circumstances of distress, to turn the popular credulity in this respect to good account.

The inhabitants of Koojar, though not wholly unacquainted with the sight of Europeans, beheld Mr. Park with a mixture of curiosity and reverence, and invited him to see a *neobering*, or wrestling-match, at the bentang. The spectators arranged themselves in a circle, leaving the intermediate space for the wrestlers, who were strong active young men, full of emulation. Being, with the exception of a short pair of drawers, stripped of their clothing, and having their skins 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 antagonist by the knee. Considerable judgment and dexterity were then displayed, but superior strength decided the contest. 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 a drum regulated the motions. It was beaten with a crooked stick, which the drummer held in his right hand, occasionally using his left, either to deaden the sound, or vary the music; and the drum is also used to keep order among the spectators, by imitating the sound of certain Mandingo sentences.

On the morning of the 12th, as Mr. Park entered

the wilderness which separates the kingdoms of Woollie and Bondou, his attendants insisted on halting, till they could prepare a saphie, or charm, to insure a safe journey. This was done by spitting upon a stone, muttering a few sentences, and throwing the stone on the path they intended to take. The ceremony was thrice repeated, after which the negroes proceeded with the greatest confidence; though the confidence could not be of long continuance, for their fears of banditti, arising from the sight of places where fires had been recently kindled, made them hasten to Tallika, the frontier town of Bondou towards Woollie, and inhabited by Foulahs of the Mahomedan religion.

Mr. Park took up his residence at the house of one of the King of Bondou's officers; and on the 14th of December re-commenced his journey.

He travelled very peaceably for some time. At last a violent quarrel arose between two of his attendants, in the course of which they bestowed some opprobrious terms on 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. But for the timely and judicious interference of Mr. Park, the dispute might have ended seriously; but as it was, the parties were compelled to move, and forgot their animosities at the village of Ganado. At this place they remained the night, and were amused by an itinerant *singing man*, who told a number of diverting stories, and played some sweet airs, by blowing his breath upon a bow-string, and striking it at the same time with a stick.

By the 18th, Mr. Park, who had arrived at Dooggi the preceding evening, re-commenced his travels, and, from the number of Foulahs and other people he had about him, the cavalcade made a formidable appearance. 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.

On the 21st of December, the travellers arrived at Fatteconda, the capital of the kingdom of Bondou. A respectable slatee invited Mr. Park to his house. When he had been there about an hour, a person came and told him he was to be presented immediately to the monarch of Bondou. Accompanied by his guide and his interpreter, Mr. Park reached the outskirts of the town, and crossed some corn-fields; but, suspecting a trick, he stopped, and asked the guide whither he was going. Upon which the guide pointed to a person who was sitting under a tree, and observed, that the king frequently gave audiences in that retired manner, in order to avoid a crowd of people, and that none but himself and the interpreter were to be present. The king commanded Park to sit down beside him on the

mat; and, after hearing his story, and finding he was not come to purchase either slaves or gold, desired that Park would attend him in the evening, when he should be presented with some provisions.

In the evening, he repaired to the audience. He found all the houses belonging to the king and his family surrounded by a lofty mud wall, which converts the whole into a kind of citadel. The interior is subdivided into courts. The monarch was found sitting upon a mat, and two attendants were with him. Park again repeated, that he was not a slave-merchant; for the king would not believe that motives of curiosity could induce him to undertake so dangerous a journey. At length he appeared convinced, and those presents were given to the monarch of Bondou which had been previously selected for him. But, alas, poor Park!—the umbrella which you gave was admired, your tobacco, your amber, and your cannister of gunpowder were accepted; but the royal eyes were bent on your smart new blue coat, and the black chief saw his own sacred countenance reflected upon your glittering Birmingham buttons! He longed for the blue coat, he expressed his wish to have it presented to him! Whether at St. James's, Versailles, Vienna, or Bondou, the wish of the sovereign is a command. Park took off his coat,—he presented it to the king, who graciously told him he would wear it on all state occasions. Thus fled the only good coat which our traveller had in his possession. The king then gave Park some provisions, and told him he was sick, and wished to have a little blood taken from him. The arm was tied up, the lancet was produced; but, like Acres, the king's valour

“oozed out at his finger’s ends.” He was better, much revived; he would postpone the operation till the afternoon, and requested Mr. Park to visit the females of his court. Mr. Park entered the seraglio; in a moment he was surrounded by the women: some begged for physic, some for amber, all were desirous of trying that great African specific *blood-letting*. Now, indeed, was Park placed in a new, if not in a dangerous, situation. He was surrounded by ten or twelve of the belles of Bondou. He was rallied by them on the whiteness of his skin, and the prominency of his nose. Both, they said, were artificial: the first was produced, when he was an infant, by dipping him in milk; and, as to the second, what pain he must have endured,—for it had been pinched every day, till it had acquired its present unnatural conformation. But Park, with the gallantry of a Frenchman, rather than the cold formality of a Briton, returned compliments for animadversion; he extolled the glossy jet of their skins, and the lovely depression of their noses. They disdained flattery, they said,—the *honey-mouth* was not esteemed at Bondou. Yet, oh, woman! woman! the same in Africa as in Europe, not insensible to, or disliking admiration,—these very Bondou beauties gave to Mungo Park some presents; and it stands recorded in his journal, that his conversation was among the causes of their generosity.

Mr. Park left Fatteconda on the 23d; and in the afternoon of that day, his fellow-travellers informed him, that, as they were arrived at the boundary between Bondou and Kajaaga, it would be necessary for them to prosecute their journey by night, until they should reach a more hospitable and less dangerous country.

He acquiesced in the proposal; and, when the people of the village in which they were had retired to sleep, Park, his companions, and two guides, who were to conduct them through the woods, set off. The moon was bright, and the night was remarkably beautiful; but the dismal and horrid howlings of the wild beasts, as they roamed through the almost impenetrable forest, cast a gloom over the mind, and added to the impressive solemnity of the scene. Not a word was uttered by any one, except in a whisper; all were attentive, and each was eager to show his sagacity, by pointing out the wolves and hyænas, as they glided like shadows from one thicket to another. Early in the morning they arrived at a small village; and in the afternoon of the same day found themselves at Joag, in the kingdom of Kajaaga.

Bondou, which they had quitted, 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.

As soon as it was dark, Park was invited to witness the sports of the inhabitants. He found a great crowd surrounding a party who were dancing by the light of some large fires, and to the music of four drums.

On the 25th of December, a number of horsemen came into the town, and awakened the owner of the house in which Mr. Park slept. They then dismounted, and came to the bentang, on which his bed had been made. One of them, thinking Park was asleep, attempted to steal his musquet, that lay by him on the mat; but this did not succeed. The strangers sat down

by him till day-light. The truth was, that these men, and others who subsequently approached, had been sent to seize upon Park, his companions, and their baggage, for having entered the king's town without first paying the duties. He was now placed in a hazardous and perplexing situation; but, after much debate, the men went away, carrying with them, however, one half of Mr. Park's effects. His companions now earnestly requested he would abandon his undertaking; but our traveller was not to be dispirited. His hunger was relieved by the kindness of an old woman; and a nephew of Dembo Segó Jalla, the Mandingo King of Kasson, offered him his protection and company as far as Kasson.

The offer was gratefully accepted, and he set off with his protector, who was also named Dembo Segó. On the 28th of December they came to Plargee, a little above which place is a considerable cataract. Below the cataract, the river is remarkably black and deep. Dembo had a numerous retinue of servants, and many horses and asses. It was proposed to make the cattle swim over the river at this place. The horses were pushed into the river, and in time reached the opposite bank; but the asses gave a great deal of trouble, and hours elapsed before the whole cavalcade had landed on the Kasson territory.

No sooner was Park arrived in Kasson, than Dembo Segó told him, that, as they were now in his uncle's dominions, he hoped for a handsome reward. The man knew how much Park had been pilfered at Joag, but he yet took from him seven bars of amber and some tobacco.

On the 30th of December, Park was introduced to Dembo's father, whose name was Tiggity Tego. He represented the necessity of his visiting the Kasson sovereign, and could not believe that curiosity was the object of the journey, but felt persuaded that the white man secretly meditated a project which he was afraid to avow. Park was now at Teesee, where he remained some days. The inhabitants, though they possess cattle and corn in abundance, are not over dainty in articles of diet,—rats, moles, squirrels, snakes, locusts, &c. are all eaten by the noble Tiggity and his brother's poorest subject. Nothing very interesting occurred during Park's ten days' residence at Teesee. Dembo had more than once borrowed his horse, and did not finally return home till the 10th of January, when Park intimated his desire of departing for Kooniakary. But he was not to move till Tiggity had received all those duties which are usually paid by travellers, and a handsome present to boot. Dembo also, while he enforced the demands of his father, thought it not expedient to neglect his own.

Park had lost half his property before he entered the Kasson dominions; and when Dembo and his friends retired, he found himself deprived of half the remainder. A blacksmith, who was a native of Kasson, who had made one of Park's retinue, and who was proceeding, with the savings of four years' hard labour, to settle among his kindred, was compelled to open his bundles, and to swear that the articles contained in them were his property.

On the morning of the 11th of January, Jumbo, the blacksmith's native town, was in sight. Soon after

this, the man's brother, who had been apprised of his arrival, came out to meet him, accompanied by a singing-man. He brought a horse for the smith, that he might enter his native town in a dignified manner, and desired each of them to put a good charge of powder into their guns. The singing-man now led the way, followed by the two brothers. They were presently joined by a number of people from the town, all of whom evinced great joy at seeing their old acquaintance.

On entering the town, the singing-man began an extempore song in praise of the smith, 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 they arrived at the smith's place of residence, they dismounted, and fired their guns. The meeting between the smith and his relations was very tender: their emotions were displayed in the strongest and most impressive manner. Amidst these transports, the smith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her. She was totally blind,—she stretched out her hand to give her son welcome,—she stroked his hands, arms, and face, with great care; and seemed delighted that the evening of her life was thus rendered blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. "From this interview," says Mr. Park, "I was fully convinced, that whatever difference there is between the negro and the 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 bustle, Park had seated himself at a

distance, and had remained unobserved. But when the smith was called upon by his father to narrate his adventures, and when, towards the close of them, he had occasion to speak of the white man, and exclaimed, *Affille ibi siring!* "See him sitting there!" in a moment every eye was turned upon him. He appeared like a being dropped from the clouds; every one was surprised he had not been observed before; and a few women and children expressed considerable uneasiness at being so near a man of such uncommon appearance. It was some hours before they all became reconciled to him.

The good-natured blacksmith declared he would not quit Park during his sojourn at Kooniakary, to which place they bent their steps, after having remained at the smith's about two days. On the morning of the 15th of January, 1796, Park was admitted to an audience with King Dembo Sego Jalla, in his capital of Kooniakary. An immense number of people were collected to see the white man, who had some difficulty in forcing his way to the royal presence. The monarch not only gave credit to Mr. Park's account of himself, but promised him every protection in the prosecution of his journey, though he advised him to delay proceeding on it till information could be obtained of the state of the kingdom of Bambarra.

It appeared, from the natives of Kasson, that most of the neighbouring states were involved in war. Mr. Park, therefore, remained at Kooniakary till he could procure a safe conduct into the kingdom of Kaarta. At Kooniakary, he had received some money from a slave-merchant, on Dr. Laidley's account: Sambo Sego,

the king's son, attempted, on one pretence or another, to rob him of it; and had it not been for the active interference of Salino Daucari, he would not have been overburthened with so necessary a commodity.

On the 26th of January, Mr. Park went to the top of a hill to the southward of Soolo, where he had a most enchanting prospect of the country. The number of towns and villages, and the extensive cultivation around them, exceeded every thing of the kind he had yet seen in Africa. A gross calculation may be formed of the number of inhabitants in that charming plain, by the consideration that the King of Kasson can raise four thousand fighting-men by the sound of his war-drum.

In traversing the rocky eminences of the hill, which are almost destitute of vegetation, he 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 them a visit on the evening of the 27th. Their approach was discovered by the dogs of the village; and on this occasion it was remarkable that the dogs did not bark, but howled 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 enclosure, in the middle of the village, where the cattle was kept. Here they lighted the bunches of grass, and, waving them to and fro, ran whooping and hallooing towards the hills. This manœuvre had the desired effect of frightening the wolves away from the village; but they had already killed five of the cattle, and torn and wounded many others.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Park left Feesurah; and the landlord demanded so extravagant a sum for the lodging, that Mr. Park refused to pay it; but his attendants were so frightened at the reports of approaching war, that they declined to proceed farther unless matters with him were accommodated, and he could be induced to accompany them to Kemmoo, for their protection on the road. The landlord, propitiated by the present of a blanket, mounted his horse, and led the way. He was one of those negroes, who, together with the ceremonial part of the Mahometan religion, retain their ancient superstition, and even drink strong liquors. They are called *Johars*. The party had no sooner reached the dark and lonely part of the first wood, than the landlord made a sign for them to halt; and, taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo, that hung as an amulet round his neck, whistled very loud three times. Park was somewhat startled at this unexpected noise; but the landlord assured him that it was done merely with a view to ascertain what success they were likely to meet with on their journey. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, said a number of short prayers, and gave three more whistles; but receiving no answer, declared that they might proceed without fear.

On the following day, Mr. Park, wandering a little from his companions, came in full view of two negro horsemen, who galloped from among the bushes. On seeing them, he made a full stop; the horsemen did the same. Park then approached: one of the negroes, casting upon him a look of horror, rode off at full speed; the other, in a dreadful panic, put his hand

over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers, until the horse, apparently without the rider's knowledge, conveyed him slowly after his companion. When the negroes met with Mr. Park's attendants, they related a frightful story. It appeared that the enterprising Scotchman was seen by them dressed in the flowing robes of a tremendous spirit; and that when he was invisible to the eyes of the blacks, a cold blast of wind came pouring down upon them from the sky, like so much cold water.

At noon, they arrived at the capital of Kaarta; and after Mr. Park had been seen by crowds of negroes, he was told that the king was at leisure to receive him. He followed the messenger, and, on entering the court in which the king was sitting, he was astonished at the number of his attendants, and at the good order which seemed to prevail. Every one was seated; the fighting-men on the king's right hand, and the women and children on his left. The king, whose name was Daisy Koorabbarri, was not distinguished from his subjects 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.

The king was unable to give to Mr. Park the protection and assistance that he required; and therefore he determined to go from Kaarta into the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar, and from thence pass into Bambarra. In the midst of the conference, a scout, or watchman, employed by the king, arrived with intelligence that the Bambarra army had left Fooladoo, and was on its march towards Kaarta.

Park was now eager to proceed; and, after having

presented the king with his horse-pistols and holsters, he left Kemmoo, accompanied by three of Daisy's sons, and about two hundred horsemen, who kindly undertook to see him a little way on his journey. He slept the first night at Marina, where he was most unfortunately robbed of some amber, beads, and gold.

As they were journeying on the following day, they observed two negroes, who were natives of Toorda, and who had come into the woods to gather *tomborong*s. They are small farinaceous berries, of a yellow colour and delicious taste. They are the fruit of the *rhamnus lotus* of Linnæus. The berries are much esteemed by the natives, who convert them into a sort of bread.

While at Funingkedy, Mr. Park was witness to the excessive grief of a woman whose son had been wounded by the Moors. The young man was supported on his horse into the town, where his mother met him, frantic with grief, and enumerating his good qualities. *Ee maffo fonio!* she exclaimed, "He never told a lie!" As her son was carried in at the gate, she again exclaimed, *Ee maffo fonio abado!* "He never told a lie, no, never!" When the woman's grief had a little subsided, Mr. Park was desired to examine the wound. He found the leg broken in two places below the knee,—he judged immediate amputation necessary,—he explained himself to the negroes: they never heard of such a thing,—they considered him as a cannibal for proposing it. No, the poor young fellow was put into the hands of some old Bushreens, who endeavoured to secure him a passage into Paradise by teaching him to pronounce a few Arabic sentences. After many ineffectual struggles, the dying negro exclaimed, "There

is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet!" and expired; and the Bushreen, turning to the weeping mother, declared, that her son would be happy in a future state.

At day-break, on the 18th, Mr. Park resumed his journey, and about eight o'clock passed Simbing, the frontier village of Ludamar. From this village, Major Houghton (being deserted by his negro-servants, who refused to follow him into the Moorish territory) wrote his last letter, with a pencil, to Dr. Laidley. We quote the following paragraph from Mr. Park's own Narrative:—
" 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 Jana, he got acquainted with several Moorish merchants, who were travelling to Iisheet (a place near the salt-pits in the Great Desert, ten days' journey to the northward,) to purchase salt; and the major, at the expence of a musquet 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 Tombuctoo. 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 Jarra. He had been some days without food, and the unfeeling Moors refused to give him any: he sunk 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, the travellers saw a number of wild horses: they were all one colour, and galloped away from them at an easy rate, frequently stopping and looking back. The negroes hunt them for food, and their flesh is much esteemed.

Mr. Park soon arrived at Jarra. It was unfortunate that the agitated state of the country compelled him to take this route.

The town of Jarra is situated in the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar; but the inhabitants are chiefly negroes, who purchase the protection of the Moors, by the payment of a very considerable tribute. Of the origin of these Moorish tribes, as distinguished from the inhabitants of Barbary, from whom they are divided by the Great Desert, nothing further (according to Mr. Park) 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 caliphs. 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 Zanhoga, 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 *Bufing*, or the *Black River*.

To what extent these people are now spread over the African continent it is difficult to ascertain. There is some reason for believing that their dominion stretches from west to east, in a narrow line, or belt, from the *northern mouth* of the Senegal to the confines of Abyssinia. They are a bad race, and take every opportunity of insulting the negroes.

Mr. Park's attendants now positively refused to accompany him farther; indeed the danger they incurred of being seized by the Moors, and sold into slavery, became every day more apparent. In this situation, deserted by every attendant, except his faithful black boy, and reflecting that his retreat was cut off by the war behind him, and that a Moorish country of ten days' journey lay before him, he resolved to apply to his host, Daman Jumma, to obtain permission from Ali, the sovereign of Ludamar, to pass through his country, unmolested, to Bambarra. This permission was obtained; and Daman, having given Mr. Park some money which he owed Dr. Laidley, having accommodated him in other respects, and received from

him those clothes which it was not requisite he should carry, Mr. Park, on the 3d of March, commenced his journey alone, and by moon-light. He heard the roaring of the wild beasts around him, and was compelled to proceed with caution. When he had reached a piece of rising ground, about half a mile from the town, he heard some one halloo; and, on looking back, he perceived his faithful little black boy running towards him. The lad mentioned that they should probably have a negro to accompany them, and in a short time he came up.

On the following day, March 4th, they saw a vast number of locusts. These insects, as it is well known, devour every vegetable that comes in their way, and in a short time quite strip a tree of its leaves. When a tree is shaken, or struck, it is amazing to observe what a cloud of them will fly off. In their flight they yield to the current of the wind, which in March is always from the north-east. Should the wind shift, it is difficult to conceive where they would procure food, as their course is marked with desolation.

At Sampaka, Mr. Park lodged at the house of a negro who made gunpowder. He was shewn a large bag of nitre, very white, but the chrystals small. The natives procure it in considerable quantities from the ponds, which are filled in the rainy season. When the water is evaporated, a white efflorescence is observed on the mud, which the natives collect, and purify in such manner as to answer their purpose. The Moors supply them with sulphur, from the Mediterranean; and the process is completed by pounding the articles

together in a wooden mortar. It is by no means equal to European gunpowder.

On the 7th of March, when Mr. Park was within two days' march of Goomba, and when he was spending his time pleasantly among the negroes, imagining that all danger from the Moors was over,—when fancy had placed him on the banks of the Niger, and presented to his imagination a thousand delightful scenes in his future progress,—at that happy moment, a party of Moors entered the hut, and dispelled the golden dream. They came, they said, to convey Mr. Park, by Ali's orders, to his camp at Benowm. The visit, they said, was occasioned by the curiosity of Ali's wife, *Fatima*: she had heard so much about Christians, that she was anxious to see one. The Moors further said, that they thought Ali would soon dismiss him with a handsome present, and order him to be conducted to Bambarra.

Accompanied by the faithful black boy, Mr. Park set off with the Moors for Benowm, and on the 12th of March he arrived there. The camp of Ali 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 herds of cattle, camels, and goats. No sooner was Mr. Park's arrival made known, than men, women, and children, rode, or ran, to see the Christian. He was soon surrounded by such a crowd, that he could scarcely move. One pulled his clothes, another took off his hat, a third examined his waistcoat buttons, and a fourth cried *La illa el allah Mahomet rasowl allahi!* and signified, in a threatening manner,

that he must repeat those words. At length Mr. Park reached the king's tent. He was sitting on a black leather cushion, clipping a few hairs from his upper lip; a female slave was holding a looking-glass before him, and numbers of people were in the presence. He was old, and his appearance was not prepossessing. When he found Mr. Park could not speak Arabic, he was silent. But the ladies and attendants were not so easily daunted; they asked a thousand questions, inspected every part of his apparel, searched his pockets, compelled him to unbutton his waistcoat to display the whiteness of his skin, and, with the curiosity so natural to the sex, they even counted his toes and fingers. In a little time the priest announced evening prayers; but before the people departed, Mr. Park was informed that Ali intended to present him with something to eat. A large hog was brought forward; but Park did not accept the intended offering; he knew the dislike the followers of the prophet have to that species of food, and that it could only be brought to him in derision. When the hog was turned loose, the people were both astonished and mortified that it did not fly upon Mr. Park: they had imagined it would have done so, and hardly expected it would have rushed indiscriminately among the spectators, biting whoever it could lay hold of. At length the poor animal took refuge under the royal couch.

The assembly being dissolved, Mr. Park was conducted to the tent of Ali's chief slave, but was not permitted to touch any thing belonging to it. He requested something to eat, and a little boiled corn, with salt and water, was at length sent him; and he passed

the night upon a mat before the tent, surrounded by the curious multitude. At sun-rise, he received a visit from Ali, who informed him he had prepared a tent for his reception. He was conducted to it. The wild hog he had seen on the preceding day was there; and a number of boys amused themselves by beating the animal with sticks, till at length it became so irritated, that it ran about, furiously biting every person who came in its way. Scarcely was Park seated in his own tent, than he was surrounded by the Moors, who annoyed him in every possible manner, making him take off and put on his clothes, till they had satiated themselves with the sight of what to them was so wonderful.

Mr. Park, in his journal, thus expresses himself:—

“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 sun-rise to sun-set was I obliged to suffer, with an unruffled countenance, the insults of the rudest savages on earth."

The Moors, though very indolent themselves, are very rigid task-masters: they find employment for every one about them. The boy (Demba) was sent into the woods to collect grass for Ali's horses; and Mr. Park had the honour of being appointed *barber* to the sovereign of Ludamar; but, alas! poor man! he was better fitted to amputate a leg, or extract a tooth, than he was to reap any part of a Moorish, or even a Christian beard. He was commanded to shave the head of the young prince of Ludamar. The operation was to be performed in the presence of the monarch. The young gentleman, with some hesitation, seated himself on the sand beside the operator, who, with a trembling hand, commenced his arduous task. But whether from want of skill, from design, or from the improper shape of the instrument, must remain an historical doubt, the head of the young prince received a slight incision. The unfortunate barber was desired to lay aside the razor, and walk out of the tent. This he considered a fortunate circumstance, for he had laid it down as a rule to make himself as useless and insignificant as possible, as the only means of recovering his liberty.

On the 18th of March, four Moors arrived at the camp with Johnson, Mr. Park's interpreter. They had seized this man as he was bringing a bundle of clothes

to Park, of whose captivity he was ignorant, from Duman Jumma's house. It will easily be imagined, that but few of these articles were given to the lawful owner. Whatever was valuable was taken away; and one of the pocket compasses would have graced the museum of the *tender* Ali, had he not been somewhat startled at its magical powers.

A council was soon after held, to consider of the best mode of disposing of our dauntless traveller; and the most probable account which he received of the result of their deliberations was, that his eyes, being very much like cat's, were to be put out, as soon as the gracious Queen Fatima had beheld him. Anxious to learn from authority his fate, Mr. Park waited upon some of the grandees: they were good enough to flatter him with hopes of life and liberty; but they, like many others, were well acquainted with the art of *writing on water*.

The curiosity of the Moorish ladies was now at its highest: even those who basked in the fleeting sunshine of royal favour were desirous of inspecting Mr. Park; and Ali carried him into their tents. They were as inquisitive as they were corpulent, and appeared to consider him as a being of an inferior order.

The Moors are certainly very excellent horsemen: they ride without fear, their saddles being high, both before and behind. Their greatest pride, and one of their principal amusements, is to put their horses at full speed and then stop them with a sudden jerk, so as frequently to bring them down upon their haunches. Ali always rode on a milk-white horse, with its tail dyed red. They value themselves upon the fleetness

of their horses, and feed them three or four times a-day, and generally give them a large quantity of sweet milk in the evening, which the animals appear to relish very much.

One month of Park's monotonous existence and miserable captivity had now passed away: each succeeding morn brought fresh vexation; and he watched the sun as his evening beam shed a yellow lustre along the sandy floor of his hut, for then, and not till then, did his oppressors leave him. Often did his fancy print the blue hills in his native land, and the comforts he enjoyed there. Alas!

“ Thy heart is sad, thy home is far away,
 But Hope can here her midnight vigils keep,
 And sing to charm the spirits of the deep;
 Swift as your streamers light the starry pole,
 Her visions warm the ‘traveller’s’ pensive soul.
 His native hills that rise in happier climes,
 The grot that heard his song of other times,
 His cottage home, his bark of slender sail,
 His glassy lake, and broomwood blossom’d vale,
 Rush on his thought: he sweeps before the wind,
 Treads the lov’d shore he sigh’d to leave behind;
 Meets at each step a friend’s familiar face,
 And flies at last to Helen’s long’d embrace;
 Wipes from her cheek the rapture-speaking tear,
 And clasps, with many a sigh, his children dear;
 While, long neglected, but at length caress’d,
 His faithful dog salutes the smiling guest,
 Points to his master’s eyes (where’er they roam)
 His wistful face, and whines a welcome home.”

On the 18th of April, two days after the departure of Ali to meet his queen, a shereef arrived at the camp,

with salt and other articles, from Walet, the capital of the kingdom of Biroo. As this man understood Arabic, and as Park had now *some* knowledge of the language, he endeavoured to ascertain the distance to Tombuctoo. When the shereef inquired if Mr. Park intended to travel that way, and was answered in the affirmative, he shook his head, and said *it would not do*; for that Christians were looked upon as devil's children, and enemies to the prophet.

In a few days the camp was broken up. Mansony, King of Bambara, had been refused the assistance which he had requested from Ali, and in revenge had ordered his army to march towards Ludamar. 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 a similar manner; and over all was thrown the tent cloth, upon which one or two Moorish women reclined. The king's favourite ladies rode upon camels, with a saddle of a peculiar construction, and a canopy to shade them from the sun.

On the 3d of May, the party arrived at Ali's camp near Bubaker, and Mr. Park was introduced to Queen Fatima. She was a woman of the Arab cast, of singularly large dimensions, and with long black hair. She appeared at first rather shocked at having a Christian so near her; but in a little time she seemed more at ease, and presented Mr. Park with a bowl of milk.

The heat was now insufferable,—all nature seemed to sink under it. Park was even in a worse condition than the Moors were, for want of water; for, did his boy go to the wells, and endeavour to fill the skin which Ali himself had given, every one was astonished that

the slave of a Christian should presume to draw water from the wells which had been dug by the followers of the prophet. "Frequently," says Park, "I 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 in the wilds of Africa."

One day, having in vain solicited for water from the Moors, he was tauntingly told to drink with the cattle from the trough. So extreme was his thirst, that he needed no second invitation or command; and the head of our unfortunate traveller might be seen with those of three cows, eagerly enjoying the cooling beverage.

In adventures of this nature, Mr. Park passed the sultry month of May. It will be recollected that he fell into the hands of the Moors, and, in fact, took the route he did, in consequence of the agitated state of the country. The disorders of the interior were rapidly increasing: A son of Ali was to be dispatched on business to Jarra—could Park obtain permission to visit Jarra, he hoped to escape from the Moors—through Fatima he obtained permission, and ceased to be a captive. As his residence with the Moors is now drawing towards a close, we extract from his journal his observations on their character and country:—

"The Moors of this part of Africa are divided into many separate tribes; of which the most formidable

(according 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, Jafnoo, 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 horde, 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, &c.; and they are 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 Benowm, but perform their devotions in a sort of open shed, or enclosure 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 brush-wood 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 Benowm assured me, that he could read the writings of the Christians: he shewed 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 *Kallan 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 on 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 slung 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 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 a 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 articles 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: 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 different 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 day-break, they are compelled to fetch water from the wells, in large skins called *girbas*; 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 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 large 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 exposes 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 payed 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 merchandize 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 land-marks for the caravans, and furnish the camels with a scanty forage. In some 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.' 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 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.

“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 civilized 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 upon earth, combining in their character the blind superstition of the negroes 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 Benown; 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 Houghtou, 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, superstition, 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."

Early on the morning of the 27th of May, Mr. Park departed from the camp at Bubaker, accompanied by his two attendants and a number of Moors on horseback. Ali himself had gone privately from the camp at night, with about fifty horsemen. The poor black boy, Demba, who had attended Mr. Park so long and so faithfully, was now to part from him: Ali had determined that the lad should return to Bubaker, and remain his slave. In vain did Mr. Park remonstrate; the fate of the little boy was decided, and all that could be done was to request Daman Jumma, an acquaintance of Park's at Jarra, to endeavour to purchase him from the merciless Ali.

The inhabitants of Jarra having been compelled, by the approaches of the enemy, to abandon the town, marched, or rather fled, towards Queira, where Park remained two days, for the purpose of refreshing his horse. On the afternoon of the 1st of July, as he was attending the poor animal in the fields, Ali's chief slave and four Moors arrived at Queira: their object was to seize upon Park, and re-convey him to Bubaker.

In the most feeling manner does Mr. Park describe his sensations at this information; and, as he justly observes, he was either to escape then, or for ever to remain a captive. Johnson, the interpreter, who had hitherto attended him, would not be a partner in his flight; he said, that Daman had offered him the price of a slave if he would conduct a coflle of those unhappy

beings to Gambia ; and that he was desirous of rejoining his wife and family. All hopes of Johnson were at an end. The Moors, believing that Park's horse could not travel, had neglected to secure him ;—now, then, was the moment, or he must for ever remain a captive.

“About midnight,” says Mr. Park, “I got my clothes in readiness, which consisted of two shirts, a pair of trowsers, 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 day-break, 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 blessings 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 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, in my way to Bambarra.”

Mr. Park proceeded with great caution ; but he had not gone far, when he was overtaken by three Moors. Their object, however, was to plunder, and not to detain ; and finding that Mr. Park was without gold or

beads, they left him. It is impossible to describe the joy which arose in Park's mind when he considered himself free from danger. But his delight soon turned into the greatest anguish; his thirst became intolerable, his mouth was parched and inflamed, a sudden dimness would come over his eyes, both himself and his horse were dreadfully fatigued, and he began seriously to apprehend that he should perish from thirst. A little before sun-set he climbed a tree, from the topmost branches of which he cast an agonizing look over the dreary wilderness. Not a single hut was in sight,—the landscape was as level and uninterrupted as that of the sea. He descended. He was too weak to walk, and his horse too much fatigued to carry him. He thought it an act of humanity—perhaps the last he should ever perform—to take off the bridle and saddle, and let the horse take his own course, in doing which he was affected with giddiness, and fainted. When he recovered, he resolved to make another effort to prolong existence. The evening was cool—he determined to travel as far as his limbs would carry him, in hopes of finding a watering-place. He drove his horse gently before him. As he walked along, he perceived lightning from the north-east: it promised rain, but it was hours before the rain descended; and till it did, the sand continued to fly in a most tremendous manner. At last it rained, and rained for more than an hour. The lightning then ceased, and it became dark. After groping about for some time, he saw lights, and began to suspect that he had fallen upon a party of Moors. He resolved to ascertain who they were; but, before entering the village, or camp, he felt anxious to give

his horse and himself some water. About a mile from the place where he was, he heard a loud and confused noise—he approached nearer—it proved to be the croaking of frogs. He arrived at a shallow muddy pool, and driving the frogs away with his stick, he and the poor horse effectually quenched their thirst. About evening, he arrived at a Foulah village, belonging to Ali. He entered it; but he was repulsed from the Dooty, or Governor's house, and was compelled to request food and shelter from an old woman, who gave him a dish of kouskous, and a feed of corn for his horse: in return, he presented her with one of his pocket-handkerchiefs. Whilst his horse was feeding, the people began to assemble, and one of them whispered something to his hostess, which evidently excited her surprise. Park was sufficiently acquainted with the Foulah language to understand that it was the desire of the people to apprehend and carry him to Ali's camp: he therefore tied up his corn, and, leisurely driving his horse before him, set off in a *northerly* direction. This he did by way of blind, lest any one should suspect he had ran away from the Moors. When he had travelled two miles, he struck again into the woods, and after a time fell asleep under a large tree.

On the 4th of July, he came to a Foulah village, in the precincts of a watering-place, and was invited by one of the shepherds to enter his tent, and partake of some dates. The tent was a very low one, and the family, furniture, &c. seemed huddled together like so many articles in a chest. When he had crept into this humble habitation, he found it contained a woman and three children, who, together with the shepherd and

himself, completely occupied the floor. A dish of boiled corn and some dates were produced; and the master of the family, as was customary, tasted them himself, and then desired his guest to follow his example. While Park was eating, the children kept their eyes fixed upon him; and no sooner did the shepherd pronounce the word *Nazarani*, than they began to cry, and their mother crept slowly towards the door, out of which she sprung like a greyhound, and was immediately followed by her children. The very name of a Christian so frightened them, that they would not approach the tent again.

Having left the hut of the hospitable shepherd, Mr. Park proceeded to Wawra, a tributary town of the King of Bambarra's.

At Wawra, Mr. Park was out of danger from the Moors, and he therefore determined to rest himself. He met with a hearty welcome at the Dooty's, and, laying himself down on a bullock's hide, slept soundly for two hours. The curiosity of the people would not permit him to prolong his repose: they had already seen and examined his bridle and saddle, and were descanting with great vehemence as to who the stranger was, some insisting he was an Arab, others a Moorish sultan, and the landlord declaring he was a white man, but a very poor one, when their chattering awoke the exhausted traveller.

From Wawra Mr. Park proceeded to Dingyee, and, when about to leave the latter place, his landlord, with great diffidence, requested a lock of his hair. The poor negro said that the possession of the hair of white men would act as a charm, and give the happy owner

of it all the knowledge of white men. Mr. Park had never before heard of this simple mode of education, but he instantly complied with the request; and his host's thirst for learning was such, that in a little time Park would have had no hair left, had he not gently hinted that he was desirous of reserving some of the precious merchandize for a future occasion.

After experiencing a variety of hardships, Mr. Park arrived at Doolinkeaboo, and from thence set out, in company with two negroes, for Segó. About four o'clock on the 20th of July, they stopped at a small village, where one of the negroes met with an acquaintance, who invited him to a 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, were distributed with great liberality; and the women were admitted into the society, a circumstance which Mr. Park had never before witnessed in Africa. There was no compulsion— every one took what he pleased: they nodded to each other when about to drink, and, in setting down the calabash, commonly said, *berka*, “thank you.”

On Park's departure from this village, he was constantly taken for a Moor. He rode on with his companions till it was dark, when they took up their lodging for a night at a small village. He was informed that on the following day he would see the *Niger*, which the negroes call *Joliba*, or the *great water*.

Early in the morning, Park's horse was saddled, and, as soon as it was light, and the gates opened, they renewed their journey. They passed four large villages, and about eight o'clock saw the smoke over Segó.

As they approached the town, some fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness Mr. Park had been much indebted, overtook them, and they all rode together through some marshy ground, "where," says our traveller, "as I was anxiously looking around for the river, one of them called *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 in the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the *eastward*. I hastened to the brink, and, having drank 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."

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, consists, properly speaking, of four distinct towns, two on the northern bank of the Niger, called Sego Korro and Sego Boo; and two on the southern bank, called Sego Soo Korro and Sego See Korro. The houses are built of clay, of a square form, with flat roofs: many of them are two stories high, and some of them are white-washed. The towns are surrounded with high mud-walls. There are many mosques; and the streets, though narrow, are broad enough for many useful purposes. The whole population is about 30,000. The King of Bambarra constantly resides at Sego See Korro, and employs a great many slaves in conveying people over the river: the fare, though low, yields a considerable revenue to the king. 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 narrow: they have neither decks nor masts.

Mr. Park waited some time before he was enabled to cross the river; and he justly observes, that “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 civilization and magnificence which he little expected to find in the bosom of Africa.”

But it was in vain he waited,—a messenger from the king arrived, who stated it to be his Majesty’s pleasure that Mr. Park should not cross the river; nor was he to wait upon the king, till he had declared what had brought him into the Bambarra country. The messenger concluded by desiring Mr. Park to retire to a village at some little distance. Resistance would have been dangerous and useless: with a heavy heart Park sought the village, but no one would receive him; he therefore prepared to pass the night in a tree, and had just turned his horse loose, when a woman returning from the fields passed by him. She observed that he was weary and dejected—she asked him to follow her to her hut—she there broiled some fish, and, telling Park he might rest in safety on the mat, turned to the female part of her household, and commanded them to continue their employments. They were spinning cotton, and lightened their labour with songs. One of them was extempore, and was sung by a young woman, the others joining in the chorus. The air was sweet, 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.

Trifling as this incident may appear, yet to a person in Mr. Park's situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree.

On the 23d of July, Mr. Park received a message from the King of Bambarra, commanding him to leave the vicinity of Segó ; but, at the same time, the king, desirous of relieving a white man in distress, had sent him 5,000 *kouries*. These *kouries* are little shells, which, in many parts of the East Indies, as well as in Africa, pass for money. About one hundred of them would purchase a day's provision for Mr. Park, and corn for his horse.

Being in this manner compelled to quit Segó, Mr. Park made the best of his way towards Jenné ; though, perhaps, had he been more fully aware of the risk he ran, he would not have gone so far eastward as he did. About eight o'clock on the morning of the 24th, he passed a town called Kabba, situated in the midst of a beautiful country, more like the interior of England than of Africa. The people were every where employed in collecting the fruit of the shea tree, from which they prepare the vegetable butter. In that part of Bambarra, the trees grew in great abundance : they are not planted by the natives, but grow naturally in the woods ; and, in clearing the woods, every tree is cut down but the shea. It 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 which is produced from it not only keeps the whole year, but is whiter, firmer, and of a richer flavour than that made from cow's milk. The growth and preparation of this commodity seem to be among the principal objects of African industry in Bambarra and the neighbouring states, and it constitutes a main article of their inland commerce.

At Sansanding, Park was much annoyed by a number of Moors, and by the excessive curiosity of the natives. On the 28th, as he rode, in company with his guide, through the woods beyond Nyamee, he observed the guide frequently stop and examine the bushes with great care. Upon Park's inquiring why he did so, the guide informed him that lions were very numerous in that part of the country, and that they would frequently attack travellers as they passed. While he was speaking, Park's horse started, and looking round, he observed a large animal of the cameleopard 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 in a very sluggish manner, moving its head from side to side, to see if it were pursued. Shortly after, the guide wheeled his horse round, calling out something in the Foulah language, which Mr. Park did not understand. He inquired in the Mandingo tongue what the guide meant?—*Wara billi billi!* “A very large lion!”—and made signs for Park to move away; but our traveller's

horse was too much fatigued to deviate from his course. Park rode past the bush from which the animal had given the alarm. Not seeing any thing himself, Park concluded the guide had been mistaken; when suddenly the man put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, "God preserve us!" and, to the great surprise of Park, a large red lion was seen at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore-paws. Most fortunately the lion was not hungry, and the travellers passed unmolested.

At sun-set, Mr. Park arrived at Modiboo, a charming 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, and the majestic breadth of the river, much broader there than at Segou, rendered the situation truly enchanting. Mr. Park observed the body of a crocodile near one of the negro's huts, and was told that they were not uncommon in the Niger; but he observes, that crocodiles 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. Mr. Park usually passed the night without shutting his eyes, walking backwards and forwards, fanning himself with his hat,—the stings of the mosquitoes raising blisters on his arms and legs, and rendering him very feverish and uneasy.

On the morning of the 29th of July, Mr. Park was seriously indisposed; but the person at whose house he lodged the preceding night gave him to understand that he must not remain, and that, however tired he and his horse might be, they must yet depart for Kea, under

convoy of a servant. Obligated to comply, Mr. Park set off; but, about six miles from Madiboo, the horse fell, and the united strength of the guide and Mr. Park could not replace the poor animal on his legs. He was left; and Park pursued his journey on foot, believing that in a few hours he should fall, and expire from fatigue and hunger. When they reached Kea, the Dooty declared Park should not enter his house: fortunately a fishing-canoe, belonging to Silla, was at that moment coming down the river: the vessel was hailed, and Mr. Park sent on board her.

When they had proceeded some way down the river, the fisherman paddled the canoe to a bank, tied it to a stake, and desired Mr. Park to jump out. The negro then stripped off his clothes, and dived for such a length of time, that Park thought he was drowned; but his fears were over when the man raised himself, and, calling to his wife, who was in the canoe, for a rope, once more dived to the bottom of the river, and rapidly ascending, desired his boy to assist in pulling. In a short time they brought up a basket, about two feet in diameter, containing two fine fish. They then went a little way down the river, when another basket was taken up in a similar manner: each basket was again thrown into the stream. The fisherman shortly afterwards left the canoe with the fish; and Park, the woman, and the boy, made the best of their passage to Silla.

It was at this place Mr. Park determined to relinquish his journey eastward. Much as he desired to trace the progress of the mighty Niger, he was incapable of going on. Any one of the difficulties which he was

now to encounter would have arrested the progress of a less enterprising man : the wonder is, not that Park was compelled to abandon his design, but that he had been enabled to prosecute it so far. He was now worn out by fatigue and sickness ; he was half naked ; he had not the means of procuring shelter or subsistence ; he could neither pay a guide, hire a canoe, or, what was equally necessary, purchase protection from the great men of the different countries through which he desired to pass. The tropical rains had set in, which, while they lasted, would prevent any travelling by land ; and, to sum up the list of difficulties, every step would lead him nearer to those merciless oppressors under whom he had endured so much, and from whom he had at such hazard escaped. Even the prospect in returning was gloomy : he was to traverse many hundred miles on foot, and through regions and countries unknown. After much doubt and perplexity, Mr. Park finally resolved to go westward ; but, before he left Silla, he collected from the Moorish and negro traders what information he could relative to the progress of the Niger eastward, and the situation and extent of the kingdoms in its vicinage. We shall, without hesitation, transcribe what he says on this interesting subject:—

“ Two short days’ journey to the eastward of Silla is the town of Jenné, which is situated in a small island in the river, and is said to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Sego itself, or any other town in Bambarra. At the distance of two days’ more, the river spreads into a considerable lake, called Debbie, or the dark lake ; concerning the extent of which, all the in-

formation 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 Tombuctoo. 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' distant from the river. Of the further 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 further 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 information 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 shewn 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 lodgings 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 Musselman, 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 *Abra-bima* ; 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 expence of his government is defrayed, as I was told, by a tax upon merchandize, 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 east 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*, 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, on the Niger, towards Jenné, and with the whole of his army pushed forward into Bambarra. He arrived on the banks of the Niger, opposite to Jenné, before the town's-people 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 such variety of people, whose veracity I had no reason to suspect, that I am disposed to allow it some degree of credit. The inhabitants of Bambarra, in the course of a 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 *Mandumulo* (man eaters) should be applied exclusively to the inhabitants of Maniana.”

On the 31st of July, Mr. Park agreed to accompany the Dooty's brother to Modiboo. The man promising to carry the saddle which had been left at Kea, when the horse fell down in the woods, it was intended as a present to the king of Bambarra.

The travellers departed from Kea about eight o'clock, and a mile to the westward discovered a number of earthen jars piled up together. They were neatly formed, but not glazed. As they approached towards the jars, Mr. Park's companion plucked up a large handful of herbage, and threw it upon them, making signs for Park to do the same, which he did. “ These jars,” said the Dooty's brother, “ belong to some supernatural power ; they were found in their present situation about two years ago, and every one throws some dirt or a branch of a tree upon them, to protect them from the rain.”

As they were walking onwards, they thought they perceived the print of a lion's foot. Park's companion insisted he should go first. Park, on the other hand, willingly offered him the precedence ; he was “ not at home ” in that country, and knew not the way. The

man was peremptory, and threw down the saddle. Park did not wish to encumber himself with it, since he had no hope of ever seeing his horse again. The saddle was therefore thrown into the stream, and Park gallantly entered the wood. Meanwhile, the negro fished out the saddle with his spear, and ran off with it. Park came safely out of the wood, and the negro, fearful lest he should incur censure for having taken the saddle, carried it with him to Modiboo in a canoe, and delivered it to the lawful owner on his arrival there. At Modiboo, Park found his horse; the animal was alive and much recovered; but in his journey to Nyamee he did not mount him.

On the 25th of August, Mr. Park departed from a village called Kooma, accompanied by two shepherds who were going towards Sibidooloo. While Mr. Park was on the bank of a river, and at a short distance from his companions, he heard a loud screaming; he immediately concluded that one of the shepherds had been seized by a lion; but on approaching the spot where they had been, he observed a man lying on the grass. Park looked again, and perceived it was one of his companions; the man was apparently dead, though there was no sign of any wound. When our traveller came up to him, the man whispered him to stop, and told him that some armed men had attacked him and his companion, that the companion they had seized, and that they had shot two arrows at himself. At a little distance, Park saw a man sitting on the stump of a tree, and six or seven armed men were around him. Without hesitation he went up to them, and was for a moment deceived into a belief that they

were elephant hunters. By way of opening a conversation, he inquired if they had shot any thing; but, without returning any answer, one of them ordered him to dismount, and then, as if recollecting himself, ordered Mr. Park to proceed. He had not gone far, when he was overtaken by the men, who told him they were commanded by the King of the Foulahs to take him and every thing he possessed to Fooladoo. But this was not the case. Scarcely had Park proceeded a quarter of a mile, than they halted, exclaiming, in the Mandingo language, "this place will do," and immediately stripped and robbed him of every thing he possessed. For a time it appeared doubtful if he were not to be left naked in the woods. His horse was taken from him, and his compass,—in vain did he entreat the robbers to allow him to retain the latter.

Let the reader figure to himself, if he can, the desolate situation in which Mr. Park now stood: he was naked, in the midst of an African wilderness, and was surrounded by his savage tormentors; he was five hundred miles from any European settlement, and knew not how to reach it; he was worn down by sickness and fatigue: but he was in the presence of that Being who numbereth the hairs of our head, and who deserteth not those who put their trust in him; whose goodness is unbounded, and the loveliness of whose works are manifest in every place: we

" Cannot go
 Where Universal Love smiles not around,
 Sustaining all yon orbs, and all their suns;
 From seeming evil still educing good,
 And better thence again, and better still,
 In infinite progression."

The negroes returned Mr. Park the worst of two shirts and a pair of trowsers, and, as they went away, one of them threw back his hat, in the crown of which he kept his memoranda.

The wanderer was alone; but, as he most justly observes, "The influence of religion 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 shew 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 formation of the 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 had never doubted that the Foulahs, when they had robbed,

had murdered me. Departing from this village, we travelled over several rocky ridges, and at sun-set arrived at Sibedooloo, the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding."

Here Mr. Park was presented to the chief man of the place. He was called the Mansa; and to him Park related the severe losses he had sustained, requesting, at the same time, the Mansa's assistance in recovering his things. The story being confirmed by the shepherds, the Mansa took the 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."

Park returned his most grateful acknowledgments for this act of kindness; and, after a sojourn of two days, pursued his way to Wonda, where he resolved to remain till he received intelligence of his horse and clothes. The Mansa of Wonda acted in two capacities; he was chief magistrate and schoolmaster. He was exceedingly kind to Park, and, notwithstanding a great scarcity, or rather famine, he generously supplied him with food.

The famine increased. Every morning, Mr. Park observed several women come to the Mansa's, and receive some corn from him: he asked the Mansa if he maintained these poor women from pure charity, or expected a return when the harvest was gathered in.

“Observe that child,” said the Mansa, pointing to a fine boy of about five years of age; “his mother has sold him to me for forty days’ provision for herself and her family: I have bought another boy in the same manner.” And yet the poor woman had nothing cruel or savage in her countenance; and when she had received her corn, she talked to her son with as much cheerfulness as if he had been under her care.

On the 6th of September, Mr. Park recovered his horse and clothes; his pocket-compass was broken all to pieces, a loss which he could not repair. The horse was a mere skeleton; and when Mr. Park resumed his journey, he was compelled to leave the poor animal behind.

About the 17th of September, Mr. Park arrived at Kamalia, and was introduced to a Bushreen, named Karfa Taura: he was collecting a coffle of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia, as soon as the rains should cease. He was sitting in his baloon, surrounded by several Slatees, who proposed to join the expedition. He was reading from an Arabic book, and inquired, with a smile, if Mr. Park understood it: he answered in the negative. He then desired a Slatee to fetch the little curious book brought from the west country. He did so: it was the English Book of Common Prayer. Park read it to them; and Karfa expressed his joy, and his conviction that the stranger was a European, and not an Arab in disguise.

Park remained with Karfa till the rainy season was over, and with his caravan he set out towards the Gambia. During his residence at Kamalia, Mr. Park suffered much from sickness; but Karfa was uniformly

kind, and Park's health gradually amended. Before the caravan left Kamalia, Karfa was absent for the purpose of completing his complement of slaves; and Mr. Park took that opportunity of augmenting and extending the observations he had made on the climate and productions of the country, and of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the natives.

The whole of Mr. Park's route was confined to a tract of country bounded nearly by the twelfth and fifteenth parallels of latitude. In most places the climate was *very hot*. About the middle of June, the atmosphere is agitated by violent gusts of wind, accompanied by thunder and rain: these usher in the rainy season, which continues till November. The termination of the rainy season is also marked by tornadoes; after which, the wind shifts to the north-east, and continues to blow from that quarter during the remainder of the year. A wonderful change is then produced in the face of the country: the grass becomes dry and withered, the rivers subside, and many of the trees lose their leaves. The wind, in passing over the Great Desert of Sahara, parches up every thing exposed to its current. It is, however, reckoned healthful, particularly to Europeans. In some places, when the grass is sufficiently dry, the negroes set it on fire. The burning of the grass in Manding exhibits a scene of terrific grandeur.

Although Mr. Park was occasionally ill-treated and robbed by the negroes, yet, on the other hand, he met with instances of disinterested charity and tender solicitude, particularly from the females.

The married women suckle their children for nearly

three years; and the children's affection to the mother is very strong. The child is christened when it is about eight days old: the ceremony is performed by shaving its head, and preparing a dish called *dega*, which is distributed among the guests, the priests having first said divers prayers over it, and having whispered several sentences in the infant's ear, and spit three times in its face.

The negroes have no artificial mode of dividing time; they calculate years by the number of rainy seasons. At the appearance of the new moon, they say a short prayer, spit upon their hands, and rub them over their faces. Their notions of geography are puerile; they think their own country the most fertile and the best. They certainly have an idea of one Great Supreme Being, but they imagine it useless to offer up prayers to one who is so very far removed from them.

Though they do not live to a great age, their diseases are not many, nor are they violent, with the exception indeed of the elephantiasis, and a leprosy of the very worst kind.

They have no particular burial-place; a hole for the body is sometimes dug in the hut, or under the shade of a favorite tree.

They have several musical instruments; and, at all their concerts and dances, *clapping the hands* forms an essential part of the chorus. They have their singing-men, or bards, who are not only employed in chaunting the praises of the chief men, but accompany the soldiers to battle, and recite the great actions of their ancestors. Another class of singing-men are devotees to the religion of Mahomet, and go about chaunting devout hymns.

The negroes have three meals a-day ; but the most important one is supper, which is seldom served up till midnight, and consists of kouskous, with a small quantity of animal food or shea-butter mixed with it. In the interior, the greatest of all luxuries is salt.

The negroes possess an expeditious mode of dressing leather and smelting iron. They spin and weave cotton: their loom is smaller than a European one, but it is upon a similar construction. The account of a smelting-furnace at Kamalin, and of the mode of procuring gold-dust in Manding, is thus given by Mr. Park :—

“The furnace was a circular tower of clay, about ten feet high and three 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 is 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. The 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 iron stone which I saw was very heavy, and of a dull red colour, with greyish specks: it was broken to pieces about the size of a hen’s egg. A bundle of dry wood was first put into the furnace. and covered with a quantity of charcoal, which was brought, ready burnt, from the woods.

Over this was laid a stratum of iron stone, 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 for 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 corn-stalks, 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."

We now come to the very interesting account Mr. Park gives of the gold-dust, or grains, the manner in which it is collected, and the process of washing it.

"The gold of Manding, so far as I could learn, is never found in any 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 gold-powder. It is, however, extremely probable, by what I could learn of the situation of the ground, that most of it has been originally washed down, by repeated torrents, from the neighbouring hills.

"The manner by 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 man of the town, appoints a day to begin 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, or 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 continue to dig and wash in the same spot where they had dug and washed for years, and where, of course, few large grains could be left. The washing the sands of the streams is by far the easiest way of procuring 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 them 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 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 of their 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 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 very 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, stopt 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."

Nothing surprises the poor natives of Africa more than the eagerness evinced by the European traders to procure elephants' teeth. They cannot persuade themselves that ships would be built, and voyages undertaken, merely to procure an article for making handles to knives, &c. Wood, they say, would do equally well. The greater part of the ivory sold on the Gambia and Senegal rivers is brought from the interior country. The elephant hunter rarely goes out singly: a party of four or five join together. They set forward with a few days' provision in their bag, and plenty of powder and ball. They look with great diligence and care through the wood, and the marks of the elephants' feet are carefully inspected. When the herd is discovered, the hunters follow at a distance, till one of the animals strays from his companions, and is in such a situation as to be fired at with advantage. The hunters then creep cautiously along the grass, and, when sure of their aim, they fire their pieces at once, and throw themselves on their faces. The wounded elephant immediately applies his trunk to the wounds, but he is unable to extract the balls, and, seeing no one near him, becomes quite furious: he runs madly about, till, exhausted by loss of blood, he affords the hunters an opportunity of firing at him a second time, in which he is generally brought to the ground. The skin is then taken off, and extended along the ground, with pegs, to dry; and the best part of the flesh is also hung up to dry. The teeth are struck out with a light hatchet, an instrument which the hunters always carry with them, not merely for this purpose, but also to enable them to cut down such trees as contain wild honey, on which,

with the flesh of the wild animals they kill, they subsist after their first stock of provisions is exhausted.

We now return to Mr. Park at Kamalia. The schoolmaster to whose care Karfa had entrusted him was an excellent man, and very kind to his charge. Among some Arabian MSS. he possessed, was one of the Pentateuch; but, though Park understood *very little* of Arabic, he was convinced that the doctrines of Mahomet were interpolated with the writings of Moses.

On the 24th of January, Karfa returned, and brought with him several prime slaves. Park's clothes were by this time become so ragged, that he was ashamed to appear out of doors; but Karfa, on the day of his arrival, generously made him a present of such a garment and trowsers as were worn in the country.

The 19th of April, the long-wished-for day of departure, at length arrived. The cofle, on its departure from Kamalia, consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other Slatees; but the number of slaves was afterwards increased to thirty-five. These, with their masters and the masters' wives, made an aggregate of seventy-three. When the cofle arrived at the first town out of the limits of Manding, great ceremony and etiquette was observed. In front appeared five or six singing-men, then came several of the free people, then the slaves, fastened in the usual way, with a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a spear between each four; after them the domestic slaves, and in the rear the women of free condition.

During the course of a long and tedious journey with the cofle, nothing very important occurred. Mr.

Park was treated with the utmost kindness by every individual, even by the miserable slaves, who frequently forgot their own sufferings, in order to administer to his wants.

Mr. Park mentions, towards the close of his journal, a circumstance which, if it be true, is deserving record. Two kings were at war: the only pretence for hostilities was, the desire of Abdulkader, King of Foota Torra, to make converts to his religion in the territories of Damel, King of the Jaloffs.

Abdulkader sent two knives to Damel: with the one he declared he would shave his head, if he, Damel, would embrace the religion of the prophet; with the other he would cut his throat, if he refused to do so. The person who brought the knives was civilly dismissed. Damel had no choice to make; he would neither embrace the religion of Mahomet, nor have his throat cut.

The chance of war threw Abdulkader into the hands of Damel. Damel, had he adhered to the custom of his country, would have set his foot on Abdulkader's neck, and stabbed him with his spear. "What," said Damel, "would you have done, had the chance of war placed me in your situation?" Abdulkader would have given the death he was prepared to meet. "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; 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 retained for three months, and was then restored to the inhabitants of Foota Torra.

It will easily be imagined that Mr. Park's friends on the Gambia were not a little surprised to see him. He liberally rewarded the good Karfa, and every one who had been kind to him, took his passage on board a West Indian slave ship, as no vessel was going direct for England; and, after a stormy passage, arrived at Antigua. He there took a birth in the Chesterfield packet, homeward bound, and anchored at Falmouth on the 22d December, after an absence of two years and seven months from his native country.

MR. PARK'S SECOND JOURNEY

INTO THE

INTERIOR OF AFRICA.



WE are now to present our readers with a short account of Mr. Park's second attempt to trace the course of the Niger, and to establish an advantageous commercial intercourse with the natives of Africa. From this second mission Mr. Park never returned.

For several years Mr. Park's friends, and all who were interested for him, (and indeed who was not interested?) were kept in a state of alternate hope and fear. The feeling of hope was kept alive by the very nature of his undertaking, which admitted of no definite time for his return; while, on the other hand, the heart would naturally sink, when, in their cooler moments, his friends reflected on the barbarous and unknown countries he had to visit, and the extreme unhealthiness of the climate. Now, alas! it must be beyond a doubt that he is no more; and though we cannot produce witnesses of his death, we are yet in possession of so much circumstantial evidence, that we must not dare to question it.

After having presented an abstract of Mr. Park's journal, we shall give a short statement of Isaaco's narrative, and of the account delivered in by Amadi Fatouma.

Had Mr. Park returned, what has been presented to the public in the shape of memoranda, would have been enlarged, and would have formed a most interesting and useful work.

We extract the following paragraph from Lord Camden's official letter to Mr. Park, in which the leading objects of the expedition are pointed out:—

“The great objects of your journey will be, to pursue the course of this river (the Niger) to the utmost possible distance to which it can be traced; to establish communication and intercourse with the different nations on its banks; to obtain all the local knowledge in your power respecting them, and to ascertain the various points, stated in the memoir, which you deli-

vered in to me on the 4th of October last." Mr. Park was then left at liberty to return by such a route as he might judge best, and was empowered to draw upon government for a sum not exceeding 5000*l*.

Mr. Park had the brevet rank of captain in Africa bestowed upon him; and his companion and brother-in-law, Mr. Alexander Anderson, was appointed his lieutenant. Mr. Scott, a young artist of considerable ability, was selected to attend the expedition as draftsman.

On the 30th of January, 1805, these gentlemen, and four or five artificers from the dock-yards, appointed for the service, set sail from Portsmouth, in the Crescent transport-ship. In his letter to the under secretary for the colonial department, dated Jilifree, River Gambia, April 9, 1805, Mr Park writes,—“ We made the coast of Africa on the 25th, (March,) and anchored in Goree Roads on the morning of the 28th. I immediately went on shore, and, having delivered the dispatches to Major Lloyd, consulted with him respecting the proper encouragement to be offered to the troops.” Mr. Park was permitted to take with him forty-five men from the garrison at Goree, and also to purchase a number of black artificers. “ We agreed nothing would be so great an inducement as double pay during their journey, and a discharge on their return. A garrison order to this effect was accordingly made out, and, in the course of a few days, almost every soldier in the garrison had volunteered his services.” Lieutenant Martyn of the royal artillery corps also volunteered, and Captain Shortland, of the Squirrel frigate, permitted two of his best seamen to accompany

Mr. Park, in order to assist in rigging and navigating the *Nigritian man of war*.

On the 6th of April, Mr. Park embarked the soldiers, in number thirty-five; but not a single negro could be prevailed upon to join the expedition.

In his observations to the secretary of state for the colonial department, Mr. Park seems to have considered that he should be accompanied by thirty European soldiers, six European carpenters, fifteen or twenty Goree negroes, (most of them artificers,) with fifty asses, and six horses or mules, to be purchased at St. Jago. He also enumerates the quantity and sort of dress it would be requisite for each man to have with him, and gives a list of the tools he should require, and the articles it would be proper to take out as presents to the chiefs and monarchs of the interior.

April 27, 1805. On this day the expedition departed from Kayee. A Mandingo priest, who was also a merchant, and whose name was Isaaco, had been engaged as guide and interpreter. About four o'clock in the afternoon the expedition arrived at Lamain. The people were very much exhausted, having travelled all day under a vertical sun, and without a breath of wind.

On the 4th of May, Mr. Park left Pisanía, and on the 5th reached Jindey, where the inhabitants have a mode of dying cotton of a fine blue colour, from the leaves of the indigo plant.

The following is the account he gives of the process:—"A large quantity of wood ashes is collected, (the woods preferred for the purpose are the *mimosa nitta*, and *mimosa pulverulenta*.) and put into an un-

glazed earthen vessel, which has a hole in its bottom, over which is put some straw. Upon these ashes water is poured, which, filtering through the hole in the bottom of the vessel, carries with it the potass contained in the ashes, and forms a very strong ley, the colour of small beer; this they call *sai gee*, ash-water. Another pot is filled not quite a quarter full of the leaves of the indigo plant, either fresh or dried in the sun, (those used at this time were dried,) and as much of the *sai gee* poured on it as will fill the pot about half full. It is allowed to remain in this state about four days, during which it is stirred once or twice a day. The pot is then filled nearly full of *sai gee*, and stirred frequently for four days more, during which it ferments, and throws up a copper-coloured scum. It is then allowed to remain at rest for one day; and on the tenth day from the commencement of the process the cloth is put into it. No mordant whatever is used, the cloth is simply wetted with cold water, and wrung hard before it is put into the pot, where it is allowed to remain about two hours. It is then taken out, and exposed to the sun, by laying it (without spreading it) over a stick, till the liquor ceases to drop from it. After this, it is washed in cold water, and is often beat with a flat stick, to clear away any leaves or dirt which may adhere to it. The cloth being again wrung hard, is returned into the pot, and this dipping is repeated four times every day, for the first four days, at the end of which period it has in common acquired a blue colour, equal to the finest India baft.

The negro women who practise dying have generally twelve or fourteen indigo jars, so that one of them

is always ready for dipping. If the process misgives, which it very seldom does with women who practise it extensively, it generally happens during the second four days, or the fermenting period. The indigo is then said to be dead, and the whole is thrown out. In Kajaaga and Kasson, they spread the cloth in the sun, and dry it after every dip: they then beat it with a stick, so as to make the indigo leaves fly off it like dust. Both practices have for their object *the clearing of the cloth*, so as to admit the indigo equally to all parts of it. The process abridged is—four days indigo, and a small quantity of sai gee; four days fermenting in a large quantity of sai gee; one day at rest; four days dipping the cloth—four dips per day. Thirteen in all.

The manner of travelling, or rather the order of march, was as follows:—The asses and loads being all marked and numbered with red paint, a given number of each was allotted to each of the six messes into which the soldiers were divided; and the asses were further subdivided among the individuals of each mess, so that every man could tell at first sight the ass and load which belonged to him. The asses were also numbered with large figures, to prevent the natives from stealing them. Mr. George Scott and one of Isaaco's people usually went in front, Lieutenant Martyn in the centre, and Mr. Anderson and Mr. Park brought up the rear.

On the 13th of May, the party reached Kanipe. The people of the village had heard that the soldiers had been under the necessity of *purchasing* water at Madina, and therefore the women of Kanipe were drawing the water from the wells as fast as possible, in

the hope of procuring a similar market. It was in vain that the soldiers attempted to raise the water with their camp-kettles: they were by no means so well adapted for the purpose as the women's calabashes: they therefore returned without water, and having the laugh very much against them. In the evening, however, some of the soldiers made another attempt to procure water, and succeeded, by dropping, as if accidentally, a canteen into the well. A rope was immediately fastened round one of the soldiers, that he might descend and recover it; but, when lowered to the bottom, he remained, quietly filling the camp-kettles, to the great mortification of the women.

On the 14th of May, as one of the soldiers was eating the fruit of the nitta tree, a villager came up in a great rage, and attempted to take it from him. The man said, the act of eating this fruit was not of great importance, had it not been in sight of the women. "For," continued the man, "this place has been frequently visited with famine from want of rain, and in these distressing times the fruit of the nitta tree is all we have to trust to, and it may then be opened without harm; but, in order to prevent the women and children from wasting this supply, a *toong* (any thing sealed up by magic) is put upon the nittas, until famine makes its appearance."

On the 26th of May, a singular accident befel the expedition at Bee Creek. The men had no sooner unloaded their asses, than some of Isaaco's people being in search of honey, unfortunately disturbed a swarm of bees. The little insects came out in vast numbers, attacking men and animals. The fire which had been

kindled for cooking was deserted: it spread—it reached the bamboos: the baggage was in imminent danger, and for half an hour the bees seemed completely to have put an end to the further progress of the expedition.

Previously to the 10th of June, sickness and death had made their appearance among the little band of adventurers; and on the evening of that day there was a tremendous tornado. It had an instant effect on the health of the soldiers. The rain had not commenced three minutes before the people were seized with vomiting: many of them fell asleep on the damp ground; and although Mr. Park kept awake till the storm was over, he was quite unable to do so longer. This was at Shrondo; and on the morning of the 11th of June twelve of the soldiers were sick.

Mr. Park waited upon the Dooty of the place, and requested permission to see the gold-mines. He was allowed to visit them; and in his journal we have the following account of them:—

“ We travelled about half a mile west of the town, when we came to a small meadow spot of about four or five acres' extent, in which were several holes dug, resembling wells. They were in general about ten or twelve feet deep: towards the middle of the meadow spot the holes were deepest, and shallower towards the sides: their number was about thirty, besides many old ones, which had sunk down. Near the mouths of these pits were several other shallow pits, lined with clay, and full of rain-water. Between the *mine* pits and these *wash* pits lay several heaps of sandy gravel. On the top of each was a stone; some of the stones white, others red, others black, &c. These serve to

distinguish each person's property. I could see nothing peculiar in this gravel: some silicious pebbles, as large as a pigeon's egg; pieces of white and reddish quartz; iron stone and killow; and a small friable yellow stone, which crumbled to pieces by the fingers, were the chief materials that I could distinguish. Besides the above, there was a great proportion of sand, a yellow earth, resembling *till*. The woman took about half a pound of gravel, with one hand, from the heap which I suppose belonged to her, and having put it into a large calabash, threw a little water on it with a small calabash, which two calabashes are all that are necessary for washing gold. The quantity of water was only sufficient to cover the sand about one inch. She crumbled the sand to pieces, and mixed it with the water: this she did, not in a rotatory manner, but by pulling her hand towards herself. She then threw out all the large pebbles, looking on the ground, for fear of throwing out a piece of gold. Having done this, she gave the sand and water a rotatory motion, so as to make a part of the sand and water fly over the brim of the calabash. While she did this with her right hand, with her left she threw out of the centre of the water a portion of sand and water at every evolution. She then put in a little fresh water; and, as the quantity of sand was now much diminished, she held the calabash in an oblique direction, and made the sand move slowly round.

“ I now observed a quantity of black matter, resembling gunpowder, which, she told me, was gold-dust; and, before she had moved the sand one quarter

around the calabash, she pointed to a yellow speck, and said, 'See the gold.' On looking attentively, I saw a portion of pure gold, and took it out: it would have weighed about *one grain*. The whole washing, from the first putting in of the sand till she shewed me the gold, did not exceed two minutes. I now desired her to make a larger portion. She put in, as nearly as I could guess, about two pounds; and having washed it in the same manner, and nearly in the same time, found no fewer than twenty-three particles. Some of them were very small. In both cases, I observed that the quantity of gold-dust was at least forty times greater than the quantity of gold. She assured me that she sometimes found pieces of gold as large as her fist."

The method of smelting gold is as follows:—"The smith made a crucible of common red clay, and dried it in the sun: into this he put the gold, without any flux or mixture whatsoever. He then put charcoal under and over it; and, blowing the fire with the common double bellows of the country, soon produced such a heat as to bring the gold into a state of fusion. He then made a small furrow in the ground, into which he poured the melted gold: when it was cold, he took it up, and beating it again, soon hammered it into a square bar. Then beating it again, he twisted it, by means of two pair of pincers, into a sort of screw, and, lengthening out the ends, turned them up so as to form a massy and precious ring."

Previously even to the 1st of July, the situation of the daring little band of travellers had become extremely precarious: sickness and death were making fearful

inroads; and the difficulties incident to the march were hourly increasing, in consequence of the reduced state of the soldiers.

On the 2d of July, in attempting to cross a river, the guide (Isaaco) was attacked and wounded by a young crocodile.

On the 6th of July, *all* the people were sick, or in a state of great debility, except one. Mr. Anderson soon became extremely ill; and, towards the latter end of July and beginning of August, was unable either to walk or stand upright.

On the 14th of August, *not one* of the Europeans who remained alive were able to lift a load.

The Niger was not seen till the 19th of August;— and in what a wretched state were the poor men on that memorable day: of thirty-four soldiers and four carpenters, who left the Gambia, only *six* soldiers and *one* carpenter reached the Niger.

On the 22d of September, five nobles arrived at the camp, in a canoe, from Sego. They reported that Mansong, the king, was friendly to them; and, to a very judicious speech which Mr. Park made them, they replied, “We have heard what you have spoken: your journey is a good one, and may God prosper you in it. Mansong will protect you. We will carry your words to Mansong this afternoon, and to-morrow will bring you his answer.” The nobles then examined the baggage, amongst which they found nothing *bad*, to use their expression.

On the following day the commissioners returned. The answer, literally translated, was as follows:— “Mansong says, he will protect you; that a road is

open for you every where as far as his hand (power) extends. If you wish to go to the east, no man shall harm you from Sego till you pass Tombuctoo; if you wish to go to the west, you may travel through Fooladoo and Manding, through Kasson and Bondou: the name of *Mansong's stranger* will be a sufficient protection for you. If you wish to build your boats at Samee, or Sego, or Sansanding, or Jinnie, name the town, and Mansong will convey you thither." The chiefs concluded by specifying some presents which Mansong was desirous should be sent to him, in addition to what he already had received; and he in return had sent a bullock and some sheep.

Mr. Park made choice of Sansanding for building the boat.

The 26th of September was a dreadfully hot day. What might be the *actual* heat Mr. Park could not ascertain, for the thermometer was in a bundle, in the other canoe; but he says there was *sensible* heat sufficient to have roasted a sirloin.

At Sansanding, Mr. Park opened a sort of shop for the sale of many of his things; and in one day he turned (probably he means took) 25,000 cowries.

On the 28th of October died Mr. Alexander Anderson;—Mr. Scott was already no more: and here Mr. Park's journal breaks off.

We might have followed this amiable and extraordinary man through each day's observation; but his memoranda were always short; and, as the object was to reach the Niger and trace its course, and as they travelled with as much expedition as circumstances would admit, the reader will not be surprised at the brevity of the account.

After this period every thing is a blank: we have no trace of Mr. Park from himself, and are therefore compelled to turn to the statements of Isaaco, the guide to Sansanding, and Amadi, or Amadou Fatoumai, the guide down the Niger from Sansanding to the kingdom of Haoussa. Their accounts may be summed up in a few words.

Isaaco was sent by Colonel Maxwell, governor of Senegal, in 1810, to endeavour to obtain intelligence of Mr. Park and his companions. After a long and tiresome journey, of which he has given as tiresome an account, he was fortunate enough to meet with Amadi Fatoumai, the very man he had recommended to Park as a guide from Sansanding. This man stated that he accompanied Mr. Park, Martyn, and *three* other white men, in the canoe, (or, as Park had named it, his Majesty's schooner Joliba,) down the Niger: that they arrived in the country of Haoussa: that Park sent Amadi Fatoumai on shore, with presents for the *king*, who was a few hundred yards from the river: that these presents were to be given to a chief, who was to give them to the king; and *who enquired whether Park would return, and was answered in the negative*: that this declaration induced him to withhold the presents from the king, and was ultimately the cause of Park's death; for that the king, being angry that he did not receive any present, sent an army to a village called Boussa, near the river. "There is, before this village," says the informant, "a rock across the whole breadth of the river. One part of the rock is very high. There is a large opening in that rock, in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through;

the side current is very strong. The army took possession of the top of this opening. Mr. Park came there after the army had posted itself, but he attempted to pass." He was attacked: for a considerable time he defended himself: two of his slaves at the stern were killed: at last, overpowered by numbers and fatigue, Park took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the river; Martyn did the same; and they were all drowned in attempting to escape. The chief, it appears, had basely told the king that Park had not sent presents, and would not return.

All this is Amadi Fatoumai's account. It may, or it may not, be correct. One circumstance, however, strikes us:—*Amadi Fatoumai* was sent to the chief with the presents for the king: he was landed at Yaour, some distance from Boussa: he went to pay his respects to the king, on the following day; and *he was present* when the two men sent by the chief told the infamous falsehood about the presents, "That Park would not give any thing, and would not return; and Amadi Fatoumai was a bad man, and had made a fool of them." "For this," says Amadi, "I was put in irons, and kept a prisoner for three months." Possibly so: but *why did he not state the truth while he was before the king, who could and would have protected him?* This was a strange omission; and it naturally enough raises in the mind a doubt as to the truth of Amadi Fatoumai's account of the cause, and possibly the manner, of Park's death. That he is dead, we are obliged to repeat there can be no doubt: he might have fallen as Amadi Fatoumai states, or by the treachery or jealousy of the natives, or he might have perished a victim to the

climate: at any rate he is no more, or we must have heard of him.

Mr. Mungo Park was born at Fowlshiels, not far from the town of Selkirk, on the 10th of September, 1771. His father, who bore the same name, was a respectable yeoman of Ettrick forest. Mr. Park's father had thirteen children, eight of whom lived to years of maturity,

Great attention was paid by Mr. Park, senior, to the education of his children. The young Mungo received his at the grammar-school of Selkirk, and was intended for the church; but, preferring the medical profession, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Anderson, a surgeon of Selkirk, whose daughter he married in the year 1799, and whose son accompanied Mr. Park in his last unfortunate journey to Africa.

From Selkirk Mr. Park went to study at Edinburgh, and from thence he went to London, where he was, through his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, introduced to the notice of Sir Joseph Banks. By the recommendation of Sir Joseph, he was appointed assistant-surgeon to the Worcester East Indiaman. In May, 1795, he was appointed by the African Association to succeed the lamented Major Houghton, whose death we have noticed in the first of Park's journals. That gentleman had been sent out by the Association to—"Explore the source of the Niger, and penetrate to Houssa and Tombuctoo."

On Mr. Park's return to his native country, after his first expedition to Africa, he appears to have settled for a time as a surgeon at Peebles; but he almost *abhorred*

the life of a country apothecary, and was continually solicitous to obtain a command, or a situation, in an expedition which government had thoughts of sending into Africa. It was not, however, till April, 1805, that he was appointed to the command of the expedition from which he never returned.

He continued writing the most affectionate letters to his wife, Sir Joseph Banks, and other friends, till the 19th of November, 1805, about which period, it will be observed, his journal ceases. Though in these letters he endeavoured to make light of the perils which surrounded him, yet it was evident that his situation was become highly dangerous and distressing. His spirits appear to have been uniformly good, till the death of Mr. Anderson.

It was a most unfortunate circumstance that the expedition left the coast at the time it did. It would have been better had Park commenced his journey *after* the rainy season rather than just before it; and yet, upon a careful examination of every point, he would, perhaps, have been hardly justified in delaying it.

In person, Mr. Park was tall and well-made. His manners were mild and correct, and his religious principles firm. He had not a grain of affectation; and in his journals was remarkably solicitous to speak the exact truth. The untimely and melancholy fate of such a man will long be regretted. It will be difficult to find virtue and ability united, to supply his place.

MR. MAXWELL'S
OPINION RESPECTING THE IDENTITY OF THE
CONGO AND NIGER RIVERS,
AND HIS ACCOUNT OF CONGO AND LOANGO IN 1790.



THE first idea of the identity of the Congo and Niger, was suggested by a gentleman of Dumfriesshire, in consequence of some information which he had received from Mr. Maxwell, who was, for many years, master of a trading vessel on the coast of Africa.

According to Mr. Maxwell, the river Congo, an hundred and fifty miles from the sea, is about a mile and a half wide, having a depth of from thirty to three hundred feet; this depth continues the same for sixty or seventy miles down the stream. At twenty-seven or thirty miles from the sea, in $6^{\circ} 10'$ south latitude, it is about three miles broad, and from twenty feet depth of water close in with the shore, to four hundred feet in the centre: this is in reality its proper mouth. At what is called its mouth, it is twenty-five miles wide. The current or outset of the river is never less than five or six miles an hour, and the general course of the stream, after it enters the ocean, is N. W. at about sixty miles from the shore, until it falls into the Gulf of Guinea, between Cape Lopez and Anna Bona, six degrees to the northward of the Congo, rendering the

transparent salt water there of a dark colour; and when the stream happens to set to the S. W. and W. the ocean has been quite turbid with the fresh water two hundred miles from the shore; for the Congo has always the appearance of being in flood, or of a red clay colour. In short, according to Mr. Maxwell, the Congo is by no means the insignificant river laid down even in Major Rennell's improved map.

Now it occurred to the gentleman above alluded to, (Mr. Keir,) to be a much more natural way of disposing of the Niger, by making it communicate with the Congo, than by evaporation from the Lake of Mangara; and he was confirmed in this conjecture by finding that from Mangara to the Congo, in a south-westerly direction, skirting the Mountains of the Moon, was only a distance of two thousand miles, and there appeared no other rational way of accounting for the extraordinary size of the Congo. Again, it appeared to Mr. Maxwell that none but a northerly direction could afford scope for a course of more than eight or nine hundred miles; a distance perfectly inadequate to the immense size of the Congo.

The common opinion of the Niger losing itself in lakes, rests solely on the authority, or rather opinion, of the ancients. But the Congo, we know, expands into immense lakes. Innumerable islands of bulrush and aquatic plants, are continually floating down; and these islands indisputably come from above the falls, for they could not be formed on the margin of a rapid river. The size of the river and the floating islands, from the annual increase into full flood, six weeks before the rains commence in *South Africa*, are

circumstances evidently proving its volume of water to be disproportioned to its apparent geographical domain ; then the conclusion inevitably follows, that it draws its resources from a greater distance to the northward than is generally supposed.

We have heard much of the influence of evaporation ; but then comes the question,—How is it that the *mongo* has so far outstripped its fellows ?

The grand objection to this hypothesis consists in the difference of time between the floods of the Niger and the *mongo* ; and the substance of the answer to this objection is simply that, allowing the distance between *Wangara* and the uppermost falls of the *mongo* to be two thousand miles, it would take three months before the flood of the Niger would reach Embomma. Thus we have a short statement of the conjectures (and they can be nothing more) respecting these famous rivers.

Mr. Maxwell's observations on the kingdoms of *mongo* and Loango are so curious, that we cannot refrain from giving them a place here.

“ *Princesses of Cabenda*.—The princesses of the blood-royal of the kingdom of Cabenda rule with absolute sway, and have the power of compelling any male, under the rank of prince, to marry them. They exact the most slavish obedience from their husbands, until they are tired of them. The richest merchants are usually the objects of their rapacity, and the poor fellows are compelled to leave wives, children, home, every thing, at the command of these arbitrary princesses of Cabenda.

“ *Priests*.—The patriarch, or high-priest, Boonzie, resides at Maccatala. His spiritual jurisdiction is very

extensive, and his person is held so sacred, that no one, however high his rank, presumes to approach, or even address him, when admitted to his presence, until a sign is given, whereupon the obeisance paid him approaches to adoration. Every audience is accompanied by a present, valuable in proportion to the wealth of the person suing for patronage or redress; but as Boonzie is believed incapable of taking a bribe, he is solicited to inspect the present; and those articles he approves of, being tied loosely to the parcel, drop off while the attendants are retiring with it.

“None of the princes, to a considerable distance from Maccatala, consider themselves safe under the patriarch’s displeasure. There is, therefore, a constant resort to his residence; and his office thus becomes a source of much emolument.

“The district of Maccatala is held sacred by all the neighbouring nations, and happy do they esteem themselves who can get the bodies of their departed friends deposited in that hallowed ground; an opportunity of which those bordering on the river never fail to avail themselves. Canoes may be seen almost every day at Embomma, going down the river to Maccatala with dead bodies. They are always distinguished from other canoes by some particular mark of funeral solemnity. ‘Voombi quenda Maccatala!’ would the natives on board answer, when asked where these canoes were going.

“The present patriarch is about sixty years of age, a dignified and venerable-looking man, no way distinguished by his dress from the other chiefs. He was the first person with whom, on sailing up the river, I

had an interview, and but for the sanctity of whose character, (on which he laid great stress,) I had found it no easy matter to bring the natives to a parley. Upon coming to anchor near Oyster Haven, we discovered four people upon Hope Island ; and being desirous of a conference, I sent the mate and four men in a small boat, provided with trinkets to distribute amongst them. The natives, as we could perceive from the ship with our glasses, awaited unmoved the approach of the boat, until the sail was furled, and exchanged for the oars ; then, with great precipitation, they took a canoe upon their shoulders, and, carrying it across the island, launched it, and paddled in the utmost haste to Maccatala.

“ The following day at noon, a canoe being observed hovering along the north shore, I proceeded towards it in the small boat ; but as we approached, it slowly retreated to the entrance of a small creek. Our pacific appearance at length induced it to wait for us. A man stood on the prow, speaking vociferously, and with much gesticulation. This was Boonzie himself. He made a long harangue, in which he took care to make himself known ; and concluded by saying, that if I offered him any injury, Enzambi Empoognu would punish me. A present of beads, cloth, and brandy, dispelled his fears, and, in return, he gave me a fine goat and a bunch of plaintains, and requested that his son, Chimpola, might accompany me on board.

“ Maccatala abounds in beautiful and magnificent sylvan scenery. The villages are built in the open cultivated spaces, with which the woods are interspersed ; and are surrounded by plantations of cassava,

Indian corn, plaintains, peas, tobacco, &c. In one of these pleasing solitudes resides Chinganga Boouzie, an inferior member of the priesthood.

“ *Ordeal Trial.*—When any one is falsely accused of an atrocious crime, he can only prove his innocence by passing, unharmed, the ordeal trial of Cassah. This consists in swallowing a certain quantity of the cassah, which is administered by a person called Ganga Emeassah. Upon a day appointed, the accused makes his appearance, and on demanding to drink the cassah, the ganga administers it in the presence of a great concourse of people, who, arranging themselves in a circle around him, await with eagerness the effect of the poison. If it causes stupefaction, he is pronounced guilty ; but if it does not, or if it produces vomiting, he is immediately declared innocent, presented with a mark of distinction on the spot, and is ever after thought worthy of unreserved confidence. The attestation of his innocence is merely a piece of calabash shell, about the size of a dollar, painted white, and fastened by means of a string, embracing the circumference of the head, to the right temple. My friend Captain J. V. Aubinai, of Nantz, witnessed one of these trials : it was that of a woman, accused of infidelity to her husband. The moment she began to sicken and stagger, the spectators burst into the circle, and dispatched her with their knives and daggers. Such a custom is too savage to enlarge upon ; but it appears evident to me, that the fate of the unfortunate individual is determined upon beforehand, according to his wealth or power ; and that when he does escape with impunity, some less deleterious drug must have

been substituted for the cassah. This poison is prepared from the bark of a tree: its colour is a bright red, and the fracture of the bark presents a resinous appearance.

“*Palm Tree.*—The palm is the most valuable tree that grows in Africa. Besides wine, it yields a sweet nutritive oil: with its leaves the natives thatch their houses; and with the small wiry threads that hang from its branches they string their musical instruments, not to mention many other useful purposes it serves. It sometimes attains the height of 120 feet; but the stem, considering its great length, is slender. The branches fall off annually, and leave knobs like those of a cabbage-stalk.

“The natives in this part of Africa are extravagantly fond of palm wine, which is very pleasant to the taste when first drawn from the tree; but, until it has undergone fermentation, they seldom drink it: then, although not so agreeable to an European palate, they relish it more highly, perhaps from the inebriating quality it has acquired. The wine is attained by making an incision in the tender head of the tree, and collecting it in a calabash, into which it is conveyed by means of a small splinter of wood communicating with the incision. The mouth of the calabash is lightly covered with dry grass, to keep off the swarms of flies and wasps. It is then left till such time as it is known from experience to be nearly full; when a man again ascends the tree, with empty vessels at his belt, to replace the full ones, which he brings down in the same manner. This, notwithstanding the height of the tree, is easily accomplished. The climber provides himself

with a tough woodbine hoop, the circumference of which embraces the tree and his body, but with so much space intervening as permits him to lean back at arm's length from the tree, thus enabling him to fix his feet firmly against the knobs. In this way, by jerking the hoop upwards, he ascends very quickly. The wine is always extracted from the male tree; the female, which bears the nuts, being too valuable to use in that way. The nut is nearly the size and figure of a walnut. Each tree produces three or four bunches, which are sometimes so large, that a single cluster has been known to weigh above 100 pounds.

“*Religion.*—It is difficult, if not impracticable, to form a just idea of the state of religion among a people of whose language we know so little: it is chiefly, indeed, from fortuitous circumstances that we are to seek for any information on the subject. To exemplify this, Mons. Deshay and several traders were one day dining with me, when a French boat, belonging to an Indiaman, lying at Cape Padroon, sent to sound and explore the river, came alongside. The officer commanding the boat said, that his ship would be at Embomma in ten or twelve days. In other circumstances, this intelligence would have alarmed me a good deal, for these ships are always provided with very expensive and commanding cargoes; but, having nearly accomplished my purchase, I carelessly observed to Captain Deshay, that it was of little consequence to me, as I should have done by that time. ‘Well,’ said he, ‘the sun rises for all the world; as much as to say, that he would not be idle. The natives, who had a smattering both of French and

English, were much puzzled by this phrase, and could not possibly make out its meaning or application. Many ludicrous explanations were given, until Prince Nefoomu Emfoote observed to me, ‘Cappy! I tell you what I tink sun be—I tink sun be Enzambi Empoognu’s chief mate!’

“From all that I have been able to collect on a subject so interesting, there appears to be a prevailing belief in this part of Africa, that the affairs of the world are governed by an invisible being of infinite wisdom and power, whose every scheme tends to the welfare and happiness of his creatures. They look upon the sun as his prime agent in carrying on the operations of nature, without whose genial influence darkness and desolation would cover the face of the earth. The chief mate of a ship, they remarked, carried all the captain’s orders into execution, without the appearance of the captain himself, which, no doubt, led Nefoomu Emfoote to make use of his very judicious simile, as most expressive of the meaning he attached to Deshay’s remark.

“As another example:—Having unbound a slave whom I had purchased, he threw himself into an attitude of devotion, and, casting his eyes upwards, ejaculated, ‘God Almighty, I am thy creature!’—*Enzambi Empoognu menou moontu accu!*—then, looking cheerfully in my face, he took a pipe from his belt, and showed me that it was empty. I gave him some tobacco and biscuits, with which he seemed highly gratified; and from that time he became a favourite on board.

“These incidents show that important conclusions

may be drawn from a careful observation of the common occurrences of life in an uncivilized state of society; and that, amid a profusion of absurdities intermingled with their worship, the inhabitants of Congo have some elevated conceptions of a Deity, whom they worship under the name of Enzambi Empoognu. Notwithstanding the assertions of certain travellers and voyagers to the contrary, I can scarcely think that there is, or ever was, a nation, however barbarous, altogether destitute of belief in the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state. Boonzie, whose mandates are obeyed as though they were the decrees of fate, is held in peculiar veneration. When the whirlblast is seen sweeping along the plain, raising, in circular eddies, chaotic masses from the ground, they exclaim, "It is the spirit of Boonzie!" and fly from its course with terror.

"*Fitishes.*—Were it not our duty to bring the absurdities of the uncultivated savage mind, as well as the endowments of philosophy, under review, these evidences of mental degradation would be undeserving of notice. Fitish is the appellation for an idol, of whatever kind; and they are of endless variety in form, composition, and virtue. The most common are milk, eggs, and birds. Among the latter, the partridge is held so sacred, that if the foot of a dead one is known to have touched a dish of meat, however much esteemed, no one will taste of it, although ready to die of hunger. But they do not regard milk or eggs with equal veneration, or rather horror, for I have seen three or four parties at the cabin table, devouring each others' fitishes with the greatest harmony. Their portable

fitishes consist of rude imitations of the human form and of animals, with a piece of looking-glass fixed to the breast; the tusks of the young elephant, filled with black paste, into which shells are stuck; tigers' claws and teeth; the minute horns of the chevrotten and other animals; sea-shells full of black paste; to which may be added, small parcels of party-coloured rags, little bags of precious ingredients, and diminutive flasks containing consecrated gunpowder. No man takes a drink without making an oblation to the master fitish, which is frequently an elephant's tooth. He holds it in the left hand, and, after licking its pasted head with his tongue, squirts a mouthful of liquid over it in a shower; then muttering a few words, he pours what remains into the dish in which it was presented to him, or from whence he took it.

“*Malemba*.—The King of Chimfooka (or Malemba) is not permitted to trade, or visit sea-ports, but is obliged to reside in a remote part of the country with the priesthood, to superintend the great depot of their religious establishment, and guard the sacred asylum of the fitishes. He is not allowed to wear foreign manufactures, but must be content with a dress made of the coarsest grass cloth. So very scrupulous are they in this respect, that none of the princes are permitted to approach the king in a dress dissimilar to his own; and even European officers, when on visits of ceremony, and accompanied by presents for the king, are under the necessity of complying. These, in conjunction with other customs, are productive of great hesitation among the nobles, when the throne becomes elective through failure of the male line, who shall

become a recluse, and submit to the drudgery and privations of the kingly office. This sometimes occasions an interregnum of many years, as happened to be the case when I was there in 1785. Mambooka was the only candidate for the vacant throne; but, being a man of immense power and wealth, and extensively engaged in a lucrative trade, he contrived to amuse the nation, and drive off his inauguration for several years; so unwilling are they to relinquish the advantages and enjoyments of commerce for the austerities and mortifications of royalty. Mambooka, it would appear, considered the 'kingly couch no better than a watch-case or a common 'larum-bell;' and happy, perhaps, might it be for mankind, had the office nowhere greater charms.

“Were it not for the numerous restrictions under which the King of Chimfooka labours, there would be nothing extraordinary in his having, as is confidently asserted, five hundred wives; for polygamy prevails over almost all those portions of Africa with which we are acquainted. The titles of dignities under the king are—Macheila, Makai, Mambooka, Mamfooka, Machainghe, Mabaillie, and Foomu. The two first of these belong to the presumptive heir of the crown, and are therefore next to that of king, and the highest dignities in the kingdom; but Mambooka, the viceroy, having the command of the forces, or rather the privilege of assembling and employing armed men, (for regular troops they have none,) is by far the most powerful. Mamfooka, or Mafooka, as he is generally called, is collector of the customs; which, if we may judge from the great interest and caballing, amounting

sometimes to petty warfare, employed in canvassing for it, is a very lucrative post. Machainghe and Mabaillie are inferior officers to Mafooká, and of little note, except in conducting the supplies of wood and water, for which they exact a small duty from the shipping. Machainghe has commonly a quantity of fire-wood ready cut, which he sells at a moderate price. It is mostly mangrove, which splits freely, and burns well; but at the same time emitting a very pungent smoke, which frequently brings on that very obstinate and distressing complaint, ophthalmia. Foomu is the usual designation of prince.

“It is impossible to understand, from a casual observance of their effects, the springs and movements of a government like this, so as to make the several parts bear upon each other, and exhibit that regularity of design, which, to a certain extent, no doubt exists, and which might, with care and attention, be traced. However barbarous and uncivilized a nation may be, we generally find, on minute inquiry, that the few have ever had sufficient ingenuity and address to systematize tyranny, and forge shackles for the minds as well as the bodies of the many; and in such a state of society, the multitude is a patient animal, which uresistingly yields its neck to the yoke.

“*Burials.*—In Angoya and Chimfooka, when a great man dies, his remains are kept in state for a period proportionate to the wealth and rank of his family: thus the body of a prince is denied the rite of inhumation during the space of four years. But in Loango Proper, eighty miles to the northward, the dead are baked upon hurdles over a slow fire of aromatic wood.

How they are disposed of afterwards I could not learn. In the former case, the body is constantly attended by hired mourners, who at intervals utter dismal howlings and lamentations. They tear their hair, and puncture their bodies in the most extravagant manner, as if under the influence of excessive grief; and interpolate the fictitious song of sorrow for the deceased with eulogies on the greatness of his lineage, his wealth, bounty, strength, wisdom, and valour. They are occasionally employed during the day in shrouding the body, (which is supported in an erect position in the centre of a house appropriated to the purpose,) first with grass-cloths, fold over fold, each piece being fastened to that immediately beneath; and last of all with European and Asiatic manufactures, web over web, in a similar manner, until it arrives at an enormous bulk. These envelopes, of costly materials—chintz, taffetas, brocades, &c. are sometimes carried to the ruinous extent of two hundred cubic feet, exhibiting the appearance of an oblong package, with a protuberance arising from the midst of the upper surface. To retard putrefaction, some gallons of brandy are daily poured upon the fabric, which, after percolating through it, is collected in troughs, and quaffed off by the attendant mourners, as the most delicious and renovating beverage in nature. It acts like a charm, for their songs immediately assume a loftier strain of woe. Thus for the space of twelve months were conducted the obsequies of a Malemba trader, Empollo Leumba, a worthless character, whose wealth, great alliances, and vanity, procured him that outward respect and honour which his countrymen secretly denied

him. His ears were cropped for some misdeed of his youth, and his countenance bespoke the insidious betrayer. I was present at the conclusion of the ceremonies. Among the thousands who thronged to his funeral, ardent spirits were distributed with an unsparing hand, which, doubtless, was the chief cause of their attendance. The corpse placed on a low open bier, moving upon small wheels, was, with the assistance of ropes, dragged by the assembled multitude to the grave,—a hole twelve feet deep. In this was an immense wicker basket, ready to receive the shrouded body, which, being lowered into it by the cords, the lid was closed, and the whole covered with earth; finally two large elephants' tusks were placed over the head. A pathway led through the hollow dell, where the burial-ground lay; and we may conclude that the repository of the dead is held sacred, since the natives resist the strong temptation to open them offered by the great quantities of ivory deposited in these places. One of the traders showed me a spot where he once saw a lion devouring an antelope; and I must needs say, that the valley, from its awful retirement, seemed a suitable haunt for the monarch of the forest.

“*Kingdom of Congo.*—If the testimony of the natives may be relied on, the countries of Chimfooka, Angoya, Embomma, Loango Proper, Solongo, and Sonia, at no great distance of time, formed part of the kingdom of Congo, the capital of which, from time immemorial, has been Banya Congo (now St. Salvador). Upon the seizure of the city by the Portuguese, and the consequent paralyzation of the power that upheld the kingdom, a number of independent states

arose from the ruins ; and whatever progress civilization might have made among them before that event, they have since remained in their present barbarous condition. It cannot, however, be thought that the great kingdom of Congo, which comprehended, in addition to those already mentioned, the very extensive countries of Angola and Benguela, was ruled with the mental weakness and imbecility characteristic of these governments at present. Every one speaks in praise and admiration of the city of Congo, its situation and extent, and the power and grandeur of the king, before the arrival of the Portuguese.

“ *Sonia*.—The people of Sonia, it is said, were obliged to carry burdens of white sea sand from the beach to Banya Congo, one hundred and fifty miles distant, to form pleasant walks at the royal residence. This, at last, so exasperated the Sonia men, whose warlike and independent spirit is feared and respected by all the neighbouring nations, that they concealed their weapons in the burdens of sand, and were, by this contrivance, enabled to avenge themselves of the indignity put upon them, by plundering the city, and killing many of the king’s people. Having thus shaken off the yoke, Sonia has since been governed by native princes.

“ However extravagant the idea of carrying burdens of sand may appear, yet the history of all barbarous nations in some measure warrants the authenticity of the fact ; for there we see slaves subjected to ignominious tasks, disproportioned to their strength and means ; witness the Israelites, doomed by Pharaoh to make bricks without the necessary materials. Unless

founded on fact, it is hard to conceive how the story could have originated among a people who, at present, know not the luxury of artificial walks.

“ It is worthy of remark, that the shoulder load is admirably calculated for the artifice of concealing arms, being nearly five feet long, and about eight inches square. It is formed by means of a bamboo or palm branch; which, although very light and slender, is strong enough to support and keep the packages extended, whilst they are firmly bound to it by a peculiar sort of long narrow leaves. In this manner, parcels of salt and other small articles are always brought to the Embomma market.

“ Many wonderful stories are related of the courage and ferocity of the Sonia men. When one of them is taken prisoner, which, it is admitted, very seldom happens, he endeavours to exasperate his perhaps already implacable enemy, by requesting that he may be dispatched with his own clean weapon, and not with the captor's dirty one; a plain insinuation that no quarter is given.

“ This nation is certainly of very different habits from any other on the coast. It has had no intercourse with Europeans for these fifty years; when, in one night, the inhabitants massacred a colony of Portuguese, (probably their first establishment in 1484,) who had, for a long period, been settled in very considerable numbers in Sonia. They had many churches and seminaries of learning, which have all been demolished, with the exception of one called Ganga Emkisse, preserved as a monument of vengeance, now filled with

bells, crucifixes, and other relics, the wreck of the colony.

“ Upon the whole, the stories of the invincible prowess and martial character of this nation are entitled to some consideration. If they are somewhat embellished we need not be surprised, for what else can be expected? yet they ought not to be regarded on that account as merely fabulous; for, even in polished nations, every thing transmitted by oral tradition very soon acquires a tinge of the marvellous. What I can say of the Sonia men, from my own personal knowledge, is in perfect unison with their magnanimous character; never having experienced any act of treachery or violence from them, although once completely in their power. I had strayed to some distance from the boat’s crew, who were cutting grass for the livestock at sea, when a party of Sonia men travelling that way, and hearing the report of my fowling-piece, came upon me unawares, before I had time to load. I was a little alarmed; but, to put the best face upon the matter, I asked the chief if he would sell his ivory trumpets; to which partly consenting, he agreed to accompany me to the boat, where I purchased two of them, and gave him and his men something to eat and drink. They were going, they said, to Ganga Empeenda, and were quite at their ease while they remained at the boat; plainly showing that they neither intended nor dreaded treachery. Before resuming their journey, they regaled us with a concert on the trumpets, as savage and discordant as the Genius of Africa could wish. The chief had six ivory trumpets, the largest of which had

apparently been a tooth of ninety pounds in weight. He had likewise a drum, and three musical instruments like lyres.

“ *Trumpets.*—Tusks of such magnitude can only belong, as may well be supposed, to the elephant. They are converted into trumpets by boring out the body of the ivory, and leaving only a thin shell at the root, increasing, however, in thickness towards the point, within a short space of which, according to the size of the tusk, a hole is made to communicate with the extremity of the cavity; to this the mouth is applied when blowing.

“ The external surface of the trumpet is highly polished, and is frequently covered with regular devices and hieroglyphics, indented upon it with a hot iron. Upon the small end are carved a few circular knobs. The intrinsic value is small, compared with the value of labour employed in its formation. For this, and their gorgeous appearance, they are chiefly prized; but to being instruments of music they have not the smallest pretension.

“ *Salutations.*—When two persons of equal rank meet, one of them, kneeling on his left knee, gives the *saccula*, (a certain clapping of the hands,) saying, ‘ *Katto co keile?*’ ‘ *How do you do?*’ To which the other replies, in a similar manner, ‘ *Keile ma botta moine.*’ ‘ *Very well, I thank you, Sir.*’ When an inferior approaches his superior to ask a favour, he prostrates himself on the ground, and, throwing dust upon his head, clasps his hands as a suppliant, and says, ‘ *Betsawae moine, menou enoontu accu, menou ba-*

recca accu !' ' Be merciful, master ; I am your servant, I am your slave.'

“ *Monkeys*.—The number and variety of the monkey species in these countries is beyond conception. Myriads of a small black kind, with white breasts, about the size of a cat, assemble every morning upon the lofty trees overhanging the brink of the Congo, in the neighbourhood of Oyster Haven and Maccatala, to drink. At these times, it is amusing enough to observe with what celerity they make their retreat, causing the woods to resound with their chattering, at the report of a musket. Upon the highest trees they generally build their nests, which, in form and construction, resemble those of the magpie, but are much larger, and made of dry grass. The entrance is a round hole in the side. The upper part is covered with grass to a considerable height, to keep out the rains.

“ *Poongo*.—The most wonderful animal of the genus ape is the poongo. When walking erect, it measures six feet, and is said to have the strength of ten men. In this case, were it equally ferocious, it might reign the undisputed sovereign of the woods. In fact, according to the natives, it is an overmatch for all the beasts of the forest, drives the elephant before it with clubs, and frequently carries off their women when it meets them at a distance from home.

“ *Chimpainzee*.—This is known to Europeans as the ourang outang, or wild man of the woods. In point of size, strength, and sagacity, it is very different from the poongo. It is of a more gentle nature, and is easily caught and tamed. Captain Fairweather brought

one from Old Callabar, but it died on the passage from the West Indies to Liverpool. I was told by an eye-witness, that it used to take its bed upon deck to air,—would tie a handkerchief about its head as if sick,—formed a partiality to some of the officers,—made use of a cup and saucer when taking tea,—peeled an orange with a knife,—wiped its mouth with a cloth,—all in a very methodical manner. Many attempts have been made to bring them to England, but they cannot endure the cold of our climate. They have never been known to utter articulate sounds.

“ *Antelope.*—The antelope is about the size of the common deer. As an article of food, it contributes much to the support of the inhabitants. The flesh is prepared and seasoned with palm-oil, salt, and cayenne pepper, and is then called *sylla mamba*. The skin is used for various purposes. The antelopes are seen at times in such immense herds, as almost to exceed belief. Once, about the middle of November, when dropping down the river, I was gratified by a most interesting sight; the whole country between Tadditem Weenga and Ganga Empeenda, a distance of five leagues, was covered with antelopes, down to the river. We fired several rounds of canister-shot at them, but apparently without effect. The mountains on this bending reach of the river recede considerably inland, forming a beautiful amphitheatre, over the sloping surface of which the antelopes had spread themselves. Were I, at a venture, to estimate their numbers at thirty thousand, I should conceive myself far within bounds; for that would not give above six hundred to a square mile; a small number, considering the ap-

pearance they made. It must be remembered, however, that, as seen from the ship, their numbers appeared to the greatest possible advantage: but, on the other hand, we may suppose that the undulations of the ground concealed many of them from view. With the exception of a clump of aged trees here and there, which gave a high finishing to the landscape, the whole of this slope was free of brush or any sort of wood. The withered grass had been burned down in October, and was now succeeded by luxuriant herbage of the most lively green, which, although very little rain had fallen as yet, had sprung astonishingly in length, and presented an appearance like the wheat crops of Britain when covering the clod; an adequate invitation, no doubt, for the vast herd that browsed upon it. On the steep bank of the river, the natives have formed inclined landing-places for their own convenience. Here, when the wild animals are under the necessity of coming to quench their thirst in the dry season, they conceal themselves; and when an antelope enters the narrow pass, they appear behind, and drive it into the water, when it is soon dispatched by people stationed in canoes for that purpose.

“ During the dry season, large hunting parties are formed, who surround the place where the greatest quantity of game is known to be, and set fire to the withered grass. The flaming circumference of the circle diminishes with noisy rapidity, emitting so intense a heat, that no animal dares to attempt a passage. An opening, therefore, is purposely left, at which the most expert marksmen are stationed, who generally kill a sufficient quantity.

“ Another mode of hunting the antelope, only had recourse to when the grass cannot with safety or convenience be set on fire, is to encircle an entire district with a *cordon* of people, at proper distances from one another. Each individual is provided with a piece of red cloth, which he fastens to the end of his spear, and waves it over his head. In this manner, the whole circumference advances as towards a centre, and with shouts and cries at last coops up the terrified animals within a very small space, where great numbers are killed whilst attempting to escape.

“ *Buffalo*.—The buffalo is sometimes hunted, but he becomes so furious when wounded, that it is considered a very dangerous enterprize, and is, therefore, seldom engaged in.

“ *Chacal*.—The natives have contrived to domesticate a species of chacal, which, however, is of very little use to them, and very ugly; nevertheless, they take it with them to the chace.

“ *Hippopotamus, or River Horse*.—The natives hunt this animal with much eagerness for its flesh, which they esteem excellent food. I was one day presented with a piece which had just been killed. It was coarse and bitter; probably, however, some of the gall had been diffused over it: the young ones may be delicate enough. It is an amphibious animal, and associates in herds. I have sometimes seen a group of fifty basking in the sunshine, and half covered by the shallow water of a sand-bank. At such times, being frequently asleep, the natives steal cautiously upon them in canoes, but seldom succeed in surprising them. They remain so long under water when dis-

turbed, that it would be difficult to discover a wounded one, were it not for a float attached by a line to the harpoon. This points out his retreat, and where he will re-appear to breathe. There are two tusks in each jaw, which yield very valuable ivory.

“ When they have cropped all the herbage upon the low islands, and on the margin of the river, they go on shore during the night to graze, and are caught in pits dug in their most frequented paths, and covered over with branches. .

“ I never had the good fortune to kill a hippopotamus, although I have often attempted it, by muffing the oars and warily approaching them ; but they always took the alarm, and retreated to deep water. This inclines me to think, that one of their number stands sentinel while the others sleep. They presented, however, many opportunities of being fired at, rearing their huge heads abruptly out of the water, sometimes only a few yards from the boat, putting us under no small apprehension by their tremendous bellowing and threatening aspect. Many volleys were fired at them ; but whether the hide was proof against ball, or the current carried the wounded out of our reach, we could not ascertain.

“ One morning, I dispatched my chief mate, Shimmons, who augured better success, with the harpoon, upon this employment. When he reached the shoal where the hippopotami had been observed basking, he discovered one of them by the motion of the water, and accordingly darted the harpoon at it with his utmost force. The animal was probably wounded by the stroke, for it gave the boat such a kick, that the

mate was thrown overboard, but was instantly rescued from his perilous situation by the crew.

“ The coincidence between the description of Behemoth in the Book of Job, and the habits of the hippopotamus, is so remarkable, that whoever studies the subject must be satisfied they are one and the same animal.

“ *Fishing*.—This forms a principal part of the amusement and resources of the great men who live in the vicinity of the Congo. At certain seasons, they repair with a considerable retinue to the mangrove forests skirting the river, where they establish their quarters. The bland air enables them to dispense with any other covering than that afforded by the trees, which shade them completely from the sun; and, if necessary, an ample cloth belt secures them from cold. A few earthen pots to dress their victuals in, with skins and mats for the better sort to lie upon, are all their furniture.

“ The mode of fishing is very ingenious. Having fixed upon a shallow channel between the shore and some sand-bank or island, a row of stakes is driven across to support a frame of wicker-work about three feet high. A small opening is left where the water is deepest, in which a trap, resembling a bird-cage, is placed. Into this the fish enter in great numbers, and are taken. The women and children are employed in smoking them for the rainy season.

“ The fishing on the coast of Angaya (or Cabenda) is conducted in a different manner, and upon a very extensive scale. They use a net, or seine, nearly four hundred fathoms in length, and three or four in depth,

made of strong materials. It is floated by buoys of the lob-lolly tree, a soft spongy wood, used also for harpoon floats. A sweep is made along the shore with this net, which seldom fails to bring out a large draught of mullet, and other fish, with which these coasts are well stored. There is abundance of very fine rock-oysters, which adhere to one another in hundreds, and can only be come at by being knocked in pieces. Rock-cod, snappers, and soles, are very plentiful. The two former are of a reddish colour, and are accounted very delicate eating.

“*Electrical Fish.*—Happening one day to see a fish struggling on the surface of the water, as it floated past the vessel I sent the small boat for it, and, when alongside, a rope was handed down to haul it upon deck. The sailor who was fastening the rope started back in the greatest consternation, exclaiming, with an oath, that he believed ‘the devil was in the fish.’ This induced me to examine it attentively, and I perceived that the cause of the man’s astonishment was an electric shock proceeding from the fish. Before each shock, the skin upon its back and sides became very tense. It was like a cod, and weighed about thirty pounds. I gave it to the natives, who were commending it much.

“*Turtle.*—There is a species of black turtle in the Congo, weighing about sixty-five pounds without the shell. It has a longer neck than the sea turtle, with a long slender tail, and an ugly rough skin. It is thought excellent food by the natives and the French. This may be true enough, notwithstanding its disgusting appearance; but every one knows that the latter people

are not very nice in the choice of their viands, provided they will enter into the composition of a fricassee or ragout.

“*Crocodiles*.—These are very numerous in the river, and the natives say voracious; but they do not seem to dread them; on the contrary, I have observed people bathing where crocodiles were swimming a short time before. They may be seen every hour of the day sunning themselves upon the sand-banks. They appear, however, to be of a smaller species, and not so numerous as at Old Callabar, where they continually float past the shipping like large grey pieces of timber, and are there so bold that they frequently seize people in the small canoes. In Old Callabar River, I once observed a crocodile swimming, with a large cat-fish in its mouth, to the opposite shore. It held the fish by the head, whilst the body was thrown into a perpendicular position. I watched it with a spy-glass until it had dragged the fish upon the mud-bank, and commenced its meal. A party, armed with musquets, was then dispatched from the ship to kill it; but, on the approach of the boat, it retreated to the water, with the fish in its mouth. From this I am induced to think that the crocodile cannot devour its prey in the water.

“*Seebisee*.—Upon the low islands in the river, a small animal, resembling a rat, but much larger, is found. It has two long cutting-teeth before, and is covered with bristles like those of a hedgehog. It burrows in the sandy soil. The natives, who call it seebisee, and the French, esteem its flesh a great delicacy. Unfortunately, however, we recollect that

Frenchmen pay the same encomiums on rats and frogs. Nay, they go further, for I have frequently seen carrion exposed to sale in the country markets of Brittany.

“*Bats*.—There is a large species of bat, measuring thirty-four inches between the wings when extended, and ten inches from the nose to the tail. It harbours about the palmetto trees, and lives upon the fruit, which is about the size of a large orange, but not eaten by the natives. I have seen some hundreds of these bats fly out from a single tree; and, when on the wing, they appear as large crows. They are very fierce and vicious when wounded.

“*Frogs*.—During the night, the banks of the Congo, in the neighbourhood of Embomma, are perfectly alive with innumerable quantities of frogs, and other noisy reptiles, which keep up an incessant croaking till morning. They are, I suppose, what is called the bull-frog.

“*Boa Constrictor*.—Once, when lying in the river, and hearing an unusual noise over head, I hastened upon deck. The natives, of whom a number were on board, were calling out ‘Bomma! Bomma!’ Those on shore were running to the landing-place with the greatest terror. The cause of this alarm explained itself,—a large snake was floating close past the vessel. It was a boa constrictor. I immediately manned the yawl, and went in pursuit, foolishly thinking that if I could but fix the harpoon into it, the force of the current would prevent its boarding the boat. Imagining it to be asleep, I approached slowly, to have an opportunity of striking it to the best advantage, but soon discovered that it was dead. I hooked it with the

harpoon, and drew it alongside; but when on deck, the stench was so intolerable that we were obliged to throw it overboard. It was quite flaccid; and, although the entrails were cut out, the diameter of the body in that state was nine inches. The extremities had been cut off, and only fourteen feet of the trunk left; but, as this part tapered nothing at either end, we may reasonably conclude that the whole body was at least three times that length. Here, then, is a snake fifty feet long, and almost a foot in diameter! Its probable dimensions need not surprise us,—there are so many well-authenticated accounts of the enormous size to which these reptiles attain. The natives spoke of this as a very small one. The skin was a quarter of an inch thick, and had beneath it a deep layer of fat. It was covered with large serrated black and dusky-coloured spots across the back. The belly was white.

“The autumnal conflagrations frequently prove destructive to the boa constrictor, especially when gorged with its prey; and it is only then that the natives dare attack it with any hopes of success. At other times it will make a whole village fly before it. Its name in the Loango tongue is *Bomma*, whence *Embomma*.

“*Birds.*—*Loxia* or *Whidah Birds*. There are vast numbers of these in Loango. They are about the size of a bulfinch, and are marked like that bird on the wings. The feathers of the tail, which is about five times the length of the body, are beautifully arched, and have a fine gloss. The Portuguese, by whom they are called *Humpasara chamada veuva*, prize them highly for their beauty, and keep them in cages in their

houses, where I have often seen them.—*Boolicoco*. Some travellers assert that Angola abounds with peacocks, which are enclosed within high walls for the king's amusement, and that none of the natives dare kill them. These, I suspect, are the *boolicoco* of Angoya, a very beautiful bird, but to what species it belongs I know not. It has neither the scream of the peacock nor his train. It is about the size of a pheasant, very wild, and numerous. The name, *boolicoco*, is derived from its note—*coc-coc-coc*. The back and wings are of a light green,—the breast and the large feathers of the wings are brown,—the bill red and yellow; the tail is long, and covered with transverse bars of green, black, and yellow; but without moons: it has, however, the crest of the peacock.—*Pigeons*. Loango can boast of a great variety of pigeons of all colours; some are green, so that they cannot be distinguished from the leaves amongst which they conceal themselves. They are frequently so fat as to burst when brought down by a shot.—*Mamguanza*. This bird is about the size of a turtle-dove, and of most exquisite beauty: the bloom on its gorget, when distended like that of the pigeon, varies from a flaming purple to an intense blue, according to the light in which it is viewed. They are to be seen in large flocks, hovering near the fishing-parties. It is, I believe, the 'blue roller' of the Leverian collection.—*Pelican*. The pelicans of Congo, which are the largest of the kind that I have seen, keep together in flocks of many thousands. They are quite unpalatable, from their rank fishy taste. I have sometimes shot them, and stuffed their skins; but, owing to a superabundance

of oleaginous matter, and the warm weather, they could not be preserved. The wings, when stretched, measure ten feet from tip to tip.—*Parrots*. Every morning the parrots leave their roosting-places in large flocks, in search of food, and return in the evening. A confused noise denotes their flight. They nestle in societies on the large cotton trees; and it was no uncommon thing to see upon one tree alone upwards of an hundred nests. These are generally scooped out of the bark, which is very thick, and easily penetrated.—*Coosu Enquela*. This is a green paroquet, not larger than a sparrow; a very pretty bird.—*Toucan*. There is a species of toucan in the woods, about the size of a magpie, with a monstrous protuberance upon the upper mandible; I believe it is the ‘ramphasto’ described by naturalists.—*Flamingo*. The brilliant scarlet plumage of this bird produces a beautiful effect in a flock: the length of its legs, however, gives it rather an awkward appearance on dry ground; but these and its long neck are absolutely necessary for procuring its food, which it searches for amongst reeds in marshy grounds, and in pools of water. The form of the upper bill is well calculated to assist in this operation. When flying, the whole bird exhibits the form of a cross, whence the Spaniards and Portuguese call it the ‘bird of Christ,’ and therefore will not suffer it to be molested in their territories. The islands and sand-banks of the river are frequented by vast flocks of flamingoes, Muscovy ducks, plovers, coots, curlews, water-hens, &c.—*Owl*. Among others, there is a small horned owl, about the size of the canary, a very singular little bird.—*Swallow*. Great numbers of these frequent Congo in

September. They are much larger than those that visit Britain; but whether they migrate, or remain in some part of the country throughout the year, I could not ascertain.—There is a small blue bird, about the size of a linnæus, which, from its social habits, deserves to be mentioned. It nestles in whole flocks upon a dwarf bushy tree, and I have sometimes counted to the number of five hundred nests upon a single tree. One is apt at first sight to mistake them for fruit.

“ *Grass-Cloth*.—The substance of which this is manufactured is prepared from the inner bark of a broad-leaved plant of the bamboo species. During the intervals of leisure in the hunting and fishing seasons, great quantities of it are collected from the marshy grounds; and at the rendezvous of each party, every idle person is immediately set to work to prepare it for use before the sap exhales. When completely disengaged from the external bark, it is hung up in handfuls to dry: part of it is afterwards stained with various substances, which produce very vivid and lasting colours. It is then worked up into cloths and different parts of dress. There is a small kind, chiefly used by the princes, covered with raised work of great regularity, and surrounded with a fringed border. These are all made from the fibres before they are spun. The spinning is performed by the simple operation of twisting the fibres upon the thigh with the hand. In this state it is wrought into shawls and caps, and other pieces of dress. The caps are knit with a single needle, in a very ingenious manner, commencing at the crown. They present the appearance of alternate zones of raised and inverted work, assuming different patterns.

Their value varies from one to two guineas. The shawls are generally of a circular form, with an opening in the middle, to admit the head. They likewise are knit, and have a variety of open work upon them. Two small semicircular segments are left opposite to each other upon the circumference of the shawl: from each of these a large tuft of untwisted fibres is suspended by a number of threads, wrought into the shawl along the margin of the segment, like radii of the circle of which it is a part. These tufts serve both for ornaments and fly-flaps. If the materials from which these articles are made were manufactured in the same manner as flax, it might become very valuable; for it could be reduced to great fineness, the fibres being remarkably strong, and capable of very minute division.

“*Money*.—When manufactured, grass-cloth becomes the representative of wealth; each piece is about twenty inches long and fifteen broad, and worth three-pence. With these purchases of slaves, ivory, corn, pepper, &c. are made; and a person going to market takes a roll of them under his arm. A certain number sewed together makes a piece of a proportionably higher value, which at the same time serves for clothing.

“*Trees*.—Travellers say that Congo and Loango abound in great varieties of beautiful trees, shrubs, and flowers; but during the seasons in which I have always happened to be there they were not conspicuous, a few scarlet flowering trees, at a distance in the forests, being all that were observable from the river. It is well known, however, that pieces of valuable cabinet timber have at times been picked up

among the fire-wood, and sold at Liverpool at one guinea a foot. Bar-wood, or red sanders, grows to a very large tree: it furnishes a valuable dye, and constitutes the chief article of trade at Mayumba, where ships of 400 or 500 tons burden come for it. The ebony-tree abounds in Loango, and furnishes sceptres for the princes of the country. There is a species of cane, which, cut at the proper season, would make good walking-sticks.

“*Cotton-Tree*.—This tree grows to an enormous size. I measured two at Malemba, each 18 fathoms in circumference. The bark, which is an inch thick, yields a milky juice when wounded. The wood is so pervious, that it admits of wooden pegs being driven into it, whereby the natives are enabled to mount the tree, in search of the birds which build among its branches. It is called by Europeans the *palaver-tree*, from the consultations that are held under it.

“*Elastic Gum or Indian Rubber*.—The tree which produces this substance is very abundant here. The gum, when first drawn from the tree, resembles cream, both in colour and consistence; and it is probably in this shape that the South Americans run it upon bottle-shaped moulds. Upon exposure to the air it quickly coagulates. The natives form it into foot-balls, which have an astonishing spring and elasticity, and are admirably adapted for that purpose.

“*Calabash*.—This is the shell of a species of gourd, used for holding wine and other liquors. It is sometimes beautifully ornamented with indented figures.

“*Fruits*.—Very few of the West India fruits are to be found either in Angoya or Chimfooka. A solitary

lime-tree at Oyster Haven is the only one I have observed; but, according to the reports of the Bushmen, pine-apples, oranges, and sugar-cane, grow luxuriantly in the interior. They have, however, fruits peculiar to the climate, which are very refreshing to seamen after long voyages. There is one called Phoote, that grows in bunches like grapes, of a pleasant acid taste; also a black plum, larger than a damson, of an agreeable musky flavour.

“*Vegetables.*—The chief articles of vegetable food in Congo and Loango are plantains, Indian corn, cassava, peas, potatoes, yams, and a species of nut which is roasted for eating. These are all very abundant, and, as before mentioned, are principally gathered and cultivated by the women. The plantain and cassava are of very rapid growth, and extremely productive. Their peas, called by the French the Angola pea, grow upon a tall shrub, not unlike the laburnum, six or seven feet high, and are very agreeable and well-tasted. They have also a pleasant odoriferous pepper, with which, along with Cayenne, they season their meats. Cotton, Cayenne pepper, and palma christi (the shrub from which castor oil is extracted,) grow spontaneously, and may be collected in any quantity.

“*Minerals.*—Of these I can say nothing, having been at no pains to collect specimens; but if we may judge from the pompous names of ‘Mountains of the Sun,’ and ‘Mountains of Crystal,’ given by travellers to some of the high ranges of land, a great variety of these might be obtained. At Malemba, the natives brought me a cubical piece of blue shining ore: it was heavy, and not unlike lead ore; but, on examining it a

month afterwards, I found that the action of the air had reduced it to a grey powder, which makes me suppose it was manganese. Some of the rocks in the Congo have a greenish cast, resembling pyrites.

“*Scenery.*—The whole of the coast between Mayumba and Benguela Nova affords the most delightful prospect from the sea that can be imagined. Perpendicular red cliffs in many places skirt the shore; while the back-ground consists of mountains, here receding far inland, there approaching the sea. Several of these mountains are crowned with lofty semicircular precipices, set, as it were, in fringes of trees and shrubs; one of these, to the southward of Benguela, from its resemblance to a hat, has been called ‘Hat-hill’ by voyagers. In other parts, they are studded with pinnacles of single rock, like monuments of Roman or Egyptian grandeur. On the summit of a high hill, seen from Embomma, there is a rock of this description, called by the natives ‘Soanna.’ Another hill, to leeward of Ambrige, has a rock, of prodigious length and bulk, lying across its summit. The intermediate space between the ridge of mountains and the sea is beautifully diversified with rising grounds, and ornamented with clumps of lofty trees. The effect of the whole is magnificent, and has no doubt led the Portuguese to apply the names of many of their most romantic and picturesque scenes in Portugal, such as ‘the Cascais,’ &c. to certain views of this fairy landscape. Immense lawns and pasture-grounds compose the greatest part of the fore-ground.

“*Long Grass.*—To all appearance, when seen from a distance, the grass would not afford concealment to a

rabbit, but in reality it is so long as to hide an elephant, being in many places twelve feet high. Even on the hills, where the soil is shallow, it rises five or six feet in height. The footpaths formed by the natives wind through it in the most intricate and perplexing manner; and cannot be traversed but with considerable danger, owing to the concealment and opportunity afforded to all the hostile tribes of these regions. To guard against attacks, when travelling under night, the natives carry blazing torches made of plantain leaves, besmeared with an odoriferous resin. From this resin a druggist in Liverpool extracted an essential oil, which he sold for nutmeg-oil!

“*Conflagrations.*—The great risk and inconvenience of travelling through the long grass being much felt, the natives never fail to burn it in September or October, when completely dry and withered. A voyage to the coast at this season, were it only to behold the waving lines of fire, would be amply repaid. I had the good fortune to witness a scene of this kind at Embomma, where the hills rise more abruptly from the plain than they do from the sea-coast. Being in the night-time, it produced an effect not only sublime but terrific. When the flames reached the hills, two miles from the ship, they cast so great a light that it was possible to read on board. The fire raged in a continuous blaze full sixty miles in length, producing a noise somewhat like distant thunder; and, from the Alpine nature of the ground, assuming a variety of singular shapes and extraordinary forms. I cannot but think, that the little hamlets and villages must frequently suffer on these occasions, unless the inhabitants

take special care to have a sufficient space clear of grass around their dwellings; and even then the combustible materials of which they are built leave them at the mercy of every falling spark. It may be remarked here, how liable they must always be on that account to accidents from fire.

“For a week or ten days after the conflagration has passed over the face of the country, nothing can be conceived more dismal and waste; but the luxuriant verdure which rapidly advances in the beginning of November, when the moist weather sets in, quickly effaces every vestige of fire, and makes ample amends for the few days in which blackness and desolation kept joint possession of the earth. To these annual conflagrations, and to the effects of the ashes on the soil, must be ascribed the civilized and cultivated appearance of the country. This is the harvest of the carrion-crow, the kite, and the vulture, which keep hovering in the rear of the flames, pouncing down upon snakes, lizards, crabs, &c. destroyed by the fire; and, as already mentioned, the boa constrictor itself, which fears no other enemy, frequently falls a victim to the fury of this irresistible foe, and becomes the prey of these rapacious birds.

“*Canoes.*—At Cape Lopez and Jabon, the canoes are formed out of single trees of red wood. They are flat-bottomed and wall-sided. I have seen some of them seventy feet long, six broad, and four deep, capable of holding a considerable number of people. I am told of one belonging to King Passeall, at Cape Lopez, that holds two hundred men.

“*Houses.*—The construction of these, though simple,

is very ingenious. The body of the house consists of four parts, the ends and sides, each made separately of bulrush-stems. The bulrushes, which are about an inch in diameter, are first cut of the proper length, and laid parallel to one another upon the ground; they are then secured in this position by transverse branches of bamboo at the ends and in the middle, three on each side, which are firmly bound together by slips of the palmetto leaf. In one end, a square opening is left for the door. The frame-work, thus completed, is fastened to four upright posts, driven into the ground, and is then ready to receive the roof, which is made of bamboo or palm-leaves overlapping each other: it consists of two parts, attached to each other by a sort of hinge, for the purpose of being folded together when the family removes. The best houses seldom exceed twenty feet in length and twelve in breadth; the sides are about seven feet high; and altogether it is so light that six people can easily transport a house of an ordinary size; and being so small, each family is possessed of a number proportioned to its wants. A bulrush palisade, eight feet high, bound together in the same manner as the sides of the houses, surrounds the whole. Within this inclosure, the goats, sheep, hogs, &c. are always kept during the night: the entrance is secured by a door of similar materials to the palisade. Simple as the inclosure is, it would appear, from the natives having no other, that it completely answers their purpose; although, from an adventure which befel Captain R. Norris, of Liverpool, in his factory at Whidah, (where all the trade is carried on in factories,) we may conclude, that the Congoese owe their nocturnal safety

more to the wild beasts being well fed in the woods than to the bulrush screens.

“ In the kingdoms of Whidah, Dahomy, and Benin, the houses and family inclosures are built of clay or mud, within which the inhabitants, with their herds and flocks, are protected during the night. Captain Norris being awakened one night by an unusual noise, looked out, and discovered that it was caused by a large panther endeavouring to leap the outer wall, with a milch goat in its mouth. The goat was brought from the ship to supply him with milk; and, having heard it bleating, the panther had scaled the wall, and was now in the act of returning with his prey. Although the wall was fourteen feet high, the panther almost succeeded in clearing it, the three first attempts, getting his fore feet upon the coping each time; but the weight of the goat always brought him down. After this, every succeeding attempt falling shorter of the mark, he might have abandoned his prey and regained his liberty, had not Captain Norris, hoping to save the goat, shot him. He was obliged, however, with the assistance of his black servant, who was the only other person at the time in the factory, to bury him in the yard before morning; for if it had come to the King of Dahomy's ears, his voyage would have been ruined, Whidah being a conquered province of Dahomy, and the panther and the snake the king's fitishes.

“ *Villages.*—No detached dwellings are to be seen here as in Europe. Mutual safety obliges the inhabitants to live in villages and towns. Each village is the property of some chief, who exercises uncontrolled authority over all its members. These may be divided

into two classes, the slaves and dependant relations of the chief, both so entirely devoted to his service, as almost to realize our idea of a clan. There are a few instances where rich traders have villages of their own, consisting of two or three hundred families; but they are much exposed to the avarice and cupidity of the chiefs, whose favour they are frequently obliged to purchase at a great price. These possessions constitute the power and wealth of the chiefs, who can at any time call out the male population to vindicate their rights, real or imaginary. The slaves, who comprise a large proportion of the population of this part of Africa, are employed in various ways, according to their ability and address. They live in great indolence, and are rapidly increasing in numbers,—equally to the comfort and affluence of their masters; by whom, upon the whole, they are treated with much humanity.

“*Chiefs.*—Each chief is regarded as the father of his own district, from whose judgment there lies no appeal, save only to Boonzie. Although they all acknowledge the king’s sovereignty, yet a few, combining their resources, can at any time resist his authority. Indeed, there is reason to think that they seldom or never act in concert, except when threatened by an enemy; and, even then, their quota of men and period of service are liable to various contingencies,—want of arms, for instance, or scarcity of provisions, either of which will render their assistance of no avail, or rather will make their presence a scourge. The only power of controlling them is the priesthood. The chiefs, as well as their dependants, are remarkably fond of tobacco, which, however, from the method of

curing it, is very bad. European spirits are in great request among them,—even Boonzie himself is not exempt from their bewitching influence.

“*Mode of Travelling.*—A chief, when travelling, or on a visit of ceremony, affects a great deal of state, and is accompanied by a considerable number of followers. He sits in a sort of hammock, borne by four men, each of whom has a grass cushion upon his head, supporting a bamboo about twelve feet long, to which the hammock is stretched. In this the chief sits, his legs hanging over the side, and his arms resting upon the bamboo. Twelve men are appointed to carry the hammock, which they do alternately, by fours; some to hold an umbrella over the chief’s head, whilst others carry drums, trumpets, lyres, and the chingonga. In this manner they easily travel twenty miles a-day. When it approaches a town or village, or meets another chief and his retinue, the cavalcade quickens its pace; the different individuals form in a file behind the chief, and the musicians exert all their energies in producing a noise, than which, to an European ear, nothing can be more discordant.

“*Consultations.*—When any affair of importance is in contemplation, the neighbouring chieftains assemble to debate on its expediency, and if agreed upon, to concert proper measures for carrying it into execution. Each chief is attended by a certain number of adherents, according to his rank. The conference is generally held beneath the shade of some gigantic cotton-tree, whose wide-spreading branches would screen a little army. Having seated themselves in a circle, palm-wine is introduced along with the subject in discussion,

and, no doubt, contributes much to their eloquence. Nor do they forget, amid the graver matters of the state, the minor, but more fascinating virtues of tobacco, to which, in all its modes, they do ample justice.

“*Sanga*.—The conference is preceded by a war dance, called *running sanga*; and it is a point of ambition who in the assembly shall exhibit this with the greatest effect, yet only a small number excel in it. The dance begins by a man rushing into the midst of the circle, brandishing a sword in his right hand; with this he reels about in every possible direction, writhing his body into the most extraordinary attitudes. His whole countenance becomes distorted, and expressive of the strongest agitation, which, with the fixed glare of his eyes, gives him all the appearance of a maniac. This state of violent exertion having continued about three minutes, another starts up in his stead, and endeavours, if possible, to outdo him in the frantic display of violent and unnatural emotions. When the dancers have thus exhibited their talents, the conference is opened. During the continuance of the *sanga*, the whole group applaud each performer, and clap their hands in approbation of his skill and dexterity.

“*Dress*.—The ordinary dress of the men, in all the countries between Cape Lopez and Benguela, is similar, and extremely simple. It consists of four or five yards of coarse European manufacture, or as many grass-cloths sewed together as may be requisite. When folded round the lower part of the body, it is fastened above the loins by a few yards of red or blue cloth tied in a large knot. This garment reaches to the middle

of the leg; the upper part is turned down over the belt, and the ends meet on the left thigh, the corners touching the ground. A cat's skin, an indispensable article of dress, hangs in front: the head, by which it is suspended, is turned downwards over the knot, and at its mouth usually hang a number of hawk's bells, keys, and other trinkets. A large tobacco-pipe, a knife or dagger, and a fitish, are secured beneath the belt. These, with a bracelet of ivory or brass on each wrist, a piece of iron chain on the ankles, and a common worsted cap lying loosely on the head, complete the dress. The latter article, however, is seldom worn by the chiefs, whose whole costume, on days of ceremony, consists of much finer materials. In addition to the other parts of their dress, they wear the grass cap and shawl on these occasions: their legs and arms are decorated with ivory and brass bracelets, which, with a quantity of fitishes suspended from the left shoulder, make a dreadful noise. The hair, which is commonly worn short, is ingeniously shaven in a very singular manner: the head is divided, as it were, into compartments, of which, each alternate one is cut out and the other allowed to grow. This order is reversed each successive shaving, the long hair being cut, and the short left.

“*Women.*—The chiefs consider their wives as indispensable appendages of grandeur and dignity. The great mass of the people regard them as a source of wealth and independence. They perform every servile office, cultivate the ground, tend the sheep and goats, make baskets, spin, weave, &c. whilst the men doze away their time in smoking tobacco, or drinking palm-

wine, except when engaged in war, in the chase, or fishing. The number of wives may thus truly be said to constitute the riches of the middle class.

“The dress of the women differs considerably from that of the men. They have neither the cloth, belt, cap, shawl, nor cat-skin, nor even a fitish to guard them from danger!—they are, however, allowed the unlimited use of beads and shells; and with these they decorate their persons most profusely: a few strings of beads supply the place of a belt. There is scarcely an article of dress upon which they set higher value than the hair of the elephant’s tail: it is worn around the neck, with large pieces of coral strung upon it. Tedious as are the operations of the toilette in our own country, they are of short duration compared to that process in Congo, where a whole day is often insufficient for the completion of a single head. Over the eyelashes black lines are drawn; and the front teeth are filed into one or two sharp fangs. Many of the women ornament their bodies with a sort of tattooing, which, judging from the size of the scars, must be a very cruel operation; but the custom is not common. A married woman generally wears her hair after the fashion of her husband’s. Young women paint their bodies with a paste made of the powder of red wood; and, instead of shaving their heads, although the hair is still kept short, plait it in elegant curves close to the skin.

“Singing and dancing are two necessary accomplishments for a female. For these, indeed, and the servile offices of life, she is chiefly valued. The wife is the property of her husband, who, for certain mis-

demeanours, can sell her; but this expedient is seldom resorted to, especially if the father be a man of consequence: in that case recourse is had to the ordeal trial. She is in a manner purchased from her relations, than whose consent no other sanction is requisite to constitute the marriage. Their approbation is expressed by acceptance of a present, generally adequate to her full value were she sold in the market.

“*Dancing.*—No opportunity is lost of engaging in this favourite amusement: in good weather every village sends forth its evening band of joyful dancers. The circle being formed, a couple step forward and commence the dance, which is carried on with much animation; and having exhausted all their agility and address, they are relieved by another pair, who advance from opposite parts of the circle, and this is continued in succession, until the whole group is completely wearied. Their various movements and attitudes, grotesque and uncouth as they are, harmonize with the wild and plaintive measure of the song. A full chorus, accompanied by the notes of a rude five-stringed lyre, produces a very pleasing effect.

“*Slaves.*—When a ship arrives after a long interval of trade, six weeks generally elapse before the slaves come down to the coast. The brokers have to notify her arrival to their respective Bushmen, or inland traders, who reside at the great slave mart in the interior of the country; and to whom they must send suitable presents previous to any negociation. By all accounts the slaves are so reconciled to their unhappy lot, that they evince very little concern at the final separation from their friends and country; but this,


without any want of natural affection, may be the consequence of living continually under the apprehension of such an event;—nor do the friends on their part testify a greater degree of sorrow: this, perhaps, partly arises from a consideration of individual safety to themselves, conjoined with causes unknown to us. We do not hear that the wretched victims are feelingly alive to their lamentable situation; but let us recollect, that fortitude and contempt of suffering are among the greatest virtues of the savage mind.

“*Stature.*—The inhabitants of these countries are of the middle stature, and may be reckoned the blackest, as well as the most handsome, of the negro race. To a full chest, and well-proportioned limbs, we find united regular features and an expressive countenance.

“*Character.*—They have been called a cruel, jealous, and revengeful people,—much given to theft; but, in my opinion, very unjustly. I would rather term them, in their ordinary mode of life, a mild, inoffensive, effeminate race; yet of astonishing resolution and perseverance when once roused to action. Of all the slaves brought from the coast of Africa, those of Congo are accounted the most refractory and determined on ship-board. As an instance of their probity and honour;—Captain Couffin, when sailing up the river, run his ship upon a sunk rock. He was obliged to unload the whole cargo while the vessel was refitting; and, although the goods remained in their huts all that time, not a single article was missing. To the spontaneous productions of nature, and to the climate which causes them to spring up so luxuriantly and in such profusion, must be ascribed the effeminacy of the

Congoese, not to any inherent defect in the constitution of a race, whose outward appearance time and situation have so altered. The negro, in his native land, is, comparatively speaking, in a great measure exempt from toil; he enjoys life to the full, and, by a little tuition, can think as acutely and act as justly as the man who, born in a civilized country, has enjoyed all the advantages of education."

ACCOUNT OF THE
CAPTIVITY OF ALEXANDER SCOTT
AMONG THE
WANDERING ARABS OF THE GREAT AFRICAN DESERT,
FOR A PERIOD OF NEARLY SIX YEARS.



ALEXANDER SCOTT, a native of Liverpool, at the age of sixteen years sailed as an apprentice in the ship *Montezuma*, commanded by Captain Knubley, and belonging to Messrs. J. T. Kosten and Company, of that port. The vessel sailed on the 26th of October, 1810, for Brazil; but was wrecked on the 23d of November, at three o'clock in the morning, on the African coast, somewhere between Capes Noon and Bojador. In the course of the first day, the crew, who had reached the

shore, were visited by two persons (one of whom was a negro) belonging to the Arab tribe of Toborlet. They had with them a camel. Scott, the cook, and a Portuguese boy named Antonio, were desired by Captain Knublely to accompany these men to their habitations. The natives, finding that Antonio had a knife and some copper coin, took his knife, and cut away the pocket containing the money, in consequence of which the Portuguese refused to go further, and returned to the coast. Scott and the cook proceeded chiefly on foot, but occasionally riding on the camel (after their fears at its appearance had subsided) for eight or nine hours, when they arrived at a valley called Zéroohah, on the sides of which about one hundred small tents were scattered. These tents were low, and formed of a coarse mat-like stuff, manufactured by the Arabs, of the hair of goats and camels, intermixed with wool. There might be about six or seven persons inhabiting each hut. Their complexions were very brown; both men and women were bony and slender. Scott and his companion were consigned by their guides to the care of some women.

Next day the captain and the rest of the crew arrived; but on the following day Scott was carried, by the same two men as had been his guides, to other tents two miles off. He remained altogether about three weeks at those two places; during which period all the people were scattered about, but Scott and Antonio remained together. They had skins to sleep on, and a thick porridge of barley-meal for food. Scott had remarked, that two pigs saved from the wreck had been killed by the Arabs; but their flesh was either

left on the beach, or thrown into the sea. The Arabs now began to break up their tents, and sold Scott to an old man, named Sidi El Hartoni, who had with him three camels. He carried Scott away; and they fell in, on the evening of the same day, with another Arab, who had purchased the remainder of the crew, with the exception of the captain, a passenger, and two seamen. On the following morning, the old man carried Scott to the spot where the vessel had been wrecked, and there they remained for three days. From thence they departed for the south; and, after two days, during which Scott occasionally rode on a camel, he fell in with the Portuguese boy, in possession of another Arab tribe, also moving southward. Here the two boys attempted to escape from their masters; but were pursued, caught, and beaten. They were immediately finally separated; Antonio and his master set off in a south-east direction, and Scott was carried, as near as he could judge, due south, travelling all the way not far from the sea, sometimes within sight of it, and occasionally along the beach. Their route was continued for fifteen days more, and the rate of travelling he estimates at fifteen miles a-day; every night they rested at the tents of some tribe, and were always hospitably received.

The country they traversed principally consisted of a soft sand. A part of the road lay through a valley, watered by a salt river, and containing a deep thicket, or wood, in which Scott observed trees resembling firs, and some from which whitish gum exuded. This last had sharp spines, the stem thicker than a man's body, not very high, growing, as Scott expresses it,

“all of a rook.” This valley is named Wad Scyghi: (*wad*, in the language of the country, signifying a valley in which there is running water:) here Scott saw an animal which he describes as “a large beast, almost like a cow, covered with hair of a grey colour, with large horns, thick at the root and spreading onward, a very short tail, and feet like those of sheep. This animal is eaten by the Arabs, who call it Row-y-ând.”

After the seventeen days' travelling, they came to an encampment of thirty-three tents, in a part of a district which Scott says is named El Ghiblah, and is bounded on the west by the sea. Here they remained several months. The place of their abode was the highest part of that country: its soil is principally rocky: its distance Scott computes at upwards of two hundred miles southward of the place where he was sold to Sidi Hartoni; and he supposes it to be about twenty miles from the ocean, the roar of which he occasionally heard when the wind blew from the west. He also remarked a circumstance which inclined him to think the coast not far distant: the water of the wells at the beach was much fresher than that at the place of encampment; and the Arabs, who were often sent to fetch it from the coast, usually left home in the morning, and returned on the evening of the following day. In this district Scott saw “plenty of wild fowl; occasionally foxes; wolves; and deer, or animals like deer, with a red back, white belly, tapering black horns, with prominent rings and tips bent forward, eyes black and large. Some of these animals have straight horns. It is called El Mochæe.”

Scott remained at El Ghiblah for some months; but about the month of June (as he supposes from his recollection of the length of the days and the heat of the weather,) he was told that "the tribe would go a long journey—to Hez el Hezsh; and that he must go with them, and there change his religion, or die." The old man (his master), his three sons, and three daughters, with many others of the tribe, composed a caravan of twenty families. The party mustered between 500 and 600 camels, of which fifty-seven were the property of Sidi El Hartoni. Each family was provided with a tent, which, with provisions, water, and all their effects, was carried by the male camels; while the young camels, and those that gave milk, had no load whatever. The number of sheep belonging to the caravan was above 1000, and their goats nearly as many. They had only five horses, which, during the journey, were chiefly employed in chasing ostriches, the feathers of which were carefully preserved, and the flesh eaten. They carried with them two jackasses, and many dogs, chiefly of the greyhound and bloodhound breeds, with which the people killed hares, foxes, and wolves; and on the flesh of all these the tribe occasionally fed. When travelling, the sheep and goats of each family were kept in separate droves. The animals go close together, except when they meet with some vegetation, when they spread, but are easily brought together by the whistling of their driver, or by the sound of his horn. The latter is the most usual method, and soon collects the flocks around the driver, an effect supposed to arise from their apprehension of wild beasts, which drives them to the protection of

their keeper. It is said, that they can distinguish by the smell the approach of a wolf at the distance of half a mile. The tents were pitched every night; and the camels and flocks belonging to the family were disposed in front of the family tent, near which fires were kindled for cooking. Should there be any apprehension of an attack during the night, all the tents are pitched in a circular encampment, called *Douâr*, within which all the cattle are driven, and the men lie among the camels, which immediately rise up on the first alarm. The sheep and goats are very different from those of England, being much larger, with longer legs; and are much accustomed to travelling. When they have sufficient food, they will keep up with the camels on a journey; and they will occasionally run as fast as a greyhound. The camels can go long without food or drink; they browse on the scanty herbage of the desert, where they find it, and drink as much at once as will serve them a long time. Scott never saw or heard that this animal ever swallowed charcoal, and thinks that had this substance ever been its food he must have observed it, as he has often seen the camels reduced to great extremity for want of herbage.

For the first four or five days the route of the caravan lay over hard clayey ground, very barren, producing only wild bushes, but not a blade of grass. They then came to a sandy district, called *El-e Buscharah*, consisting of hills and valleys of sand, having water only at a deep well about ten miles southward of the place where they entered on it. From this well the camels were loaded with water. The Arabs told Scott that this well had been made by Christians, who once

possessed this country, until expelled by the Moors or the Arabs. In this sandy district they saw no beasts, except a few deer in the valleys. Scott describes these deer as of a nankeen colour, with black stripes along their sides, near the belly; the nose, eyes, and tongue black; the males had small straight horns without branches, the females none; their legs were long and slender; they were so fleet that the greyhounds could not catch them; their size was inferior to that of an English sheep. The only vegetation of this country was small bushes and a low tree, called by the Arabs *El Myrreh*. The tallest of them is about three yards high: it has a red broad branch like a palm, and running roots like liquorice, about as thick as the finger, and sweet as sugar; the roots are called *ferrada* by the people, and eaten both by them and the cattle. The cattle were fond of this root as food, and it was reckoned good for them. There were here some birds, and the eggs of various wild fowl were found in the sand, among which Scott particularly mentions one by the name of "wild peacock," which was, perhaps, a bustard.

For eleven days their route lay through this sandy district; and then they entered upon a more firm sort of soil, which sometimes presented a hilly surface, and occasionally extensive plains of hard clay, sprinkled over with some bushes, but without any other vegetation. The hills sometimes showed rocky sides, on which dry mosses grew. This sort of country continued for about two months, during which they went through several valleys containing small streams of water, so brackish that it could not be drank; and

they passed by some mines of salt and brimstone. The former appeared like white rocks in some valleys, and the latter looked like white and yellow rocks. Scott knew the salt by its taste; and having broken off a piece of the brimstone, he found it to be very bitter, and on throwing it on the fire at night it burnt with a blue flame, and almost suffocated the people, who beat him heartily for causing this annoyance.

The tracks left by camels in the clay soil, in wet weather (which is not very frequent in that country,) guided the caravan through this desert region. They often met other Arab tribes travelling like themselves; but they never pitched their tents near each other. This arose partly from fear, and partly from the scarcity of water and food for their cattle.

After passing through a wood, which they traversed for two days, they came again to a sandy soil. This wood was the boundary between the clayey and sandy districts. During their passage through the forest, they saw several lions, which did not attempt to come near them. Scott remarked that beasts of prey seldom attacked a party unless they were first molested; but their flocks were attacked in this wood by a tiger, or, from his description of the animal, it would appear to be a panther. The camels can smell this animal at a considerable distance, and its approach is known by their refusing to advance. This occurred in the wood: the men prepared their arms; the tiger approached with little noise, and fell upon the sheep; the people endeavoured to drive him away, and fired at him, on which he suddenly turned on them, killed three, two of whom he struck down at once, and wounded five

others. He then seized a sheep, which he carried off with great ease in his mouth.

In this wood they met with a party who had a tame elephant. These people were of a darker complexion than the tribes of El Ghiblah. They belonged to the tribe of Ox Ghêbet, and came from El Sharrag, and said they were going to some town (the name of which Scott did not hear) to fetch corn. They cautioned the Arabs with whom Scott was to beware of a people called Baurbarras, black savages, who lived in the wood, and had done them much damage. In the wood were date-trees, cocoa-trees, and wild oranges.

On leaving the wood, the caravan entered on the sandy district already noticed. It was varied by valleys and small sandy hills; and was watered by many running streams, a little brackish, although the weather had been long hot, and very little rain had fallen. In about a month they got through this sandy district; and, without having had any distant view of it, arrived on the shores of a vast lake or sea. The day was extremely clear, and two mountain-tops on its opposite shore were just visible, almost like clouds in the sky. The point at which they arrived was not that which they had intended to reach; for it was an uninhabited country. They proceeded, therefore, northward, along the banks of the lake; and in the evening arrived at a number of fixed huts, built of canes and bamboos, called *El Sharrag*, and belonging to the Ox Ghebêts. The surrounding country was of a soft sandy soil, not much wooded. There were many low bushes; and near the beach high trees, with tall stems, and bunches of leaves at the top, something like a cocoa-tree, but taller.

From the time of leaving El Ghiblah until their arrival at the lake, the route of the caravan was pretty uniformly in one direction, except when the intervention of hills or rivers caused occasional deviations; but as soon as these obstacles were passed, they resumed the original direction. Scott was unprovided with any means of determining the true line of their march; but, judging from the position of the sun at its rising, it appears, that at setting out the line of route lay a little to the southward of east, and gradually inclined more to the south as they advanced. They travelled more or less every day, except when they tarried three days in the wood, to bury those who had been killed by the tiger. The first day was, in consequence of this occurrence, a day of rest; the second was employed in burying the dead; and the third was occupied in placing stones over the graves, to preserve them from wild beasts. Some days, when very hot, they stopped at two or three o'clock for the day. Scott was of opinion that the distance travelled was generally twenty miles, and seldom less than fifteen miles, a-day. In all this journey they did not pass through, nor did they see any thing that could be called, a town, nor any permanent habitations of any kind, until they reached the lake. They did not pass near, nor did they cross, any high mountains. They did not meet with any large river or stream which was not fordable. They frequently met other parties like themselves, who all spoke Arabic, which Scott now began to understand tolerably well; but many of them spoke also another language. During the journey those who chose rode on the camels; the women and

children often did: Scott was permitted to do so sometimes. Scott's occupation was chiefly to attend to his master's sheep and goats, in which he was assisted by one of his master's daughters; and at night he was employed in grinding or bruising barley between two flat stones. The Arabs fared very scantily, and Scott still worse. His feet and legs were blistered by the burning sand: he was cruelly beaten for trifling faults, and if he slept too long in the morning, he was beaten with a cudgel. The whole party were often short of water; and at one time, when travelling over the hard ground near the salt and brimstone mines, they were in great distress, having been six days without any water. Their resource then was the milk of their goats and camels. The Arabs did not take breakfast; they generally had only one meal a-day, and that after sunset. It consisted usually of goats' milk and a thick porridge of barley flour; but if they had no corn, they drank the milk of their goats and camels, and ate the flesh of the camel, whether the animal died a natural death, or was killed accidentally or on purpose. They even occasionally devoured the hide of the camel, which is tough and thick. It is first beaten quite thin between two stones, and then it is roasted. A large fire of wood is kindled on the ground; the glowing embers are mixed with the sand, and the hide, or other animal food, is covered over with the mixture, when it is soon roasted, and devoured by the Arabs, without any nice attention to the particles of sand which may be adhering to it. They also occasionally eat locusts, which are roasted in a similar manner.

At El Sharrag, all the camels, sheep, and goats,

belonging to the party, with two persons of each family, were left; and a large boat was hired to convey them across the lake. This boat was very long,—was built of a red wood, something like mahogany,—appeared to have no iron about her,—and even her rudder was fastened by ropes of straw or grass. Between seventy and eighty of their party embarked in this boat, amongst whom was Scott. The boat was commanded by an Arab of a darker complexion than those with whom Scott had travelled, and manned by six blacks, whom Scott considered to be slaves, from the treatment they experienced from their master; for he observed that they, as well as other negroes, who are numerous at El Sharrag, were often beaten by the Arabs. The boat started at sunrise, and was rowed by six oars, until a little before sunset, at a rate (as Scott imagined) of about two miles an hour. The oars were very short and clumsy; the blacks sat two on the same seat, with their faces to the stem, rowing with quick and short strokes, and raising the body at each stroke, not sitting steady and making a long pull, as English sailors do: They rested half a dozen times through the day, for about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour at a time. A little before sunset, a large stone, which served as an anchor, was let down with about twenty fathoms of cable; and the boat remained stationary all night. They weighed anchor again at sunrise, proceeded as before till sunset, and then again cast anchor. Soon after daybreak, on the third day, they again got under weigh, and proceeded till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at the opposite shore. Their course was straight for

two mountains already noticed; and they landed at their foot, in a country called El Hezsh.

The lake is named Bahâr Tiel, which signifies fresh-water lake or sea. Judging from the position of the rising sun, Scott thinks the greatest extent of this lake is from N. E. to S. W. Its breadth he could not state, except as far as an inference may be drawn from the time they took to cross it, at this, which seemed its narrowest part. The water during their passage was smooth, with a great deal of weed floating on its surface. Some had broad green leaves, but none of them looked like sea weeds—all resembled fresh-water weeds; and abundance of rushes grew near the shore. The water under the weeds was clear, and fresher than that of the country, which was all brackish.

When further questioned, Scott stated, that though the water of the Bahâr was comparatively fresh, yet it would not be reckoned fresh in this country. The Bahâr had no perceptible current; had any such existed he could not have failed to observe it. Both nights, when the boat was brought to anchor, the bow was, as nearly as he can recollect, towards the moon when rising about ten o'clock; and he remarked that its position did not appear to be changed during the night. The sky was cloudless; the wind calm; and a very heavy dew fell. The moon was full two or three days before they crossed the Bahâr.

The Bahâr contained turtles, something like those brought to England from the West Indies, but much smaller:—of these Scott killed some, but did not eat them. Fish of different kinds abounded in the water, and were caught with great ease, by nets let down

from fishing-vessels, or hauled on the beach. He saw some like mackerel; others shaped like eels, but thicker and much larger. Some had no scales; but he did not see any with long feelers at their mouths.

There were many fishing-vessels on the Bahâr, but no boats larger than that which conveyed them across the lake, which was capable of carrying about 200 people. Its ends were both alike, rising up like those of a canoe, very sharp; decked for about three yards at each end; with several thwarts, or seats, for the rowers across it, on each of which two men sat when they rowed, each with a separate oar. The boat was very flat-bottomed; was cased in the bottom and up the sides; had no mast, but there was a step for one in the keel, and a hole in the seat over it. The cable was formed of a rushy grass, which he was told is taken when green, is fastened by beating it when wet, and then twisted into ropes, which become afterwards yellow. The boat, in the language of the Arabs, is called *zourgos*; but by the natives of El Sharrag and El Hezsh *flook*.

With the master of the vessel Scott had no opportunity of speaking. This man wore a white cotton shirt, with a red girdle, and was armed with a musquet and cutlass. The dress of the boatmen had some resemblance to an English carter's frock, but was made of woollen. They all wore yellow slippers, lined with red, and of the same width from the toe to the heel. This is the exact counterpart of the Barbary slipper. These people spoke the Arab language, and also another, called *Schlech*. In the former Scott conversed with them, and found they were apprehensive of being

attacked, while on the water, by people who come from the upper, or northern part of the Bahâr, in boats, and who inhabit the eastern side of that part; are small in size, and of a different race to the Arabs. Scott thinks they told him that this race (whom they called *Zachah*) do not believe in Mahomet.

The boatmen also told him,—pointing to the southward,—that in that direction lay a great salt-water sea; that the one they were then on ran into it; that there was no end of it; that there were plenty of *saffina el kabeer*, or large ships, on it; and that they called it *Bahar el Kabeer* (great sea or water). They stated, that a long way to the southward, (pointing in that direction,) and before they were born, there had been great battles, both on the sea and land, between the French and English,—that where the battle had been fought on land, the bones of those killed were yet lying.

At the place where the party landed were a number of huts, built of logs of wood placed perpendicularly, lined with canes on both sides, with bushes in the intervals, and covered with rushes taken from the banks of the Bahâr. The name of this place is *El Jah Sidna Mahommed*, signifying “the place of a chief called Mahommed;” and the name of the tribe is *El Jahsi del Hézsh*.

On landing, the Arabs all kissed the ground three times, and washed their hands and faces with sand, as they did at all times when they prayed. Scott refused to do so, and the men beat him with a stick; but the women begged he might not be further punished. They remained all night at these huts; but the next

morning, at sunrise, they left the village, taking Scott along with them, and telling him they were going to Hez el Hêzsh, to Sidna Mahommed; that he must go there, change his religion, and be circumcised; and that if he did not become of their religion, Mahommed would rise up and kill him.

The country bordering on the sea was sandy; but a little way back it was a mixture of sand and clay, with many large rocks, which were quite full of chimney-weed, called in Arabic *tomtulet*. They then traversed a mountainous country, by a winding path, which tended southward, until about three o'clock in the afternoon; when they arrived at a valley between two high mountains, the sides of which produced large oil-trees. The branches of this tree resemble an oak, and produce "green plums," with a hard shell, and a kernel in each, which, when boiled, affords oil. The process for obtaining this oil is as follows:—The nuts are broken, the kernels dried in the sun, then ground and boiled with water in clay pots; the oil is skimmed off as it rises.

The valley is about three quarters of a mile across: there was no grass in it; but small bushes grew in a clayey soil, mixed with a black slaty stone. Here stood a solitary building, "about the size and shape of an English barn or haystack." The lower part was formed of red rough rock-stones, bedded in clay; the upper of canes and boughs of trees: the whole was covered with rushes. It appeared as if it had been long built, being quite black, with moss on the outside. One end of this building was to the north, and the other to the south. In the south end was a square-

headed door, which was not opened while Scott was there. There was no window, nor any thing like a chimney, or other projection, except a long pole, forked at the end, rising out of the rushes on the east side of the roof, and sloping upwards. It was so long that the forked points were beyond the line of the wall, and each extremity was covered by an ostrich egg. Immediately below them was a large wooden bowl, capable of holding five or six gallons, and placed on three large stones, which supported it about two feet from the ground. This building, they told him, was the grave of Sidna Mahommed. This, he says, does not mean the grave of the Prophet, whose title among them is *Uhr* *Soel*; but of some great man connected with, or a relation of, Mahommed the prophet. The personage here buried was laid (as Scott was told) on his side, with his head to the north, his feet to the south, and his face to the east, that is, towards Mecca, the usual mode of interment in that country. In the ground adjoining the building were the graves of many pilgrims who had died in El Hezsh. These were marked by small hollows, with a stone upon each, with other stones placed on edge along the sides, and one at each end.

The party was accompanied by five pilgrims, who were dressed in a kind of white cotton shirt, with a red belt round the waist; and each carried a brass box, containing books and papers. When they had arrived on the ground they all stood up, and, in Arabic, made some address to Mahommed: they then bowed thrice to the ground, got up, and walked to the front of the building, to the door of which the pilgrims first ap-

proached. On one side of the door was a brownish stone, set in the ground, two feet high, which the pilgrims kissed; and their example was followed by all the party, Scott excepted. The stone was quite smooth, and rounded at the top, seemingly hard and clean, but the sides were rather mossy. The people here threatened to kill Scott if he did not turn Mahomedan, showing him a knife, with which, they said, they would destroy him. He told them "they might kill him, for he would not turn;" and they gave him until next morning to think of it; but after this time they did not trouble him any more about changing his religion.

Tents and provisions had been provided by the pilgrims; and the party staid all night in the valley. Next day, some of them walked five or six miles into the neighbouring country, and saw three or four ruins of large buildings, one of which had walls standing, that were pierced by two or three square windows. The walls were of "rough rock-stone," with clay for mortar. These ruins covered a great deal of ground, and had evidently been once inhabited; but the people with whom Scott was did not seem to know any thing about their former use. At night they remained in the tents, and next day returned to the sea-side. Before setting off, and also at daybreak on the preceding day, the Arabs said their prayers at the building.

During their stay on that side of the Bahâr, Scott was never again taken to the grave, though he believes that the party went to it almost every day with camels and mules. It is customary with Mahomedans to pray at the tombs of their holy men; and this pilgrimage

might be substituted for that to Mecca, the distance to which being too great for the wandering tribes to undertake. Scott was confined in the hut where he was lodged, and was never allowed to go farther than the door, in consequence of his refusal to become a Mahommedan. While he remained there, many people, some of whom wore red caps on their heads, came on mules and camels, as pilgrims from the southern side of the lake, to offer sheep and goats at the grave; and there were also frequent arrivals of parties like their own, who came in boats from the northern side of the water.

The people of El Hezsh ate in the middle of the day as well as at night. Their food, as also that of the people of El Sharrag, consists chiefly of corn bread and dates, they making much less use of goat's and camel's milk, and camel's flesh, than the other Arab tribes do when stationary. Their dress differs from that of the pilgrims already mentioned: it consists of a dark blue linen shirt, a pair of short trowsers which reach to the knees, a red girdle, a knife at their side, and a musquet. Their legs are bare, and on their feet are slippers of yellow leather, lined with red, or sandals. The women have red slippers, bare legs, and a white haïch, with a broad plate of silver hanging in front of each shoulder, and a belt of yellow and green worsted plaited together. "The women of the head men have a dark blue millicha," which is worn like the haïch of the inferior orders, but has its corners and edges fringed with the same colour; and they wear also a belt, which is sometimes all red, at other times white, or a mixture of yellow and green. The children wear

a sort of woollen frock, with short sleeves, which, with the breast of the frock, are worked with red worsted. There are many black slaves at El Hêzsh. There are no houses better than the huts already described; but the latter are very numerous. Tents are also used when a part of the family are obliged to go in quest of food for the cattle.

About a month after their arrival on the Bahâr, the party to which Scott belonged, having taken leave of some of the pilgrims, by shaking hands and kissing the top of the head, left El Tah Sidna Mahommed El Hêzsh, embarking in the same boat which brought them thither, and which had been in the interval employed in carrying over passengers as they arrived. Scott remarked that the opposite shore of the lake was not visible, even in the clearest weather, from El Hêzsh, on account of the lowness of the land. There being more wind than when they came, and it being fair, they placed two oars across each other by way of a mast, and spread on them a long narrow blanket, such as they wrap round their bodies, as a sail. They left the shore of El Hêzsh a little after midday, and arrived at the opposite side at daybreak the next morning. In this voyage they had the advantage of sail and oars, and continued under weigh all night. Scott had no conversation during this crossing of the Bahâr. On account of his refusal to change his religion, he was not permitted to speak to them, and was refused every indulgence.

On landing, they found that several of the camels had died, owing, as Scott supposes, to their having swallowed stones and gravel while feeding on the low

bushes, which are so close to the ground that the animal could scarcely feed without taking up gravel with them; and considerable quantities of it were found in their stomachs after they were opened.

As soon as the hire of the boat was settled, which amounted to three camels for every family taken over and brought back, the party set out on its return, by the same route they had followed in coming to the Bahâr. They travelled for a month without any particular occurrence, until they came to the wood before described. While going through it, they saw some of the black people called Baurbarras, who were armed with bows and arrows, and quite naked. The Arabs attacked the negroes, and a short contest took place, when several of the Arabs were wounded; but at last the blacks were beaten, and eight of them made prisoners. These were brought to the tents, bound hand and foot, and the next morning carried away by the Arabs, who pursued their journey. The negroes were *tattooed*, or marked by three diagonal cuts on each cheek, and a horizontal one across the forehead.

After this, the caravan travelled for about a month and a half over hard ground, with small hills covered with low wild bushes, but without trees of any size; but there were trees of considerable magnitude in the low ground through which they occasionally passed. About this time they came to a large valley where there had been much rain, and a considerable quantity of fresh water was in it. The trees and shrubs were quite green; there grew no grass, but a herb like the *green-sauce* of England, a flower like the *dog-daisy*, and a yellow flower, about eight or nine inches high,

of which the camels, sheep, and goats ate. The "*green-sauce*" and goat's milk were here the principal food of the party.

They remained about six moons in this valley, during which time the men frequently went out to fight, and brought back camels, corn, &c. which they had plundered. When this valley could no longer afford food to their cattle, they sent a party to look out for another place of encampment; and when they had discovered a suitable spot, the whole party set out for it, taking three days to reach this new district. Here they remained two or three months, without any thing remarkable occurring, until the trees began to lose their leaves, all the vegetables withered, and the ground dried up, when the whole caravan set out direct for El Ghiblah.

For a week or two they went over hard ground, and then came to sandy vallies, quite barren, and without any vegetable on them, except the palm-like tree (el myrreh) before noticed. In little more than a week they got over this sandy district, and in about another week again arrived at El Ghiblah, but not in the exact spot from which they had taken their departure. They pitched their tents, however, by some wells, and seemed to consider themselves at-home. They always avoided going too far to the northward, for fear of being taken by the "*Moors,*" or subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, between whom and the wandering Arabs, or Moors of the Desert, there is a deadly hatred and perpetual war. The tribe with whom Scott lived was often at war also with Arabs to the southward.

At El Ghiblah, the black prisoners taken in their

contest with the Baurbarras were sold to some people from Wadnoon, who gave eighty dollars for each.

The tribe was now held in much greater estimation by their neighbours than before their journey into the interior, and the men were called Sidi El Hézsh Hezsh. To Scott, however, this journey was a source of trouble; for since his refusal to turn Mahommedan, they treated him much more cruelly, beating him almost daily with sticks. This, he acknowledges, however, sometimes arose from his sleeping too long in the morning, when they thought that he should be attending to their cattle.

Scott states, that the district in possession of the Arabs commences some distance from Wadnoon, and is divided into four parts. The Arabs generally remain in the place where they pitch their tents as long as the herbage affords sufficient food for their cattle. When this is exhausted, or dried up, the tribe removes, and some of the sheep and goats are killed and eaten. The skins of these are taken off with particular care. The head is first removed, and, while the body is yet warm, the hand is introduced beneath the skin of the neck, and worked round until the two fore-feet are drawn out. The skin is then stripped off so as to be without any cut on it, and thus forms a sort of bag, which is used to carry water or other liquid.

The dress of the Arab men is nothing more than a blanket, or shawl, which is folded around them. The thick strong ones are called *lixsa*, the thin ones *haïck*. The turban is worn by those called Sidi, who are generally elderly people; and also by the chief men of the tribe, either old or young.

The women wear the same kind of blanket, the

corners being fixed over the shoulders by silver clasps, and secured by a belt round the middle. They have generally blue linen on the head. The women of the wandering tribes do not use veils. Their persons are slender, and the old ones are much wrinkled.

The Arab marriage among these wandering tribes is not attended with any particular forms. A man inclined to take the daughter of his neighbour to wife applies to her father, and generally gives him a number of camels. The number of these may amount, perhaps, to ten. This concludes the match, and the girl lives with her husband. Scott thinks that the parties may separate at the pleasure of either; and a man may have as many wives as he chooses to maintain.

Both boys and girls are much fairer than when the skin has been exposed to the weather in advanced life.

The funeral of these Arabs is not attended with any particular solemnity: the body is washed, and placed in the ground on the same day that the person dies, and bushes and stones are placed over the grave to preserve it from wild beasts.

Children are taught to write with black ink, formed of charcoal and milk, and applied to a smooth board, with a split cane or reed by way of a pen.

In ten or twelve days after the arrival of the tribe in El Ghiblah, they went on a plundering expedition, taking Scott along with them. Their arms were muskets, and a weapon of the sabre shape, not so long, but as broad as a sword, which had belonged to the Montezuma. In three days they reached the tents they wished to plunder, and meant to attack them in the night; but the dogs gave the alarm and prevented

the surprise, and the two tribes fought in the morning. Scott's companions beat the other party, killed several of them, took their camels, and burnt their tents; but in five days afterwards they were attacked and beaten by their adversaries, obliged to fly, leaving all their property behind them, and took refuge in the Wad Scyghi, close to the seashore. There they remained two months, and were at one time almost starved for want of food; at which time Scott says he was of essential service to them; for the Arabs have so great a dislike to salt water that they will not wet their feet with it if they can avoid it, and should this happen through necessity, they take the earliest opportunity of washing their feet with fresh water; but, fish being now their only resource, Scott was lowered down from high rocks to the beach, where he collected muscles and fish for them.

At length they departed from Wad Scyghi, got a fresh supply of arms, and went in search of their old enemies, whom they found, and attacked in fourteen days, but were resisted. In this action Scott was placed near his master, who threatened to kill him if he did not fire his piece. The head man of the enemy came towards Scott's master, who drew a pistol and shot him. Another, in the meantime, advanced on Scott, who was ordered by his master to fire, which he did, and the man fell from his horse. The rest of the party were soon beaten, and dispersed. It was on this occasion given out that Scott had killed the chief of the enemy, which was not true; however, he was considered worthy of a particular name as having slain an enemy in battle; and instead of calling him Christian,

or *Alewki*, he was afterwards styled "Mahommed the Christian."

On another occasion, three Arabs were sent with Scott on a plundering expedition. On arriving at the enemy's tents, they waited till about daybreak, meaning to steal what they wanted; but, on approaching, a dog barked, and they fled, but were pursued and taken prisoners by some of that tribe, who carried them to their tents, deprived them of their arms, and detained them three days, threatening to murder Scott. In the middle of the third night, one of Scott's companions looked out of the tent where they were confined, and perceived the guards asleep. Accordingly, they endeavoured to make their escape; and leaving the tent, saw five men, with guns, all fast asleep: they took the arms and slew the men, seized twenty-seven camels, and made off; but were pursued and overtaken, when one of Scott's companions was killed, another wounded, and he with the third escaped with difficulty. After wandering five days, without any provision but what herbs they could find, on the sixth they reached their own tents.

Soon after this last adventure, Scott having, while watering the sheep at the wells by the seashore, seen a brig at sea, conceived the idea of making his escape, and ran away. He took shelter for the night in a cove among the rocks, which, from some footmarks at the entrance, he supposed might be the den of some wild beasts. He was, however, traced by the prints of his footsteps, and retaken by the Arabs, who severely bastinadoed him on the soles of the feet, which they struck with a hot iron rod, so that it was two or three

months before he recovered from the effects of this punishment.

From this period until his final escape, he was kept with the tribe, wandering from place to place, to procure food for their cattle; they often attacking the neighbouring tribes, and being frequently attacked by them, sometimes beaten and plundered, at other times victorious and robbing their enemies. In the latter end of July, or beginning of August, 1816, the tribe encamped in a place called Lah Thinn, a little to the southward of the Wad called Ourerah, in the district of Till. Scott was, as usual, tending the sheep and goats, accompanied by his master's daughter. It happened that they both fell asleep. In the meantime a wolf came, killed three sheep, and dispersed the rest of the flock, so that when Scott and his companion awoke, the dead sheep were those only in sight. Fear of the punishment which this negligence certainly would draw down upon him seconded his resolution to attempt an escape. He desired the girl to go and look for the sheep in one direction, while he sought for them in another. He instantly fled towards the seashore, along which he travelled for four days and nights, in a northerly direction.

During this time, his only sustenance was a little fresh water. Early on the fifth day, he saw to the eastward a great smoke, and, when in a hollow, near some houses built of stone, whence the smoke proceeded, he was met by a Moor, who pointed his gun at Scott, and desired him "to throw away his knife and take off his clothes." On his refusal, the man threatened to shoot him; when Scott said "he might fire if

he chose." Hearing himself addressed in the Arab tongue, the man put aside his musquet, and asked Scott who he was? His question was briefly answered, when the Moor, advancing, took Scott by the hand, told him he was safe, led him to his house, and gave him food. He afterwards desired Scott to write to the English consul at Mogador; and Scott did so.

This man, leaving Scott under the care of his brother and his son, set off with the letter; and, after an absence of eight days, returned with an answer from William Willshire, Esq. the English consul at Mogador, who sent a horse for Scott to ride upon, and twenty-seven dollars to buy provisions. After recruiting himself for three days longer, Scott, accompanied by the Moor, set off, and arrived safe at Mogador in five days, during which they travelled at the rate of at least thirty miles per day.

As the place where Scott encountered the Moor is not above a mile and a half from Wadnoon, that place may be considered as about 150 miles from Mogador. Near the Moor's house was a river as large as canals usually are in England. This river flows through the town of Wadnoon, and is fresh until it meets the tide from the sea. From the neighbourhood of Wadnoon, Scott saw to the eastward mountains whose tops were covered with snow, which, he was told, remained on them all the year round.

At Mogador and at Wadnoon the language spoken is called (by Scott) *Schlech*. He received every kind attention from Mr. Willshire, during his stay at Mogador, who paid his ransom to the Moor, on account of the Ironmonger's Company of London. Scott

reached Mogador on the 31st of August, left it on the 11th of November, in the brig *Isabella*, of Aberdeen, Captain James Cummings, and got to London on the 9th of December, 1816.

BRUCE'S TRAVELS INTO ABYSSINIA

TO DISCOVER THE

SOURCE OF THE NILE.



MR. JAMES BRUCE, of whose extraordinary travels we are about to give a short account, was of an ancient Scotch family. His ancestors had long resided at Kinnaird-house, in the county of Stirling, where Mr. Bruce was born, on the 14th of December, 1730. He was the younger of two children. His mother died when he was yet an infant; and, in the eighth year of his age, he was sent to London to be under the protection of Mr. Hamilton. At the age of twelve he was sent to Harrow School, where he remained five years, and then returned to his native country, with the view of qualifying himself for the Scottish bar. But our traveller soon found that his preparatory studies at the University of Edinburgh were as uncongenial to his taste as they were detrimental to his health; he there-

fore relinquished the study of the law, and again visited London, with the hope of obtaining permission to settle in India as a free trader, under the patronage of the East India Company. But the fates did not permit his plan to be put in execution. Though a native of Caledonia, and, no doubt, stimulated by that ardent desire of aggrandizement which is at once so conspicuous and so laudable in the Scotch, yet was Mr. Bruce a man;—India and all its allurements vanished when in the presence of the fair Miss Allan; and, led captive by her charms, he renounced all but the hope of obtaining her hand, and a share of her father's business as a wine-merchant in London. His hope was realized; but, alas! he did not long continue in the enjoyment of happiness;—his wife became ill; symptoms of consumption manifested themselves; and at Paris, on her way to a warmer climate, and while yet a bride, she bade adieu to her sorrowing husband, and resigned her life to the God who gave it. After this melancholy event, he travelled over a great part of Europe, acquiring a knowledge of many languages. In 1758 he succeeded to the paternal estate. During his residence at Kinnaird-house, he acquired a knowledge of the Arabic language, and directed his attention to the study of the Ethiopic, or Geez, a circumstance which probably influenced his determination to explore the source of the Nile. In 1761 he resigned his share in the wine business, which he had held since his marriage. Between the years 1765, or 1762 indeed and 1773, he was engaged in the prosecution of the travels of which we are about to give a syllabus. On his return from Abyssinia, he found his estate abandoned,

as it were, without an owner, to those whose original title extended no further than temporary possession. This state of affairs involved him in a number of lawsuits, and, for some years, precluded the publication of his travels. It would be wrong not to state explicitly, that the general accuracy of Mr. Bruce's narrative is now fully established. What is incredible is not necessarily untrue; and it was unfair to stamp Mr. Bruce's work as a fable, because he had seen more wonderful things than the London citizen or the fox-hunting squire. It is true, the voluminous work in question is written in a bombastical style, and is replete with vanity; but, in the main, we repeat, he is correct, and if he has ever embellished a little, let one of the legion of modern travellers and book-makers, who is without this fault, "cast the first stone." In 1776, he married Miss Mary Dundas, of Finglas, who died in 1785, leaving two children. On the 26th of April, 1794, as he was handing a lady down stairs to her carriage, his foot slipped, and he fell headlong from about the seventh step from the ground. He was taken up insensible, with no marks of contusion, one of his hands only being a little hurt; but so violent was the injury he had really received, that, though the best medical assistance was quickly afforded, he expired in a few hours.

In the year 1761, Mr. Bruce, after a long, ineffectual, and expensive attendance in the metropolis with his offer of public service, was about to quit it for his native country, when he received a message from Lord Halifax, the secretary of state for the southern

department, who desired to see him before he left London. Accordingly, he waited upon his Lordship, who ridiculed the idea of Bruce retiring into the country; assured him, that by enterprise and discovery he might rise under the sovereign who had so recently ascended the throne; remarked, that Africa was yet unexplored,—that drawings of the architectural remains in Tunis and Algiers would at once enrich the library of the sovereign and gratify his love of the arts,—that the sources of the Nile were yet unknown,—and, finally, that if he thought the office of consul-general at Algiers would facilitate the objects in view, it was very much at Bruce's service, who would thus visit Africa under the protection of a public character:—moreover, his Lordship was kind enough to promise that a vice-consul should be appointed, who should perform the duties of the situation. The statements and overtures of Lord Halifax had their due weight with Bruce, who, in March, 1762, received his appointment, and prepared for the expedition.

On his arrival at Algiers, Mr. Bruce commenced his official duties, and, after some time, began to turn his thoughts to the more arduous objects of his mission; but a long and disagreeable interval was consumed in an altercation with the regency of Algiers. At last, however, the differences were in some degree adjusted; and the firmness and regularity of Mr. Bruce's conduct attracted the attention and commanded the admiration of the Dey, who furnished him with many valuable letters of introduction to the Dey of Tunis and others.

It is not our intention to follow Mr. Bruce in his voyage to Minorca, and return along the African coast;

nor in his visits to Cyprus, Rhodes, Sidon, Palmyra, &c. We must suppose him arrived at Cairo in June, 1763, and comfortably lodged in the house of Julian and Bertran, to whom he imparted his resolution of pursuing his journey to Abyssinia. They were struck with the wildness of the suggestion, but, seeing him determined, promised every assistance in their power. The instant Mr. Bruce arrived at Cairo was, perhaps, the only one in which he ever could have been allowed to prosecute his intended journey. He had the good fortune to secure the friendship of a worthless, but powerful favourite of Ali Bey's, named Risk, who believed that Mr. Bruce was a great astrologer, and who had himself a prodigious passion for that science. To the Bey he was particularly serviceable, from his knowledge of medicine; and it must be mentioned, that, after a variety of changes of fortune, Ali Bey was again absolute at Cairo, and therefore able to protect our dauntless traveller.

After having procured letters and dispatches, not only from the Bey, but from the Patriarch, to the different chiefs through whose territories he was to travel, he set out in a boat for Furshout, the residence of Hamam, the Shekh of Upper Egypt. The vessel in which Bruce embarked was about 100 feet from stern to stem, with two masts (main and foremast), and two monstrous *latine* sails, the mainsail yard being about 120 feet in length.

A certain kind of robber, peculiar to the Nile, is constantly on the watch, to rob boats, where they suppose the crew are off their guard. They generally approach the boat when it is calm, either swimming

under water, or, when it is dark, upon goats' skins; after which they mount with the utmost silence, and take away whatever they can lay their hands on.

The captain of the vessel pretended to be a saint, though he was, perhaps, one of the most roguish of men: one morning, after he had been on shore all night and was returned to his boat, Mr. Bruce asked him, where the fair wind was he had promised to bring? He replied, that his wife had quarrelled with him all night, and would not give him time to pray; "therefore," added he, with a very droll face, "you shall see me do all that can be done by a saint on this occasion." "What is that?" said Bruce. "Why," said the man, making another droll face, "it is to draw the boat by the rope till the wind turn fair." At another time, the wind was so high that they could scarcely carry their sails, the current was strong, and the violence with which they went through the water was terrible. The rais, or captain, said, that the sails would have been slackened had they not noticed Mr. Bruce curious in observing the construction of the vessel; and, as there was no danger of her striking, she was permitted to run on. Bruce thanked the captain for his civility; and, while rallying him on his pretended sanctity, said, "Never fear the banks, for I know that if there be one in the way you have nothing to do but to bid him be gone, and he will hurry to one side immediately." "I have had passengers," replied the rais, "who would believe that, and more than that, when I told them; but there is no occasion, I see, to waste much time with you in speaking of miracles."

From a village called Rhoda they saw the magni-

ificent ruins of the ancient city of Antinous, built by Adrian. Unluckily Bruce had no letters of recommendation to the people of the neighbourhood. "What sort of people are they?" said he to the rais. "The town is composed of very bad Turks, very bad Moors, and very bad Christians; but several devils have lately been seen among them, who have been discovered by being quieter and better than the rest." Such was the prompt and singular answer to this natural question. In the meantime, Mr. Bruce was enabled to contemplate the ruins. The columns of the angle of the portico were standing, fronting to the north; part of the tympanum, cornice, frieze, and architrave, were all entire, and very much ornamented; whatever was behind was hid by the thick foliage of the trees. The columns were of the largest size, and fluted: the capitals Corinthian, and, to all appearance, entire; they were probably of white Parian marble, but had lost the extreme whiteness, or polish, of the Antinous at Rome, and were changed to the colour of the fighting gladiator, or rather to a brighter yellow. He saw indistinctly also a triumphal arch, or gate of the town, in the very same style; and some blocks of very white shining stone, which appeared to be alabaster. A quarrel between the inhabitants of the village and some of the people from the boat who had gone on shore, obliged them precipitately to push the boat off shore, and pursue their voyage.

They soon passed Ashmounein, probably the ancient Latopolis, a large town which gives the name to the province, in which there are magnificent ruins of Egyptian architecture.

At Mollé they passed a great number of acacia trees, intermixed with plantations of palms. These occasion a pleasing variety, not only from the difference of the shape of the tree, but also from the colour and diversity of the green. From the male tree comes the gum arabic, which is procured by an incision with an axe. These trees are most numerous in Arabia Petræa. The leaves of the acacia afford the only food for camels travelling through these desolate regions.

At Gawa are fine ruins of Egyptian architecture. Mr. Bruce found a small temple of three columns in front, with the capitals entire, and the columns in several separate pieces. The whole was covered with hieroglyphics,—the old story over again,—the hawk and the serpent; the man sitting with the dog's head, with the perch or measuring-rod in one hand,—the hemisphere and globes with wings, and leaves of the benata-tree, as is supposed, in the other.

Achmin, which was the next place Mr. Bruce visited, is conjectured to be the Panopolis of the ancients, not only from its situation, but also from the inscription on a very large but ruinous triumphal arch, which was erected by the Emperor Nero.

Dendera is a considerable town, covered with thick groves of palm-trees, as Juvenal describes it to have been in his time. One of the two temples near the town is entire, and accessible on every side. It is also covered with hieroglyphics, both within and without, all in relief; and of every figure, simple and compound, that ever has been published, or called an hieroglyphic. The form of the building is an oblong square, the ends of which are occupied by two large

apartments, or vestibules, supported by monstrous columns, all covered with hieroglyphics likewise. Some are in form of men and beasts; some seem to be the figures of instruments of sacrifice; while others, in a smaller size, and less distinct form, seem to be inscriptions in the current hand of hieroglyphics. They are all finished with care. The capitals are of one piece, and consist of four huge human heads, placed back to back against one another, with bat's ears, and an ill-imagined and worse-executed fold drapery between them. Above these is a large oblong square block, still larger than the capitals, with four flat fronts, disposed like pannels; that is, with a kind of square border round the edges, while the faces and fronts are filled with hieroglyphics, as are the walls and ceilings of every part of the temple. Between these two apartments, in the extremities, there are three others, resembling the first in every respect, except that they are smaller. The whole building is of common white stone, from the neighbouring mountains; only those two in which have been sunk the pirms for hanging the outer doors (for it seems they had doors even in those days) are of granite, or black and blue porphyry. The top of the temple is flat; the spouts to carry off the water are monstrous heads of sphinxes; the globes with wings, and the two serpents, with a kind of shield or breastplate between, are here frequently repeated, such as we see them on the Carthaginian medals. The hieroglyphics have been painted over, and great part of the colouring still remains upon the stones;—red, in all its shades, especially that dark dusky colour called Tyrian purple; yellow, very fresh; sky-blue, that is,

near the blue of an eastern sky, several shades lighter than ours; green, of different shades; these are all the colours preserved.

The same afternoon Mr. Bruce arrived at Furshout, which is in a large cultivated plain. Here our traveller waited upon Shekh-Haman, a large handsome man, about sixty. He had on a fox-skin pelisse over the rest of his clothes; and a yellow Indian shawl wrapt about his head, like a turban. At Furshout there happened an extraordinary phenomenon. It rained hard the whole night, and till about nine o'clock on the following morning. The prophets said, that this extraordinary circumstance foreboded a dissolution of government;—sure enough, it soon took place; but, like many modern prophecies, it was perfectly apparent when it was so sagaciously predicted.

On the 7th of January, 1769, Mr. Bruce left Furshout. He had not hired the boat farther than that place; but the good terms which subsisted between him and the saint, his rais, made an accommodation very easy. It was agreed that he should go down to Syene for four pounds, and receive a little more if he behaved well.; “But if you behave ill,” said Bruce, “what do you deserve?” “To be hanged,” said the rais; “and I desire and deserve no better.”

Nothing remains of the ancient Thebes but four prodigious temples, all of them, in appearance, more ancient, but neither so entire nor so magnificent as those of Dendera. The temples at Medinet Tabu are the most elegant: the hieroglyphics are, in some places, cut to the depth of half a foot. A number of robbers, who much resemble our gipsies, live in the

holes of the mountains above Thebes. Although many of them were destroyed by Osman Bey in a most cruel manner, yet they have recruited their numbers, and are equally annoying. About half a mile north of El-Gourni are the magnificent and stupendous sepulchres of Thebes. The mountains of the Thebaid come close behind the town: they stand insulated from their bases. A hundred of these, it is said, are excavated in sepulchral and other apartments. With great fatigue Mr. Bruce penetrated through seven of them. In the first he saw the prodigious sarcophagus of Menes, or, as others say, of Osimandyas. It is sixteen feet high, ten long, and six broad; and of one single piece of red granite. Its cover, broken on one side, was still upon it; and had, on the outside, a figure in relief. From the outer entry our traveller descended through an inclined passage, about twenty feet broad, which was covered with a coat of the finest stucco. Here he was not a little surprised by the discovery of paintings in fresco. In several pannels were paintings of different musical instruments, among which he particularly noticed the harp. A man was represented playing on one of the harps: he seemed to be about sixty years of age, of a complexion rather dark for an Egyptian, dressed in a loose shirt and sleeves, apparently intended to represent muslin or cotton cloth. The length of the harp might be something less than six and a half feet: it had thirteen strings: the back part was the sounding-board, and was composed of four thin pieces of wood joined together in the form of a cone. The bottom and sides of the frame were finereed, and inlaid, probably with ivory and mother-

of-pearl. Mr. Bruce conjectured that the story of the one hundred gates of Thebes must have originated from the one hundred mountains excavated and adorned. But it was at Luxor, and at Carnac, which is one mile and a half below it, that Mr. Bruce saw ruins more magnificent, extensive, and stupendous, than those of Thebes and Dendera put together. Among these are two obelisks of great beauty, smaller than those at Rome, but in good preservation. The pavement which is made to receive the shadow is so horizontal, that it may yet be used in observation. At Carnac were the remains of two vast rows of sphinxes: these, and the termini, which were a little lower down, stood in rows, as if intended as an avenue to some principal building.

Not a great way from Syene is the cataract of the Nile. The bed of the river, at the time Mr. Bruce saw it, was occupied by water, not half a mile broad, and divided into a number of channels by blocks of granite from thirty to forty feet high. The current, long confined within the rocky mountains of Nubia, here tries to expand itself; but, finding opposition from the rocks of granite, and being forced back by them, it meets the opposite currents. The chafing of the water against these huge obstacles occasions a violent noise and ebullition, which fills the mind with confusion rather than terror. Mr. Bruce ascertained the latitude of Syene to be $24^{\circ} 0' 48''$.

On the 16th of February, having finished his course upon the Nile, Mr. Bruce set out with a caravan for Kenne. From the stories Mr. Bruce had heard, he felt an inclination to visit the Mountains of Emeralds, as they were called. There was no possibility of know-

ing the distance by report: sometimes it was twenty-five miles, sometimes fifty, sometimes one hundred; but, as he had now arrived on the shores of the Red Sea, he sailed on Tuesday the 14th of March. On the 15th, Mr. Bruce saw a high rock, like a pillar, rising out of the sea. It proved to be an island, about three miles from the shore, of an oval form, rising in the middle. In the language of the country, Jibbel-Siberget is its name, which has been translated—the Mountain of the Emeralds; but here, as in words of far greater importance, the learned critics of the day have differed;—some doubt if the word Siberget ever signified Emerald. About seven yards up, from its base, are five pits, or shafts, none of them four feet in diameter, from which the ancients are said to have drawn their emeralds. Bruce picked up some fragments of lamps, similar to those which we find in Italy, and some small fragments of brittle green crystal, but they were not the emerald. Continuing along the coast of the Red Sea, they made for the Jaffateen Islands; but nothing remarkable occurred in his voyage, till his arrival at Jidda. The captain of the port at Jidda was astonished to find that Mr. Bruce was an Englishman. He looked more like a Galiongy, or Turkish seaman. It so happened that a Scotchman, a relation of Bruce, was then at Jidda. Bruce saluted him by his name; but, instead of meeting with a cordial reception, the man, very unlike a true North-Briton, fell into a violent rage, calling Bruce by a variety of hard names. A Captain Thornhill was also at the port, and to him Mr. Bruce was introduced. “Sir,” said Thornhill, “are you an Englishman?” Bruce bowed. “You

are surely very sick," was the next sympathetic remark; "you should be in your bed;—if you want a passage to India, apply to no one but Thornhill, the Bengal merchant." The considerate man then said to his servant, in Portuguese, a language which he presumed Mr. Bruce did not understand, "Here is a poor Englishman that should either be in his bed or in his grave,—carry him to the cook,—tell him to give him as much broth and mutton as he can eat,—the fellow seems to have been starved; but I would rather have the feeding of ten to India than the burying of one at Jidda."

A curious circumstance occurred to Bruce at this place:—Yousef Cabil, the governor, somewhat too eager for pillage, directed a person to break open Mr. Bruce's trunks. A variety of articles were exposed to view, all tending to substantiate our traveller's claim to somewhat more consideration than he had hitherto experienced. Yousef was astonished—article after article was exposed—the vizier, or governor, became alarmed—letters of introduction and letters of protection rolled from out the trunk—at last, all thoughts of plunder were laid aside, when the terrified Yousef beheld a letter to himself from Ali Bey, written in the authoritative style of a master to a servant. The baggage was nailed up in a hurry—Bruce's servant was abused for not having mentioned his master's name and rank—the vizier was at once repentant and ceremonious—all united to procure proper introductions into Abyssinia for Bruce; and it was proposed that a person named Mahomet Gibberti should go with Mr. Bruce into that country. Notwithstanding the rough

and uncourteous salute of the Scotchman whom we have mentioned before, Mr. Bruce received great attention from all his countrymen at Jidda.

We shall not follow Mr. Bruce in his relation of the voyage from Jidda to Masuah: there is but little in it worthy of attention: and as to ghost stories, we have no particular relish for them, whether on-boardship or in Cock-lane.

Here, then, are we to suppose Bruce at Masuah. Alas! poor man! he little thought that the honors which preceded his exit from the port of Jidda were nearly proving the cause of his death at that of Masuah. Another vessel had sailed with his: its passengers had witnessed the salute fired at Jidda, and all the "pomp and circumstance" with which Bruce embarked. One of them relates, and exaggerates, the splendour of the ceremony,—no uncommon thing, perhaps, even in Europe. Who was come? who was Bruce?—Not a trader; but a relation of the King of England,—a man to be received with honor,—or, in other words, to be put to death, and his riches divided among the garrison. From this cruel measure they were only diverted by the warm expostulations of a man named Achmet;—his influence prevailed, and it was agreed that to him should be left the decision of Mr. Bruce's fate. Achmet, who was nephew to the Naybe, or chief man of the place, came to Masuah to receive the duties of the merchandize on-board the vessel. Two chairs were placed in the middle of the market-place—in one sat Achmet;—Bruce arrived—with much ceremony he was placed in the other. "Peace was between them." Coffee was brought; and this immediate offering of

meat or drink was an assurance that the life of the traveller was safe. After some conversation, and the delivery by Bruce of his letters, he arose, and took his leave;—absolute cascades of orange-flower-water were showered down upon him by the attendants; and this purification, due to his rank and credentials, ended, he retired to a house prepared for him. In the afternoon of the day the Naybe arrived. Mr. Bruce went to pay his respects to him: he found him sitting in a large wooden elbow-chair, at the head of two files of naked savages, who made an avenue from his chair to the door. He had on a dirty cotton shirt, reaching to his knees: he was tall, lean, and black; had a large mouth and nose,—no beard, but a tuft of grey hair on his chin,—dull, heavy eyes,—a kind of malicious, contemptuous smile; and was altogether a man of a most unpromising appearance. His character corresponded with his figure. When Bruce presented the firman, the Naybe, instead of rising, and receiving this testimonial of his superior's pleasure as became him, and greater than him, pushed it back, and desired Bruce to read it. Our traveller did not understand Turkish—"nor I," said the Naybe. The other letters were then presented, and received, but not opened. The present was then tendered, and received without thanks; and, after a conversation which was any thing but satisfactory to Bruce, he took his leave.

On the 15th of October Bruce received a message from the Naybe. That good gentleman, with a refinement and subtlety not easily to be outdone by a minion of power, or a petty office-keeper, in a more civilized state, demanded—three presents! one in his character

of Naybe, one as Omar Aga, and one (for the benefit of the custom-house officers be it recorded) for letting his baggage pass *gratis* and unvisited. Of course a denial was returned. Dungeons and irons were held *in terrorem*. Bruce was firm. Two bottles of cinnamon-water were sent, and returned. A short time afterwards Bruce was ushered into the presence of this mighty Naybe: but his firmness of conduct gained him friends and protectors.

On the 4th of November, Achmet, who had been very ill, sent for our traveller to Arkeeko. The poor fellow was ill of an intermittent fever. Bruce prescribed for him, and his medicines took effect: indeed no remedy is so efficacious in that part of the country as bark, but it must be given at very different times, and in a different manner from what we use it. The *nedad* fever, as it is termed, is the most violent and fatal about Masuah. The bark acts in that country the part of an aperient: the patient would be dead, if, in that climate, purgatives were to precede bark. Abstinence, unless from copious draughts of cold water, is recommended. The bark acts as a purgative; and if it does its duty the patient rarely dies, and as he recovers subsists for a time on rice.

The tertian fever of Masuah and Abyssinia is similar to ours, and treated in the same manner. The *nanzeer* is similar to the scrofula of Europe. Another complaint is called the *farenteit*, a corruption of an Arabic word which signifies the worm of Pharòah. These poor kings seemed to be looked upon by the Arabs as the evil genii of the country over which they once reigned.

This extraordinary animal (the worm) only afflicts those who are in the constant habit of drinking stagnant water, whether it be drawn out of wells, or found by digging in the sand. This plague, for it may indeed be called one, appears in every part of the body, generally coming out where there is the least flesh. On examining the worm on its first appearance, a small black head is visible, with a hooked beak of a whitish colour. Its body is seemingly of a white silky texture, very similar to a small tendon bared and perfectly cleaned. After its appearance, the natives seize it gently by the head, and wrap it round a thin piece of silk or a small bird's feather. Every day, or several times a-day, they endeavour to wind it up on the quill as far as it comes readily; and upon the smallest resistance they relinquish their unenviable task, for fear of breaking it. In three days after the extraction of this extraordinary animal, the part is quite well, and no sear or dimple is visible. Mr. Bruce once experienced the lamentable effect of this disorder: he was so unfortunate as to have the worm broken in the attempt to extract it, and remained for several weeks in agony, and for months an invalid. This, however, happened previous to the period of which we are now speaking.

But the *elephantiasis* is the most terrible of the disorders peculiar to that part of Africa. We shall leave the description of many of the symptoms, and shall only state here—that the chief seat of the disease is from the bending of the knee to the ankle; the leg is much swelled, gathered into circular wrinkles, between every one of which there is an opening, that

separates it all round from the one above, and which is all raw flesh, or perfectly excoriated. From these circular divisions a considerable quantity of lymph constantly oozes. The swelling of the leg reaches over the foot, so as to leave about an inch of it visible. It would seem that the black colour of the skin, the thickness of the leg, its shapeless form, and the rough excrescences, very like those seen upon the elephant, give the name to the disease.

After Mr. Bruce had quitted Masuah, he visited, and, as he hoped, for the last time, the Naybe. But that chief was very unwilling to part with his northern acquaintance, and played off a variety of stratagems, to endeavour to detain him, which would not have disgraced more expert diplomatists than are usually sent abroad. One of his plans for detaining our traveller may just be mentioned:—Bruce waited on the Naybe by appointment—heard without dismay or change of intention a long catalogue of evils which would befall him should he attempt to penetrate further into Abyssinia—declared his firm purpose of proceeding—and received the Naybe's heartfelt commiseration. But, since he was to proceed, every proper credential was to be made out, and two secretaries set on to write;—in the midst of their letters a messenger arrives with letters for the Naybe;—their contents were appalling—the nations through which Bruce was to pass were at war—it was impossible for him to proceed. The Naybe little thought that Bruce had had more recent and more correct intelligence; and it seems needless to say, that Bruce quietly prepared to take his leave. In a moment, however, the countenance of the Naybe

changed: he burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter—affirmed that the whole was a scheme to prevent Bruce from going, in order that he might cure Achmet and Emu Mahomet: “but, since you are resolved to go,” said this Abyssinian Machiavel, “be not afraid, the roads are safe enough.” He moreover offered a variety of accommodation; and Bruce left Arkeeko. But his adventures were not yet at an end. On the day after his departure he saw Achmet,—the route was changed to one much longer, and the only reason given was that it was less perilous,—the guides too were changed; at last he parted from Achmet, who assured him that the enemies of one were the enemies of the other.

Bruce and his party continued their journey for two or three days, without any remarkable adventure having occurred. He describes with extacy a narrow valley, through which a stream of water ran over a bed of pebbles: it was the first clear water he had seen since his departure from Syria. The shade of the tamarind-tree, and the coolness of the air, invited them to rest on this delightful spot. The caper-tree, too, grew in full luxuriance, and as tall as an English elm: the flower, Mr. Bruce observed, was white; and the fruit, though not ripe, was as large as an apricot.

On the 19th of November, they set out for Tubbo, their road lying between mountains; in the valley ran a river, bordered on each side with rock and sycamore-trees. In the immediate vicinity of Tubbo were trees in great abundance, full of leaves, and so closely planted that they seemed intended for natural arbours. Every tree was full of birds, whose plumage was as varied

and as beautiful as can possibly be imagined. On the arrival of the party at the base of the mountain Taranta, danger and difficulty assailed them on every side; and it required the strength and perseverance of our traveller, aided by the cheerful exertions of a Moor named Yasine, to get up the quadrant, time-keeper, and telescope, in any thing like safety. The bodies and faces of the party were torn by the thorny boughs of the acacia, the asses were attacked by the hyænas, there was not earth sufficient on the bare sides of the mountain to allow a tent-pin to be fixed, and our travellers were obliged to take up their lodging in one of the caves with which the mountain abounded. But still they were only half-way; and, when the morning of the 21st of November dawned, the distant summit of Taranta was yet to be attained. Success, however, almost uniformly crowns perseverance; and they at last arrived at the village of Halai, which is situated at the top of this high mountain.

The village is inhabited by shepherds tending the flocks of the more wealthy inhabitants of Dixan; but, except the fine cattle, which ranged about, little was seen worthy of attention. The cows, for the most part completely white, and with large dewlaps hanging to their knees, and horns like those of our Lincolnshire breed of black cattle, were enjoying themselves; and beside them grazed the large black sheep, with their great heads, short ears, and hair instead of wool.

Dixan is the first town in Abyssinia on the side of Taranta; and there Mr. Bruce was welcomed by a friend of Achmet's. In this place, which is inhabited by Moors and Christians, exists the horrid custom of

selling children. Bruce relates a story of two priests, intimate friends;—one was married and had two children, the other was single;—the single one, under various pretences, decoyed away, first one of the children, then the other, then the wife, then the husband, and sold them as slaves. At last, the wretch himself was caught in his own snare, and the whole five were carried off; but, as the priests did not meet with so ready a sale as the woman and her young ones, they were confined in our friend the Naybe's house, when Bruce was there.

At a village called Hadaivi, Bruce purchased a black horse. Different articles, in value about 12*l.* sterling, were to be given for the animal. The price was paid, when, lo! with an impudence which an English *blackleg* would hardly dare to connive at, (for the honour of the respectable race of horse-dealers we will not say *practise*,) in the place of the fine black horse an old brown one, blind of an eye, was offered. This was too bad,—'Tom' would not have treated his friend 'Jerry' in so shabby a manner. Bruce remonstrated;—the brown horse was led away, and Mirza, the black one, was brought forth.

On the 27th, our travellers bade adieu to the *honest* owner of the brown horse; and, while passing through a close country, covered with brushwood, &c. they observed a large animal, called an *agazan*, which had been almost killed by a lion. Moors, Christians, and Abyssinians, cut off a large piece of flesh; for all agreed that they might eat what was killed by a lion, though not what had been killed by any other beast.

At a place called Killa, Bruce was not merely an-

noyed by those who were to collect the *arvide*, but he and his companions were in danger of famishing, from the circumstance of not having brought *fashionable* articles from Jidda. Money would not purchase provisions—beads would; but only certain kinds of beads were in request, and without them the belles of the place declared, with surely unusual hard-heartedness, that Bruce might go far for his dinner. At last, a Moor produced a package containing fashionable beads. The love of finery, found native in the fair sex, tempted them to rush upon the open package. A scene of tumult ensued,—Yasine fired a blunderbuss over their heads,—men and women fell on their faces: the latter were dragged off the cloth, and not a female had strength enough to retain in her hand a single bead.

On Wednesday, the 6th of December, after having passed over easy hills, and through hedge-rows of honeysuckle and flowering shrubs, the party arrived at Adowa. Mr. Bruce was much interested by the appearance of his kind and hospitable landlord—Janni. His thick beard, white as snow, came down to his waist,—his short white hair was concealed by a muslin turban; he was clothed in the Abyssinian dress of white cotton; he had a silk sash, embroidered with gold, about his waist, and sandals on his feet. The respectful and kind attentions of this man won Mr. Bruce's heart.

Adowa is the seat of a very valuable manufactory of coarse cotton cloth, which circulates over great part of Abyssinia instead of silver money. The houses in Adowa are of rough stone, cemented with mud instead of mortar; the roofs are in the form of cones, and thatched with a reedy sort of grass, somewhat thicker

than wheat-straw. No part of the province of Tigré, except just about Adowa, yields corn. They have annually three harvests. The cattle roam in all directions. The herdsmen set fire to the grass, peat, and brushwood before the rains, and amazing verdure immediately follows.

It is not the vast height of the mountains of Abyssinia which occasions surprise, but the number of them, and the extraordinary forms they present to the eye.

The care of Janni never ceased: he represented Bruce in the most flattering manner to the Queen-mother, to her daughter Ozore Esther, to Ozore Altash, and, above all, to the Ras, or prime minister, Michael. Abyssinia was at that moment in a sort of calm; but it was a deceitful one; it foreboded a storm, and it was Bruce's desire to accomplish the object of his mission before the horrors of civil war desolated the country. Accordingly, he determined to penetrate to Gondar, the capital, in the first instance, and then to proceed in search of the Source of the Nile.

In the course of his journey Mr. Bruce passed Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia. Its ruins are yet seen; and in one square, probably the centre of the town, Mr. Bruce conjectured forty obelisks must have stood: they were of granite: one, very large, was standing, though two, yet larger, were in ruins. Upon the face of that which is standing is much carving, in a gothic taste. Passing by the Abba Pantaleon, you proceed at last to the place where stood the colossal statues of Syrius.

Leaving Axum, and passing through a delightful

country, Bruce observed three men driving a cow before them. Shortly afterwards the animal was knocked down, and, without ceremony, two good slices of beefsteak were cut from its buttock. This done, the wound was to be cured;—the skin which had covered the flesh that was taken away had been left entire, and was immediately flapped over the wound, and fastened to the corresponding part by two or more skewers or pins: the poor animal was then forced to rise, and driven on till again required to furnish another meal. We shall have occasion to notice this horrid practice in another place.

We have not room to narrate all the interesting adventures which befel our traveller and his companions,—his hair-breadth escapes were certainly numerous. Reports of the distracted state of Abyssinia were daily reaching the little band; and their path seemed full of danger, not only from animals of their own species, but from the yet wilder inhabitants of the desert. One night the hyænas devoured the best of our travellers' mules; and the noise and roaring of the lions close to them was tremendous. But they were yet more incommoded by a smaller animal, a black ant, about an inch long, called in the country *gundan*. They came out from under the ground, demolished the carpets, which they cut into shreds, also part of the lining of the tent, and every bag or sack they could find.

In the territory of Waldubba live those great men who have the misfortune to lie under the weight of the sovereign's displeasure, or who happen to be weary of life; but they by no means consider their banishment

as perpetual. It is true, in imitation of the monks who abound in the valley, they shave their head, wear a cowl, and take vows; but, the exigence of the case over, they again flutter in the precincts of a court, and again sigh to bask in the evanescent sunshine of a monarch's favour.

In the vicinity of Lamalmon our travellers recovered, or rather felt more mental and bodily strength than they had experienced for some time. The air in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea is low, poisonous, and sultry. The summit of Lamalmon appears sharp. Bruce was therefore much surprised to find there a large plain, bearing some grass, but more grain. It is full of springs, and seems to be the great reservoir whence arise most of the rivers which water that part of Abyssinia.

On the arrival of Bruce at the Abyssinian capital, called Gondar, he found that both the King and Ras Michael were absent; and though he had letters also to Petoos and the Greeks, they could be of no use, as the people were out of town. But Bruce received a visit from Ayto Aylo, a nobleman of the first distinction.

Soon after Mr. Bruce's arrival, Gondar was infected by the plague; but several people were so fortunate as to be restored from the effects of this dreadful malady by the judicious care of their new visiter.

It was not till the 2d of March that Bruce had his first interview with Ras Michael. The man was habited in a coarse dirty cloth, wrapt about him like a blanket, and another like a table-cloth on his head. He was on a mule, and did not speak to our traveller till he alighted. Nothing very material passed be-

tween the strangers. The Ras Michael was a brute in every sense of the word.

We have mentioned before that Abyssinia was on the point of becoming the theatre of civil war;—that war had now actually commenced. Gondar was a scene of confusion,—30,000 men were encamped around it; and Michael, having returned victorious over the inhabitants of Galla, and taken twelve of their chiefs, very deliberately ordered them, after their eyes were put out, to be turned into the fields to be devoured at night by the hyænas. Bruce took two of the victims under his care, and from them learned many particulars of their country and manners. In a few days the victorious army entered the town. The governors of provinces had broad fillets bound upon their foreheads, and tied behind. In the middle was a horn, or conical piece of silver, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called *kirn*, or horn, and is only worn in reviews, or at parades after victory. This, like many other of their usages, is taken from the Hebrew. We remember the passage—“I said unto the fools, deal not foolishly; and unto the wicked, lift not up the horn,” &c.

The time was now approaching when Bruce was to be introduced at court. Before entering the presence, he received a warning from his friend Ayto Aylo to refuse nothing. Bruce went by the name of Yagoube. He was first ushered into the presence of the Ras, who, in a long speech, informed him that he was appointed to an office in the court; and assigned as the cause, that it would enable him to pursue his plans without danger. Mr. Bruce went afterwards to the King's

palace, and met Aylo and Heikel at the door of the presence-chamber. Teela Mariam walked before them to the foot of the throne; after which Mr. Bruce advanced and prostrated himself to the ground. "I have brought you a servant," said Mariam to the King, "from so distant a country, that, if you let him escape, we shall never be able to follow him, or know where to seek him." To this address the King made no reply. Five young men were standing by the throne, two on the right and three on the left hand. One of these, the son of Teela Mariam, and afterwards a great friend of Mr. Bruce, gave him a knife to stick in his girdle. Bruce again kissed the ground. The King was in an alcove; most of the courtiers retired to some distance, out of sight, and seated themselves. The usual questions about Jerusalem and the holy places were then put to him. It was impossible for Bruce to describe to them where his country was, for they knew no country but their own. A number of frivolous questions were then put, which it was equally difficult to answer. He had several times offered to take his present from the hands of the man who held it, and present it to the monarch; but the King always made a sign to put it off; till Bruce, tired with standing, leaned against a wall. Aylo was first asleep; and Ayto Heikel and others were in their hearts angry with the King for thus spoiling the good supper a nobleman of the household had prepared for them. At last every one, except those who might be considered attendant on Bruce, stole away. A message was sent to his Majesty to inform him that the stranger had been unwell; but no notice was taken of it. It was now past ten, and the

of Abyssinia. The crime of sitting down in the king's seat was considered equally great in each country. The laws of Persia and Abyssinia equally prohibit any one who has a natural bodily defect from being elected king. The relative situation of the kings with respect to their subjects was the same in both kingdoms—absolute and independent in the fullest sense of the words. The monarchs of both nations, when themselves sitting as judges, usually took into account the previous worth as well as the present guilt of the offender, and then decided. The Persian king in all expeditions was attended by judges, so are the sovereigns of Abyssinia.

In some respects, the manners and customs of the Abyssinians are similar, or rather were similar, to the Egyptians; in other points diametrically opposite. In the account Bruce gives of the Polyphemus banquet, and which is probably the Brinde feast of Mr. Salt, we have but little that will interest and much that will disgust:—A number of people, of both sexes, and all ranks, (says Bruce,) meet together—tables and benches are set out in a large room—the company assemble—a cow or bull is brought close to the door, and his feet strongly tied; the dewlap is then cut, but only so deep as to come at the fat, and with very little effusion of blood; the poor animal is then stripped of his skin about the buttocks—the raw meat is taken in to the guests—more is wanted, and more is taken; as long as flesh remains, so long is it cut off—the cannibals then fall upon the thighs, and the victim bleeds to death. The raw meat is laid upon cakes of unleavened bread; other bread is also to be had. The man, with

his long knife, cuts a piece of steak, the motion of the fibres yet perfectly distinct and alive in the flesh ; and the women, with their small clasped knives, (according to Bruce,) feed the men ; after which they help themselves : they then drink out of a handsome horn,—and the most abandoned wickedness follows a most impious repast.

The crown being hereditary in the family, but elective in the person, and polygamy allowed, it became necessary that some plan should be adopted, to obviate, as much as possible, the disputes about the succession. The remedy is a singular, but yet is, upon the whole, a humane one. The royal issue are confined, not, as the great Johnson so beautifully describes, in a 'happy valley,' but on a high and dreary mountain. Sufficient, however, is allowed for their support ; and they at least need not envy the fate of other princes in Africa, who, at the deaths of their fathers, are laid hold of and strangled by their successors.

The military strength of Abyssinia is not great, and the number of troops depends a good deal upon the age of the monarch.

It is difficult to say of what religion Mr. Bruce found the Abyssinians : they certainly had a vast number of churches, which were entered barefooted, and with much ceremony. The inside of their churches is in several divisions, as prescribed by the law of Moses. The churches are full of pictures, painted on parchment ; nothing embossed or in relief appears. The *abuna*, or patriarch, is the first in dignity, though not perhaps in power ; his chief business is to ordain ;

though, assuredly, all who become deacons do not preach, since Bruce tells us that he once saw the abuna brandish his cross over an army of 10,000 men, red with the slaughter of their enemies; and he further tells us, that the 1,000 women who were amongst them were as good deacons as the rest. The church of Abyssinia originally professed opinions similar to the Greek church; but heresies of all kinds have crept in, and it would puzzle a more acute theologian than Bruce appears to have been, to determine the faith of people whose morals were so abominably corrupt, and who were so steeled against every sentiment of humanity. The priests appeared to have their maintenance assigned to them in kind; and the monks lived not in convents, but in separate habitations round the church. The Abyssinians receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, both in unleavened bread, and in the grape, together with husk, as it grows. It is a mistake that there is no wine in Abyssinia; for a quantity of excellent strong wine is made about thirty miles southwest from Gondar. The people are not fond of wine, and plant the grape in one place only; but a small black grape, of exquisite flavour, grows wild in every part of the province of Tigré.

During the long residence of our traveller in the country the civil war was raging with the utmost fury; and no small part of his work is taken up in recitals which are not remarkable for interest. He was, by the favour of the king, appointed to a government, that of Ras el Feel. He appears to have been solicitous to obtain this post for his friend and attendant Yasine, with the hope of thus procuring to himself the means

of escape, should the troubles of Abyssinia increase, or the king manifest a desire to detain him. His friends, however, suggested to him the propriety of applying for the government himself, and then placing Yasmine as his deputy. To his surprise, he found that the appointment to himself as governor was already made out; and he had thus the opportunity of rewarding the faithful Yasmine, without the necessity of himself proceeding to a climate which might but ill have agreed with his constitution.

About this time a commotion arose at Gondar, in consequence of a religious dispute. The important question was this:—Was Nebuchadnezzar now a saint, or was he burning and frying below with certain companions? Ridiculous as this question may appear, it caused much disturbance at Gondar; and it was not till Ras Michael declared that 400 soldiers should patrol the streets at night, and keep every one in his house, that the affair ended, and the impudence of the monks was checked.

Mr. Bruce received the most earnest advice from the queen, at Gondar, to abandon his projected visit to the Source of the Nile. At one moment he was inclined to listen to, and comply with, her desires; but at the next he received from his friends repeated assurances that he was safe, and that in the midst of an army elated with victory he might pursue at leisure his adventures.

Gondar, the metropolis of Abyssinia, is seated on a hill of considerable height: the top of it is nearly a plain, and on it the town stands. It consists of about 10,000 families in time of peace. The houses are chiefly of clay, and the roofs thatched in the form of

cones, which is always the construction within the tropical rains. The royal palace of Abyssinia was formerly a magnificent edifice, four stories high; but before the arrival of Bruce great part of it was burnt down: still, however, sufficient remained for royal purposes. The presence-chamber was a room 120 feet long. The situation of the building was magnificent, commanding an extended view to the lake of Tzana. The palace was erected by masons from India, and by such Abyssinians as had been instructed in architecture by the Jesuits. The palace itself, and its numerous and contiguous clay buildings, are surrounded by a substantial stone wall, thirty feet high; the four sides of the wall are above an English mile and a half in length.

The mountain, or hill, on which the town is situated, is surrounded by a deep valley: it has three outlets. In the valley run two rivers, one of which covers the south of the town, the other protects it on the N. N. E. Opposite to Gondar is another town, inhabited chiefly by Mahometans, who attend the king and nobles in time of war, to pitch the tents, carry the baggage, &c. They are then formed into a body, under proper officers; but are not suffered, nor do they choose, to fight.

On the 4th of April, 1770, Mr. Bruce and his party set out from Gondar; and, after having travelled along an extensive plain, halted at Correvo, a small village, beautifully situated. The lake of Tzana is by far the largest expanse of water known in that country: its greatest length may be about forty-five miles, and utmost breadth thirty-five.

On the 14th of April, Mr. Bruce arrived at the royal camp, and was so fortunate as to meet with a hospitable landlady, in the person of the Princess Ozore Esther, who gave him an excellent breakfast. He then proceeded with the army for some time, and, in the course of the march, was gratified by a sight of the famous cataract of Alata. The first object visible was the bridge, which consists of one arch, about twenty-five feet span, the extremities of which are strongly let into, and rest upon, solid rock. The Nile at this place is confined between two rocks, and runs in a deep trough, and with tremendous velocity. At the distance of half a mile is the cataract, and a most magnificent sight does it present. The fall is only about forty feet; but this comparatively insignificant height was indeed more than compensated by its breadth: for above half an English mile did the foaming, and at that moment, swollen water rush in one unvaried unbroken sheet into the depth below. Scarcely was the water visible through the thick fume or haze which hung over the fall, both above and below. This immense body of water fell into a deep basin; the stream, when it fell, appearing to run back with great fury to the rock, as well as forward in the line of its course, raising an immense wave, and causing a violent ebullition.

Mr. Bruce continued with the army; but at last the submission of the rebel chief put an end to the war, and the soldiers prepared to return to Gondar. With them Bruce returned; but in the course of the campaign he had lost, either by the fortune of war or by accidents, many of his best friends: nor was this

all,—he had been disappointed in his endeavours to reach the sources of the Nile, and found himself again in the Abyssinian capital, with the acquisition only of a violent ague.

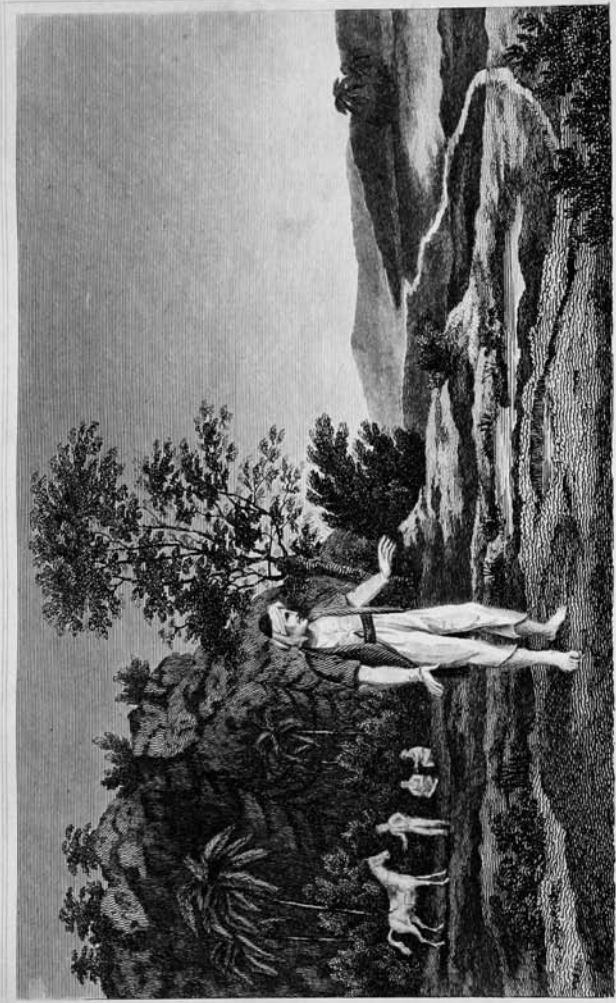
It so happened, that Mr. Bruce was enabled to be of considerable service to one of the officers of the late rebel Fasil; and, taking advantage of a favourable moment, he asked and obtained possession of a small tract of country in the immediate vicinity of the sources of the Nile, and moreover he received Fasil's solemn promise to carry him to Geesh, and show him the sources, without any reward for his trouble. The bargain was made, Bruce giving in exchange for Geesh some land he held at Tangouri. But, when Bruce commenced his second journey, the faithless Fasil endeavoured to prevent his further progress, and was only to be propitiated by a handsome present. By Fasil Mr. Bruce was introduced to seven chiefs of Galla;—more savage ill-favoured looking beings he had not seen; but through their country he was to travel, and to their care was he committed. But, fortunately for Bruce, the chiefs did not travel with him;—a man named Strates, an old attendant, joined him; and Bruce, having received a present of a horse from Fasil, mounted it, and was soon out of sight.

In the pleasant little territory of Aroosi, the acacia grows in the wildest luxuriance. The trees are seldom above fifteen or sixteen feet high, flattening and spreading wide at the top, and touching each other, while the trunks are far asunder. The shady walk they afford is, in such a climate, truly delicious. The travellers

passed Assar. The mountain of Geesh was in sight, the long-wished-for end of their dangerous and troublesome journey.

On the 3d of November they crossed the Nile, broad but not deep. On the following day they passed what is erroneously called the first cataract of the Nile: it is small, and altogether insignificant. On the 4th they arrived at the base of the Mountains of the Moon. They ascended a mountain, and had a beautiful and distant view;—below them rolled the *now* narrow river Nile. After an affair with his guide, in which Bruce evinced equal temper, caution, and firmness, they ascended a gently-rising hill, near the top of which is St. Michael. In the place they then were the Nile is not four yards over: it is not four inches deep, but it flows rapidly over a bottom of small stones: a little lower it abounds with inconsiderable falls. The country is full of small hills and eminences, which you ascend and descend almost imperceptibly. After another ridiculous dispute with Woldo, his guide, in which the poor fellow assured Mr. Bruce that it was not treachery which prevented him from proceeding, but a fear of the natives called Agows, some of whom he had once slain in a battle near that spot, the whole party again set forward. In a while the guide exclaimed,—“Look at that hillock of green grass; and in the middle of that watery spot—it is in that the two fountains of the Nile are to be found. Geesh is on the face of the rock, where yon green trees are;—if you go the length of the fountains, pull off your shoes, as you did the other day; for the people are all Pagans, and believe in nothing you believe: they pray to this

river every day as to a god ; but this, perhaps, you may do likewise." Half undressed, as Bruce was at that moment, he ran down towards the little island of green sods, which was distant about two hundred yards ;— the whole side of the hill was covered with flowers ;— he arrived at the island of green turf—on it was an altar, apparently the work of art ; and our persevering countryman stood in rapture over the fountain which rises in the middle of it. Strates was at no great distance—Bruce addressed him in English :—" Strates ! faithful squire ! come and triumph with your Don Quixote at that ' island of Barataria ' whither we have brought ourselves : come and triumph with me over all the kings of the earth, all their armies, all their philosophers, and all their heroes !" Strates honestly confessed his ignorance of the language in which it was his master's pleasure to address him ; declared he was no philosopher ; and advised him to come out of the bog, and look after Woldo, who was talking with the devil-worshipper. Bruce, however, was by no means inclined to listen to the advice of his Sancho, but rather desired him to pledge him in the water of the Nile. It was done. To King George Strates drank ; but the Virgin Mary was a toast he did not relish, and recollecting that the Agows worshipped the devil in the fountain, he began very seriously to feel for that gentleman's horns in his inside. Their safe return, however, was a toast he did drink, probably with as much enthusiasm as a Jacobite would have drank the health of the Pretender, or a modern Tory ' church and king.' Several Agows had by this time collected near the place. The sapient Woldo assured them Bruce was



S. Russell, sculp.

Mr. Brown at the Sources of the Nile.

mad; and they as seriously told him, that the water of the fountain would cure that disease.

Divine honours are paid by the Agows of Damof to the Nile. The various tribes are free from hereditary animosity or feuds; and the clan which lives nearest the fountain where the river rises, although the least numerous, takes precedence of the others.

The country upon the same plain with the fountains terminates in a cliff. A prodigious cave is in the middle of this cliff: it is a natural labyrinth, large enough to contain the inhabitants of Geesh and their cattle. The houses of the village are at no great distance from the cliff. Mr. Bruce's attempts to penetrate to the farthest extremity of the various caverns were ineffectual. From the edge of the cliff the ground slopes due north, and lands the traveller at the edge of a triangular marsh, about eighty-six yards broad in the line of the fountains, and two hundred and eighty-six yards two feet from the edge of the cliff, above the house of the priest of the river, where Bruce resided. In the middle of the marsh, near the base of the mountain of Geesh, rises a hillock of a circular form, about three feet from the surface of the marsh itself, though apparently founded deeper in it. Its diameter is near twelve feet: it is surrounded by a shallow trench, which collects the water, and sends it eastward. The hillock is firmly built; and on it are all the religious ceremonies of the Agows performed. In the middle of the altar, or hillock, is a hole in which the water is: it is clear and limpid, and has not on its surface any ebullition whatever. The opening is about three feet in diameter, and is kept free from weeds. About ten feet

from the first of these springs is the second, about eleven inches in diameter, and eight feet three inches deep. Twenty feet from the first is the third spring: the diameter of its mouth is about two feet; its depth about five feet eight inches. These two last-mentioned fountains stand in the midst of altars, made like that of the first spring, but smaller. The water from the second and third springs united with that of the trough or trench in the first, and then flowed eastward in a quantity that would have filled a pipe of about two inches diameter. The latitude of the place Mr. Bruce believes to be $10^{\circ} 59' 10''$, or nearly so; long. $36^{\circ} 55' 30''$ east of Greenwich.

The Nile, keeping nearly in the middle of the marsh, runs east for about thirty yards; it is then turned by the grassy land to the north-east: in this direction it flows about two miles, and is then a stream of sufficient power and body of water to turn a common mill-wheel, certainly, however, variable according to the season. At this spot the scenery is beautiful, and here the river is fordable; and now again the river changes its course to the westward, and, keeping in that direction for four miles, leaves the mountains and plains of its nativity, runs through the plain of Goutto, and meets with its first cataract. In this plain it makes many sharp angular turnings. Having passed the Goutto, it receives its tributary streams from the mountains of Aformasha,—from thence its course is well known.

During his residence at Geesh, Mr. Bruce had full opportunity of observing the adoration paid to the river. The inhabitants are occasionally honoured by

the visits of spirits, who are so kind as to tell them what is about to happen, and therefore it will not seem surprising when it is mentioned that our traveller's arrival was far from unexpected.

The poor natives hold the serpent in high estimation; and some of the more wealthy Agows have several of them in their houses.

The Shum, or servant of the river, with whom Bruce became well acquainted, was a man near seventy years of age. He had a singularly numerous progeny; declared that the office he held had been in his family since the creation of the world; was dressed in a skin which, covering his body, was tied with a broad belt,—over it was a cloak with a hood; he had no shoes, but sandals, which he and every one pulled off before they arrived at the bog in which the Nile rises. The Agows clothe themselves in hides, which they soften and manufacture in a manner peculiar to themselves; the younger sort go nearly naked.

During a residence of six days among this race of people, Mr. Bruce had met with the utmost kindness. Himself and party had resided in houses—indeed we must remember he was a sort of sovereign in the country, and a very popular one he was;—he was generous to the poor—he clothed the high priest of the Nile—he practised medicine gratis—he gave presents to two of Keffa Abay's (the priest's) sons, and to two of his daughters—and he was not singular enough to be the only sovereign, or governor, who was without a favourite: the lovely Irepone was truly attached to our traveller, and with sighs and tears did she lament his departure: she almost spurned at his presents—

she threw herself on the ground ; let fall her fine hair, which she had each day braided in a more elegant manner ; refused to take leave ; but, when the travellers were gone, sprang to the door, and followed them with her good wishes, and her eyes, as far as she could be heard, or they could be seen.

Bruce was attended by all the young men to the limits of his sovereignty, when, turning round, he took a last view of the country in which rises the finest river of the eastern hemisphere, and which is inhabited by a simple, though idolatrous, race of people.

In the course of the return to Gondar, Bruce was apprised of the curious custom of the physician not merely being expected to cure, but to clothe his patient ; and at the house of Fasil he was under the necessity of once more overcoming his repugnance to raw flesh, and again joining in a banquet which was horribly disgusting.

At Gondar, new scenes awaited Bruce. A monarch named Socinios was on the throne, a very different man from his predecessor, and one who actually revelled in scenes of blood. For many weeks the sun arose but to shine on the last hours of the miserable men who had been adverse to the system of the present rulers of Abyssinia ; and the darkness of night rather aided than suspended deeds of blackest villainy. The streets of Gondar exhibited the appearance of a charnel-house ; the bodies of the murdered were hewn in pieces, and lay scattered in every direction. The quantity of carrion, and the intolerable stench, brought the fierce hyænas from the recesses of the woods and the deep caverns of the mountains ; and they ranged uncon-

trolled, during the stillness of night, through the streets of the metropolis. We may readily believe that it was the earnest wish of our traveller to quit this bloody country.

The King was at Kappa, keeping the feast of the Epiphany. While there, he received a very extraordinary visiter: this was Guangoul, chief of the eastern Galla, who came, accompanied by 500 foot and 40 horse, to pay his respects to the monarch and Ras Michael. He was a little thin-made man, of no apparent strength or swiftness; of a yellow sickly colour, with his long hair plaited and interwoven with the bowels of oxen, and so knotted and twisted together as to render it impossible to distinguish the hair from the bowels, which hung down in long strings before and behind. He had the guts round his neck, and several rounds of the same about his middle, under which he wore a short cotton cloth, dipped in butter, with which ingredient his body was also moist. In his country, when he appeared in state, he rode upon a cow. He was then mounted on an animal of that description, not of large dimensions, but with tremendous horns. His short drawers did not reach to the middle of his thighs; his knees and legs were bare; his shield was of a single hide, much warped by the heat, and in shape somewhat similar to a high-crowned hat. He carried a short lance in his right hand; he leaned excessively backward, pushing out his stomach, holding his right arm and lance extended on one side, and his left arm and shield in a similar position on the other. The King was seated in the middle of his tent, in his ivory chair. The day was very hot, and it may be conjec-

tured that the approach of the filthy chieftain was not announced by the most delicious of all perfumes. The sovereign was so struck with the appearance of the chieftain, that he burst into a violent fit of laughter, and retired. The savage alighted from his cow with all his tripes about him, and, while the officers of the court were admiring him as a monster, he, seeing the tent empty, imagined it had been prepared for him, and very deliberately sat down on the crimson cushion, with the butter running from every part of his body. A general and loud cry of astonishment was raised;—the courtiers fell upon the startled savage, and beat him unmercifully: he, however, escaped with life, though his crime amounted to high-treason. The King had a view of the whole scene through his curtain. The cushion was removed,—a yellow shawl was substituted; and ever afterwards, when the august posterior of the monarch was not pressing upon the stool, it was turned with its face upon the carpet.

Mr. Bruce then gives us an account of the customs after a battle, incident upon such warriors, men or women, who hold fiefs of the crown. Our declining to narrate them will, no doubt, induce many to search for them; and we trust their curiosity will be abundantly gratified.

On the 26th of December, 1771, Mr. Bruce quitted Gondar; and on the morning of the 27th the vast Nubian forest lay before him. For a moment, the sense of his lonely situation overpowered him; but he speedily recovered himself, and began the descent of Moura. A few miserable men, one of whom was his servant, were his companions; and it was not without

experiencing great danger that Bruce arrived at Teberkin, and found himself in the house of Aylo Confu, and surrounded by friends.

At Teberkin Mr. Bruce had an opportunity of witnessing the Abyssinian mode of hunting the elephant. The *agageers*, or elephant-hunters, go absolutely naked on horseback. This precaution is from fear of being laid hold of by the trees or bushes, in making their escape from a very watchful enemy. One of them (there are generally two) sits upon the back of the horse, sometimes with a saddle and sometimes without one, with only a switch or short stick in one hand, carefully managing the bridle with the other. Behind him sits his companion, who has no other arms than a broadsword, such as is used by the Slavonians, and which is brought from Trieste. His left hand is employed grasping the sword by the handle, and about fourteen inches of the blade is covered with whip-cord. This part he takes in his right hand, without any danger of being hurt by it; and though the edges of the lower part of the sword are as sharp as a razor, he carries it without a scabbard.

As soon as the elephant is found feeding, the horseman rides before him as near as possible; or, if he flies, crosses him in all directions, crying, "I am such a man, and such a man; this is my horse, that has such a name; I killed your father in such a place, and your grandfather in such another place, and I am now come to kill you; you are but an ass in comparison of them." This nonsense he verily believes the elephant understands, who, irritated at hearing the noise immediately before him, seeks to seize him with his proboscis, and,

intent upon this, follows the horse every where, turning round with him frequently, and neglecting to make his escape by running straight forwards, in which consists his only safety. After having made him turn once or twice in pursuit of the horse, the horseman rides close up alongside of him, and drops his companion just behind on the off-side; and while he is engaging the notice of the beast on the horse, the footman behind gives him a drawn stroke just above the heel, or what in a man is called the tendon of Achilles. This is the critical moment: the horseman immediately wheels round and takes his companion up behind him, and starts once more after the rest of the herd; and in this manner an expert agageer will kill three in one chase. If the sword is good, and the man sufficiently bold, the tendon is completely severed; and if not cut quite through, it is generally so far separated, that the animal breaks the remaining part by the stress which he puts upon it. In either case he remains incapable of advancing a step, till the horseman returning, or his companions coming up, pierce him through with their javelins; he then falls to the ground, and expires through loss of blood.

The agageer nearest Mr. Bruce presently lamed his elephant, and left him standing. Ayto Engedan, Ayto Confu, Guebra Mariam, and several others, fixed their spears in the other, before the agageer had cut his tendons. Mr. Bruce's agageer, however, having wounded the first elephant, failed in the pursuit of the second; and, being close upon him at entering the wood, received a violent blow from the branch of a tree, which

the elephant had bent with his weight, and, after passing, allowed it to replace itself, when it knocked down both the riders, and very much injured the horse. This is, in fact, the great danger of elephant hunting; for some of the trees that are dry and short break by the violent pressure of so heavy a body moving so rapidly, and fall upon the pursuers, or across the road. But the greatest number of these trees being of a succulent quality, they bend without breaking, and spring back to their former position, when they strike both horse and man so violently, that they often beat them to pieces and scatter them upon the plain. Dexterous too as the riders are, the elephant sometimes reaches them with his trunk, with which he dashes the horse against the ground, and then sets his foot upon the rider, and tears him limb from limb with his proboscis: a great many hunters die in this manner. Besides this, the soil at this time of the year is split into deep chasms, or cavities, by the heat of the sun, so that nothing can be more dangerous than the riding.

Such is the curious account of the mode of hunting elephants in Abyssinia; and we doubt if any part of Mr. Bruce's narrative is more interesting than this.

From the few extracts which we have given, it will be seen, that, as many of their customs are disgusting and impious, so many of them are impossible to be narrated. We shall now proceed to mention to what purposes the Abyssinians apply the flesh of the elephant; and shall then relate some curious circumstances which occurred in the hunting of the wild boar and the rhinoceros.

As soon as the elephant is slain, they cut the whole

flesh off his bones into thongs, like the reins of a bridle, and hang them in festoons upon the branches of trees, till they become perfectly dry, without salt; and they then lay them by for provision during the rainy season.—There now remained but two elephants, a she one and a calf: the agageer would willingly have let these alone, but the hunters would by no means suffer it. The agageer soon wounded the she elephant: the young one had escaped, when, to the surprise of every one, she came running to her dam, making a great noise, and in no little fury.

The buffalo and rhinoceros had been frightened from their hiding-places by the noise of the hunters, so that there was no hunting them that day, but on the following morning the party proceeded to the sport. After searching about for an hour, one of the rhinoceroses rushed out from the thickest part of the wood with great violence, and made the best of his way towards a wood of canes, at the distance of about two miles. But though the animal went at considerable speed, when his bulk is considered, yet he was soon transfixcd by thirty or forty javelins. Changing his intentions, therefore, he made for a deep ravine, which lay near him. Here, then, he was thought to be fairly entrapped; and a servant, who had a gun in his hand, shot him (to all appearance) dead. All those on foot now jumped in with their knives to cut him up; but they had scarcely commenced operations, before the animal rose up on its knees, and had not one of the agageers immediately cut the sinews of one of the hind legs, woe and lamentation for the loss of several lives would have closed the eventful day. It appeared that

the ball had carried off about an inch of the foremost horn, and that the animal lay stunned till the bleeding recovered him.

In hunting the wild boar Mr. Bruce was infinitely more expert than his companions; and he relates a curious account of the danger and escape of a bold hunter, named Ammonios, from a buffalo. They had had some sport, and were returning homewards, though, like true sportsmen, on the look-out for game. Ammonios was on the left, among the bushes and some large beautiful tall spreading trees, close on the banks of the river Bedowi, which stands there in pools. Whether the buffalo found Ammonios, or Ammonios the buffalo, we cannot say, but he had wounded the beast slightly in the buttock, which in return had gored his horse, and thrown both him and it on the ground. Luckily, however, his cloak had fallen off, which the buffalo tore in pieces, and employed himself for a minute with that and with the horse, but then left them to follow the man, whom he had observed to rise and run. Ammonios got behind one large tree, and from that to another, yet larger. The buffalo turned very awkwardly, but kept close in pursuit; and there is no doubt he would soon have tired the man, who was not used to such quick motion. Ayto Engedan was near, and might have assisted him, but was ready to die with laughing at the sight of a man of Ammonios's grave carriage running and skipping about naked, in a manner so unusual to him, and continued calling to Confu to come and partake of the diversion. Bruce too arrived, and could not forbear laughing at this hide-and-seek game of the buffalo and the hunter. Engedan called

to Bruce, and said, "Yagoube, Yagoube, for the love of Christ don't interfere till Confu comes up." Confu came up, and clapped his hands with joy, crying out "Well done, Ammonios!" The unfortunate gentleman had been driven from tree to tree, till he had got behind one within a few yards of the water; but he was not aware how far the water was below him. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to see him, holding the tree with both his hands, peeping first on one side then on the other. Bruce then said, that the joke must not be pursued further. He called to Ammonios to make for the water the moment he struck the beast; and then, riding at good speed towards the animal, he sent his spear quite through him,—in fact, it came out about a foot on the other side. Thus irritated, wounded, and impeded by the brushwood striking against the spear, Ammonios had time given him by the buffalo to make for the water's edge, and throw himself into the stream; but here a danger occurred that had not been foreseen,—the pool was deep, and Ammonios could not swim; so that, though he escaped from the buffalo, he would infallibly have been drowned, had he not caught hold of some strong roots of a tree shooting out of the bank; and there he lay, in perfect safety from the enemy, till the servants went round, and brought him out of the pool on the other side. In the meantime the buffalo, seeing his enemy escape, and being mortally wounded, kept his eye fixed upon the hunters, who were about forty yards from him, walking backwards towards the company, and apparently determined upon seizing the nearest horse, when Confu ordered two men to shoot him through

the head, and the enormous beast was in an instant dead.

After experiencing a variety of hardships, Mr. Bruce arrived, on the 20th of March, at Inserha, and thence proceeded to Rashid. He and his companions were now flying from the Simoom, which threatened them with destruction, and which had already affected all the party except Mr. Bruce. Shortly after, Bruce was in some trepidation from having incautiously ventured too near a drove of hyænas, who were regaling themselves with the carcass of a deer, which had been recently killed by a lion: the fatal effects, however, of the contents of our traveller's blunderbuss, upon two or three of their number, induced the remainder to decamp. The hyænas had scarcely disappeared when about twenty small foxes, and several hundred guineafowl, made their appearance: the birds quickly retired to the adjacent water, and the foxes moved back into the woods.

At Teawa, Mr. Bruce was introduced into the presence of the wives of the Shekh of Athara. Two of them were far from young, and had never been handsome; but the third was both young and beautiful. Her hair was not woolly, but long, and in great abundance: it was braided and twisted round like a crown upon the top of her head, ornamented with beads and the small white Guinea shells commonly called 'blackamoor's-teeth.' She had plain rings of gold in her ears, and four rows of gold chain round her neck, to which was hung a number of sequins: the rest of her dress was a blue robe, which hung loosely about her. She was rather above the middle size, not quite

fifteen, and, according to Mr. Bruce, she might well have been a study for a painter who might be searching for (what, alas! he will never find) absolute perfection.

During the residence of our traveller at Teawa, the conduct of the Shekh Fidele was not merely annoying—it was inhuman ; but at length he was removed from his unpleasant quarters, after having at one moment suspected that he had been poisoned, and at another having experienced a violent fit of the ague.

On the 25th of April, while crossing a plain, the party suffered from a dreadful whirlwind, or what is called at sea a water-spout. The plain was red earth, which had been plentifully moistened by a shower in the night. An unfortunate camel, which happened to be in the centre of its vortex, was lifted up, and thrown down to a considerable distance, and several of its ribs broken. Although, as far as Mr. Bruce could guess, he was not near the centre, it took him off his feet, and threw him down upon his face, causing the blood to gush out from his nose. Two of the servants had the same fate. It plastered them all over with mud, almost as smoothly as could have been done by a trowel. For an instant Mr. Bruce was deprived of sense and hearing ; and when he recovered he found his nose and mouth full of mud. The sphere of action might be about 200 feet. It demolished half of a small hut, as if it had been cut through with a knife, and dispersed the materials all over the plain, leaving the other half standing.

The travellers were fortunate in meeting with kind friends in the inhabitants of the Nuba, who not

only dried their clothes and washed their miserable bodies, but set before them eatables of various kinds.

At Barboch they crossed the Nile, and arrived in the kingdom of Sennaar on the 29th of April. On the following day Mr. Bruce waited upon the king. The palace covered a vast deal of ground: it was of one story, built of clay, and the floors of earth: the chambers were many of them unfurnished, and seemed to have been destined for barracks. The monarch was in a small room paved with tiles, covered with a Persian carpet, and the walls hung with tapestry: he was sitting on a mattress, also covered with carpet, and round him were a number of cushions of Venetian cloth of gold: his dress by no means corresponded with the magnificence of his apartment. After some preliminary remarks, and reading the Sheriffe of Mecca's letter, and the one from the King of Abyssinia, the King of Sennaar proceeded to inquire,—how it was that Bruce, being not only a soldier and physician, but noble, and in the service of a monarch who possessed the Indies, and suffered Mahometans and Christians to be governed by their own laws—how it was that such a man could trust himself unprotected in such countries? Bruce answered by saying,—that doubtless in all countries there were men who laid aside their nobility, and, from one cause or another, made a vow to travel; they were then poor, and might be insulted by wicked men. “True,” said some of the courtiers, “these are Dervish.” Bruce was glad enough to apply the term to himself; and after a little more conversation, in which at least the lamentable ignorance of the people was apparent, Bruce took his leave.

At our traveller's next interview the king was busied over his toilette: his valets were in the act of rubbing him down with elephants' grease, after which he was deluged with cold water, and then smeared with a kind of oil. One afternoon Mr. Bruce was sent for to the palace, and told that he was about to be introduced to some of the wives of the king, particularly those who were indisposed. He was first conducted into a large room, where might be about fifty women, all black, and nearly naked. Were these queens, or was there a queen amongst them? While in doubt, he felt himself rudely seized by the hand, and dragged into an adjoining apartment: it was better lighted than the first; and upon a sofa sat three persons, clothed in blue cotton shirts. One of them (the favourite) was about six feet high, and, perhaps, next to the elephant and rhinoceros, the largest animal Mr. Bruce had ever beheld. Her features were like those of a negro. A ring of gold passed through her under lip, and weighed it down, till, like a flap, it covered her chin, and left her teeth bare, which were small and fine;—the inside of her lip she had made black with antimony. Her ears reached to her shoulders, and had the appearance of wings;—she had in each of them a ring of gold;—from the weight of the ring, the hole in the ear was so large that it would have admitted three fingers. She had a gold necklace of various rows, and on her feet were manacles of gold, very large, but hollow. The others were ornamented after nearly a similar fashion, only one had chains, which came from her ears to the outside of each nostril, where they were fastened, and moreover a ring put through the gristle

of her nose, which hung down to her mouth;—the whole had somewhat the appearance of a horse's bridle. For once a distant salutation was the more agreeable. After it had passed, the three queens commenced with an account of their diseases: they then wished to be bled; but the sight of the lancet frightened them, and they waited till evening, when the cupping instrument was applied. The room was inundated with royal blood. The ladies desired to have the instrument: it was presented to them, and two slaves were bled by Bruce, that the ladies might understand how to perform the operation. Another night Mr. Bruce was compelled to give the three queens and some other ladies an emetic;—but here we shall certainly leave him, and rejoice that it was not our fate to witness its effects.

Upon the death of a King of Sennaar, his eldest son succeeds by right, and immediately afterwards as many of his brothers as can be apprehended are put to death.

There is a constant mortality among the children in the metropolis, insomuch, that to all appearance people would be extinct were they not supplied by slaves from the southern countries. Neither horses, nor mules, nor poultry, will live or breed near Sennaar. Neither dog, nor sheep, nor bullock, can be preserved a season: they must go every half-year to the sands, for they could not exist a whole season at the capital.

The town is populous: it contains many good houses, built after the fashion of the country, having parapet roofs rather than conical ones. In all other countries subject to the rains, conical roofs only are formed. The general face of the country, about the

end of August and beginning of September, is highly interesting, the number of herds of cattle *then* feeding on the green pasture, the vast waters of the Nile, and the large lakes, form, with the numerous scattered villages, a beautiful scene. The character of the people is bad, and their habits are intolerably filthy, though, according to their ideas, they are cleanly in the extreme.

We now come to a period of Mr. Bruce's travels when dangers seemed fast encircling him, and threatening him, if not with death, at least with endless captivity. The faithless Shekh of Teawa arrived at Sennaar, full of villainy and falsehood, declaring that Bruce had presents, and very rich ones too, which were sent to his Majesty of Sennaar from his Majesty of Abyssinia; but that Bruce had kept these presents, and did not intend to relinquish them. The person who told this to Bruce was a worthless fellow named Hagi Belal, who reported the King of Sennaar as highly displeased. This circumstance threatened inevitable destruction, yet our traveller's mind was somewhat relieved by a secret arrangement he had made to leave the country with a man named Mahomet; but this gentleman deliberately violated his word, and Bruce remained at Sennaar with a mind almost broken down by reiterated misfortune. He had no money, and, upon application to Hagi Belal, to whom he showed a letter of credit he had upon a broker at Jidda, the rogue affirmed that he could not muster twenty sequins. In this emergency, Bruce determined to part with, or rather pawn, his magnificent gold chain, the present from the King of Abyssinia. When this was exhibited to Belal, there was no want of sequins; and indeed they had become

absolutely necessary, for the customary supplies of provisions from the palace had been long withheld. We should have mentioned that the being forced to part with the chain was the more cruel, as Belal had written to Bruce, while in Abyssinia, assuring him that he would supply him with money on the faith of the letter to the broker. Six links, out of a hundred and twenty, of which the chain was composed, were returned to Bruce by the infamous Belal,—the remainder rested with the extortioner. But still Mr. Bruce was not able to leave Sennaar, nor would he have been, if a lucky chance had not enabled him to take a journey on the king's business, and virtually under his protection. It need hardly be told that, once out of the capital, it was Bruce's determination never to return to it.

On the 4th or 5th of September Mr. Bruce left Sennaar, and on the 4th of October found himself and his few attendants safe in the district and at the village of Chendi; and here was he introduced to the Sittina, or mistress, who was the widow of the late chief, and who, perhaps, jointly with her son, might be said to govern the country. With this good lady he had several interviews, in which she exhibited no small share of coquetry and female vanity.

One day, while Bruce was sitting in his tent, a man named Idris came up;—he was an Arab, and offered to conduct Bruce to Barbar, and from thence to Egypt. His offer was accepted. His recompense was to be in proportion to his good behaviour; and, after taking leave of the Sittina, Bruce left Chendi. At parting, the Sittina called for Idris, and gave him very positive injunctions to take care of Bruce; she also presented

him with an ounce of gold. Our traveller begged he might be allowed to testify his gratitude by kissing her hand, which she permitted in the most gracious manner, laughing all the while, and saying, "Well, you are an odd man;—if, Idris, my son saw me just now, he would think me mad."

"On the 20th of October the party left Chendi; and on the 26th arrived at Gooz, which, though but a small village, is the capital of Barbar.

On the 11th of November they were at Hassa, near which the Mountain of Thirst rises.

On the 14th, they alighted among some acacia-trees, at Waadi el Halboub. At this place they were surprised and terrified by observing a vast number of moving pillars of sand. In the evening they came to Waadi Dimokea, where they passed the night in great dismay, which was not a little increased when they found, upon waking in the morning, that the sand had accumulated very considerably around them.

On the 16th, at eleven o'clock, while contemplating the rugged top of Chiggre, which they were approaching, and where they hoped to find plenty of good water, Idris cried out with a loud voice, "Fall down upon your faces, for here is the Simoom." Mr. Bruce observed a haze from the south-east, in colour like the purple part of the rainbow, but not so compressed or thick. It did not occupy twenty yards in breadth, and was about twelve feet high from the ground. It was a kind of blush upon the air, and moved very rapidly; for he could scarce turn to fall upon the ground with his head to the northward, when he felt the heat of its current plainly upon his face. When the meteor or

purple haze was past, the whole party rose ; but the light air that even then blew threatened suffocation. It continued to blow for some hours, and was dreadfully exhausting in its effects ; and yet the blast was so weak that it would hardly have raised a leaf.

On the 27th of November a sad misfortune befel them,—only one of their camels would rise, and that one rose but for two minutes. Death, in all its horrors, for a moment stared them in the face ; but they took courage ; they collected as much water as they could carry in their skins, and as much of the dirty black bread as remained,—killed two of their camels, and cut out some of their flesh,—abandoned all papers, instruments, and baggage of every description,—and set off, in the almost vain hope of reaching Seyene. Most happily on the 29th they saw the palm-trees of Assonan ; and, about a quarter before ten, arrived at a grove of palms to the northward of that city. Fortunately for Bruce, he was enabled, in the course of a few days, and under an escort, to return and look for his instruments ; and yet more fortunate was he in finding every thing as it had been left in the sand.

On the 11th of January, 1773, Mr. Bruce arrived at Cairo, from whence he went to Alexandria, and embarked for France, and landed, after a stormy and dangerous passage, at the port of Marseilles.

We have thus given a brief account of one of the most extraordinary and perilous expeditions ever undertaken. We are aware that we have raised rather than gratified the curiosity of many of our readers. The peculiar nature of this work, which professes to give Selections only from the most interesting parts of

the Voyages or Travels we may take up, must be our apology. Certainly, in Mr. Bruce's narrative, though there may be much to amuse there is but little to instruct, and, perhaps necessarily, a vast deal to disgust.

M. LE VAILLANT'S TRAVELS IN AFRICA,

DURING THE YEARS 1781—82—83—84—85.



ON the 18th of December, 1781, Le Vaillant quitted Cape Town with the intention of penetrating into the interior of Africa. He was attended by a train of thirty oxen, three hunters, five Hottentots, and nine dogs, himself on horseback escorting the cavalcade. After passing over Diep Rivier and Breede Rivier, he arrived at Zwelendam, where, however, he did not long remain ; but, after traversing a fine mountainous country, he ordered the tents to be pitched on an eminence called Pampoen Craal. With this place he was so much delighted, that he says the grottos, walks and gardens of Europe are " objects of disgust when compared with the natural bower of Pampoen Craal." Forging the river Krahedi Kau, he proceeded to the Black River.

Several months were passed in constant locomotion, but without incident or adventure of importance. At

the wood of Le Poort he observed the tracks of elephants; and, commanding five Hottentots to attend him, he departed in search of game. Two days were spent in the vain hope of finding the elephants; but on the third one of the Hottentots discovered a herd from the top of a tree, and pointed out one that stood nearly close to Le Vaillant, though he could not suppose that such an enormous bulk was in reality an animal, till it raised its head, when he instantly discharged his fusee, the contents of which lodged in his forehead, and he fell dead on the spot. At the report of the gun, about thirty more of these animals ran swiftly about in all directions; and Vaillant, who surveyed their motions with great delight, fired at one of them as it passed him. This effort was not so successful as the former: fourteen shots having been fired without killing it, a fifteenth was then levelled at the creature, who, being deeply wounded, and mad with pain, turned upon its pursuers, and leaped twice over the trunk of a tree, beneath which the trembling Vaillant had thrown himself for safety. Anxious to remove the uncertainty of the Hottentots, who were now eagerly calling upon his name, Vaillant discharged his fusee into the hinder parts of the animal, who precipitately retreated into the thicket.

The termination of the adventure was marked by a strong proof of friendship and affection. The fiscal had given a young man to Vaillant, when he departed from the Cape, in quality of attendant, at the same time assuring him that he might rely on his courage and fidelity. This person, whom Le Vaillant had taken with him in his present excursion, was suddenly alarmed by

the disappearance of his master, and perpetually called upon him, through the bushes, in a voice strongly expressive of internal agitation ; but, as his master could not immediately return an answer, he began to reproach his companions for their timidity, and lamented the dire misfortune which he supposed had taken place, till he discovered the prostrate object of his search ; when, alike forgetting his sorrow and his fear, he rushed with the ardour of affection to his arms, and bathed his cheeks with tears, while he alternately kissed his person and his clothes ; and so deeply did he affect his companions, that they immediately confessed his superior excellence and exertions, and submissively asked their master's pardon for their own remissness.

At the approach of night, the party hastened to the spot where the elephant was killed at the first shot. A fire was instantly made,—a few steaks were cut from the animal, and given to the Hottentots,—and some slices of the trunk were served up to our adventurer, who found them extremely delicious ;—but he was assured his morning's repast should be infinitely superior. The feet of the elephant were then cut off ;—a square hole dug in the earth, filled with burning coals, and covered with dry wood : it was suffered to remain during the greatest part of the night. The fuel was then removed—the feet of the elephant were placed in the hole, and covered with hot embers—they were permitted to burn till daylight—Le Vaillant was then reminded of his breakfast. The baking of the foot that was now served up had so materially altered its appearance, that Vaillant could scarcely distinguish its form : its looks, however, were tempting, and its smell

so fragrant, that he was anxious to taste it, which he did, and found it to be a dish fit for the palate of royalty.

But it is not against the elephant only that we find Vaillant to be a formidable enemy: the hippopotamus sunk under the contents of his unerring fusee; and he assures us that the length of one of them was ten feet seven inches from the muzzle to the root of the tail, and its circumference eight feet eleven inches,—its tusks were crooked, five inches long and one in diameter.

Our traveller soon found himself in the country of the Gonaqua Hottentots, several of whom visited his camp. With the beauty of one of the females he appears to have been much struck; and, as he found himself unable to pronounce her real name, he gave her the fanciful one of 'Nerina.' The dress of the female Gonaquas is infinitely more elegant than that of the neighbouring tribes of Hottentots; the difference, however, is principally confined to that profusion of ornament, which engages much of their time, and displays the excellence of their taste by a happy mixture of colours. Their bonnets are usually made of zebra's hides, because they imagine that a white ground, intersected by black or brown stripes, must of necessity add something very enticing to their natural charms: they also decorate their legs with tissues in the manner of half-boots, or, if they are poor, with bandages of reeds. Their faces and bodies are for the most part painted either red or black; but the faces of the men, we should observe, are never painted, except so far as from the upper lip to the nostril. Unless the weather be cold or rainy, their heads are adorned with glass beads, a plume of feathers, a blown bladder, or

pieces of leather; but when it rains they wear a leathern cap.

Hunting is their favourite employment. Their arrows are about eighteen inches long, formed of reeds, and supplied with small bones, which are dipped in a malignant poison, and thrust into the arrows in such a manner, that the rod may be drawn out of the penetrated body, but the bone must continue in the wound. To obviate, however, to themselves, the effects of the poison on the animals they kill, they cut away all the flesh that encircles the wound as soon as the creature expires. The bows are about three feet in length, and the strings formed of intestines.

Totally ignorant of agriculture, they neither sow nor plant; they drink the milk that nature sends them, and their greatest pleasures are smoking and drinking. In the place of tobacco they use the leaves of a plant called *dagha*: their pipes are large, formed of bamboo-reed, baked earth, or a soft ochre; and are more generally esteemed than any which they can procure from Europe. They prefer milk, and the produce of the chase, for their support, to the killing any of what may be called their domestic animals;—these are generally used as beasts of burden, or are bartered to other tribes.

The savages are seldom seen when afflicted by sickness;—a sense of delicacy induces them to retire to separate huts; nor do they ever think of obtruding their personal misfortunes on the public for the purpose of exciting compassion, a point in which it would be well if they were imitated by their more refined brethren of mankind.

On the death of a Gonaqua Hottentot, he is clothed in his worst kross, and carried by his relatives to a distance from the horde, where a pit is dug for the purpose of interment; and a heap of stones is raised, to serve the double purpose of a mausoleum and a protection against the beasts of prey: the grave of a chief is distinguished by a larger quantity of stones than ordinary.

In their dances there is nothing very peculiar. Their musical instruments are the *rabouquin*, the *romelpot*, and the *goura*. The latter is the most curious: it is shaped exactly like a bow, with a string of intestines fixed to one end, and held in the other by means of a cleft and flattened quill: this the performer places in his mouth, and usually draws from it some very melodious tones. When a female plays the *goura*, the name is changed to *jounjoun*: she strikes the strings with a stick, instead of putting the quill into her mouth.

The distinguishing marks which appear to separate the Hottentot, in his appearance, from the rest of mankind, are—the prominence of his cheek-bones; the strange formation of his visage, which is extremely narrow, and decreases towards the chin; the depression of the nose; and the surprising width of the mouth. The eyes are commonly large and handsome; the teeth small, white, and well enamelled; and his short curly hair exactly similar to wool. “The proportion of his body,” says Vaillant, “approximates to perfection: he is equally remarkable for gracefulness and agility, and all his motions are attended with a natural ease, widely different from the savages of America.” The features of the women are more delicate; their hands smaller;

their feet elegantly shaped ; and the sound of their voice so peculiarly soft, as to harmonize an idiom, which, in passing through the throat, might be naturally expected to grate in the ear of a stranger. They are inactive and timid, but hospitable and cleanly to a great degree.

One day, while Vaillant was ranging about, he perceived two yellow serpents start up at his feet, and assume an erect position, while their heads swelled up prodigiously, and they hissed in a most dreadful manner. Alarmed at the appearance of these animals, whose bite he knew to be mortal, Vaillant discharged his piece, when one of them retired to his hole, and the other fell lifeless on the ground. This creature was five feet three inches long and nine inches in circumference: its mouth was armed with a surprising number of teeth, that were hardly perceptible ; and each side of the jaw was supplied with a hook, that was five inches in length, and might be extended at pleasure, like the claws of a cat or tiger.

The account which Vaillant gives us of the Caffres is highly interesting. In their country he now found himself ; and we are told that in person they resemble the Gonaquas ; they are, however, rather taller, more robust, and of a fiercer disposition. Their features are more agreeable than those of the Hottentot or the Mozambique negroes : their foreheads are high, their eyes large, and their countenances open, and, setting aside the prejudice against their complexion, many of the women would be thought handsome even in an European country. Personal ornaments are entirely disregarded by the female Caffres. The men are infi-

nately more attentive to the decoration of their persons : they tattoo, and rub their bodies with grease : during the hot weather they have scarcely any covering ; but in the winter they are clothed with krosses of calves' or oxen's hides, that reach from the shoulders to the ground. Their huts are superior to the Hottentot's : the frames are well constructed with solid timber, and plastered over with a composition of clay and cow manure, that appears as smooth as the finest mortar : the floors are similar to the walls ; and every hut is provided with a circular hearth, that is rendered extremely safe by a border about three inches in height : the entrance is so low, that a person must prostrate himself before he can gain admittance to these singular dwellings. At the distance of six inches from the wall of the hut, a small trench is cut to the depth of eighteen inches, and a similar breadth, for the purpose of receiving the waters, and securing the inhabitants from the ill effects of damp.

The soil of Caffraria is exceedingly fruitful, and equally well watered ; and the inhabitants in general are more settled and contented than the Hottentots, and certainly more civilized. Their idea of the nature and power of God is very exalted, and they readily acquiesce in the belief of a future state, where all the good will be rewarded and the vicious punished ; but they have no idea of a creation. They have no form of worship, nor any priests. The children are educated by their parents.

The government is monarchical, but of a very limited nature. As the hordes are distant, chiefs are appointed by the king, who act under his authority.

In one thing are they most decidedly superior to the Hottentots—in true courage: the latter would take every advantage—the former none; the Hottentot would not scruple to poison—the Caffre fairly meets his enemy, and throws his hassager in the open field. It is somewhat curious that the first marriage of a Caffre is preceded by great rejoicing, the second is private. Property descends to the mother, and all the sons, equally; the daughters reside with the mother. The crown descends to the eldest son, or nephew; but in default of male heirs of this description it is elective. The dead, with the exception of kings and chiefs, are thrown into a common ditch, and soon carried off by the birds and beasts of prey.

The 1st of January, 1782, was spent on the banks of the Klen Vis River.

After passing the Red Sand Colony, Vaillant entered upon the canton of the Twenty-four Rivers. “This charming district, much diversified with lofty hills, flowery vallies, aromatic groves, and embowering shades,” is well calculated to delight the traveller. A person named Slaher promised to procure Le Vaillant some birds which were not in his collection; but requested him to leave his fire-arms behind him, and, when they arrived at the proper place, to stand silent and still. Our traveller set out with his friend and guide, who yoked his oxen, took up his immense whip, and, conducting them to a field, fastened them to a plough, and commenced tracing up a furrow. Instantly flocks of small birds descended to pick up the worms and other insects. “Which would you like to have?” said his conductor, coolly. Vaillant fixed upon nis

prize ;—the man struck it with his whip, and presented it to his guest. This exercise forms an article of education among some of the planters near the Cape. These people may be divided into three classes :—the first reside in the vicinity of Cape Town, and are in possession of many of the luxuries of life ; the second live more in the interior, and are at once industrious and hospitable ; the third reside among the Hottentots,—they are indolent, poor, and wandering in their habits. The dress of some of the planters is extremely rustic : that of the men is not very dissimilar to our sailors' ; the women have on a petticoat, a jacket fitted to their shape, and a round muslin bonnet. Stockings are never worn except on particular occasions.

Vaillant's first tour may be considered as extending to Stellenboch, Hottentot Holland, Drazken Steyn, Booke Veld, Rooye Zand, the canton of the Twenty-four Rivers, and back to the Cape through Zwartland.

After remaining inactive for some months, or only taking short excursions, he again resolved to penetrate, in a different direction, into the interior ; and the first time we meet him in a situation which arrests our attention is at a place called Krækenap by the Hottentots and Black Hoove by the Dutch. On the ensuing day we find him adopting the *praiseworthy* resolution of hazarding his own life, and those of some of his followers, in crossing a river after some elephants. Having communicated his intention to such of his attendants as he knew were excellent swimmers, he proposed to launch the trunk of a tree upon the stream, and seat himself upon it in an equestrian attitude. This proposal was acceded to by the Hottentots ; and

they ventured to answer for his safe landing on the opposite shore. A tree was launched, and supplied with two leathern strings, that the swimmers might draw it after them; the krosses of the Hottentots and our traveller's tents were then rolled up in a bundle, which was fastened to the middle of the float, and connected with strings to two leathern vessels of oil, which, being fixed on each side, it was thought would balance and diminish the weight of the tree. Vaillant then suspended his watch and powder-flasks from his neck, and rested his fusee upon his shoulder;—then was he prepared for the adventure;—he proceeded to the place of embarkation, when he seated himself steadily upon the bundle, between the vessels of oil, and gave the signal for departure to his swimmers, two of whom immediately darted forwards, and by means of the leather thongs drew along the owner and his cargo; and the two others rested upon the hinder part of the raft, to strike with their feet, and push the tree forward with their bodies, or relieve their companions, as occasion might require. For some time they proceeded well, so well, that the swimmers began to ridicule all fears of not succeeding, and Vaillant amused himself with laughing at his odd attitude; but no sooner had they passed that part of the river that had overflowed its banks, than the scene and their countenances suddenly changed: they found themselves drifted materially out of their course, and must inevitably have been forced into the ocean, had not the wind counteracted the strength of the current. The trunk of the tree would no longer retain its horizontal position: sometimes it pressed forward upon the swim-

mers. and rendered their exertions unavailing ; sometimes, by a retrograde motion, it drew back the guides, and shook them out of their course ; occasionally (with grief be it spoken) it sunk at one end, raising the other to nearly a perpendicular. Aware of the danger, the Hottentots at the stern joined their companions at the bow, and all united in the endeavour to rescue their master from his perilous situation ; but the current grew stronger and stronger ;—Vaillant began to despair ; but in a moment there was hope ;—the swimmers had cleared the centre of the river, and, collecting all their strength, they gained the shallow,—they reached the shore, carrying with them the rash Le Vaillant, whose knees they embraced, and who repaid them with the warmest emotions of gratitude and friendship. But the interest of the adventure did not terminate here :—“ What can I do for you ? ” said Vaillant to his faithful associates, while they were sitting warming themselves by a good fire. Klaas, taking his hand, said, “ I have a favour to ask you, not for myself, but for my friend Jonker. If you think that he has acted like a youth of courage, I would wish that you should give him a fusee :—it was I who engaged him in your service ; it is I who am responsible for his conduct ; and therefore venture to affirm, that you will have no cause to repent of such an indulgence.” Jonker received the fusee, and was appointed one of the conductors to our hero's principal waggon.

For some months after this adventure, Le Vaillant's life was a continued scene of suffering. At last, under the protection of Klaas Baster, he was fortunate enough to meet with some repose ; and here he had an inter-

view with a Mulatto woman. Her father, according to her own account, was an European, who early in life went to the Cape, and afterwards settled near the Greene River, where he had three children by a Hottentot woman with whom he resided ; these children were—Klaas Baster, Piet Baster, and herself. However, as fortune smiled upon the planter, he deserted the Hottentot lady, and took to himself a white one. By this lady he had also children ; and, ere the old gentleman was gathered to his fathers, they so persecuted their Mulatto brethren, that the latter sought and found land elsewhere ; but from this spot they were driven, and the brothers then sought shelter in the mountains, where, however, they lived in continual alarm. The sister (the narrator) repaired to the Hottentot horde of her mother, and had come some distance to see Vaillant, at the express desire of her brothers.

Vaillant next turned his thoughts and his steps to the country of the Nimiquas. In the journey it was his fate to be introduced to Klaas Baster's father, whose exchange of wives had proved but a sorry speculation. The name of the man was Van der Westhuysen : he was about seventy, and sat silent and sad in a corner, as his lady had long prescribed him a regimen of silence, on pretence of sparing his lungs, which were somewhat asthmatic. Aware of the imbecility of his conduct in his own house, he was disconcerted by the presence of Vaillant, though occasionally he ventured, when unobserved by his Xantippe, to bestow upon him a smile of kindness. He was a native of Germany, and Vaillant asked him several questions relative to

his birth, &c. ; but the *commander-in-chief*, probably thinking they were discussing her merits, rudely interrupted them—spoke of France—pretended to trace her descent from a French family—muttered several sentences, which she imagined were in that language ; and had at least the satisfaction of witnessing the stupid gaze of astonishment and admiration, which lighted up the countenances of her two sons and of her flourishing daughter of six feet high.

Did our limits permit, or did we conceive it would add much to the amusement of our reader, we would introduce him to other branches of this estimable family ; but, for ourselves, we rather follow Vaillant into the country of the Nimiquas. Residing amidst these wild tribes was a sailor, who had formerly been in the Company's service. The man had deserted, and of course shunned the society of all who might be interested in delivering him up to justice. To this person (by name Schoenmaker) Vaillant had a letter from Colonel Gordon. He was found in a red night-cap, and sailor's dress, in the midst of several little charming girls, his daughters, whose graces and endearments captivated the heart of our romantic traveller. Their unfortunate parent had remained twelve years in exile ; and it is but natural to suppose that the appearance of Le Vaillant, with a numerous train, gave him some alarm ; but when this had subsided, he extended his hand towards our adventurer as to a welcome and beloved friend.

The country of the Less Nimiquas extends in longitude from the mountains of Camis to the ocean on the west, and in latitude from Namero to the Great River.

The soil is dry and barren, and never receives any corn, except when a thunder-storm happens, which is very rarely the case, perhaps not twice in the year. From Namero to the banks of the Great River the land has a gradual ascent, the mountains insensibly declining; but beyond the river the mountains rise abruptly, and the land descends towards another chain of rocks, so that it is enclosed within two chains. The stature of the people is inferior to that of the Caffres and Gonaquas: their dress resembles that of the Hottentots: their huts are covered with skins, as the sterility of their land prevents the growth of rushes.

After rather an unpleasant altercation with the members of his caravan, Vaillant, with a diminished number, directed his course to the country of the Greater Nimiquas. These people are somewhat taller than their neighbours; in other respects they closely resemble the Hottentots of the country.

Vaillant next found himself in the midst of a horde of Koraquas; and here he had an opportunity of performing what he considered an act of charity. He found that their chief was recently dead; and though he had left several sons, any one of whom was capable of succeeding him, still these savages could by no means agree in their choice, and were on the eve of cutting each others' throats. Vaillant took the liberty of informing them, that if by two hours after sunrise on the following day they had not made their choice, he should immediately leave them; but if they had done so, he would enrich them and him with presents, and bestow such marks of royal dignity upon him as had never yet fallen to the lot of a Koraquas chief to receive.

Punctual to the moment, the horde appeared on the ensuing morning before the camp of Le Vaillant, with a tall well-made man, named Haripa, at their head. Then came the important ceremony of the coronation. There was no Court of Claims; nor did there exist those anomalies which characterize the *spectacle* in more northern climes; there was no champion, fearless and (not *because*) unopposed, to challenge the right; nor any one of the softer sex to disturb the solemnity, with the hope of participating in its grandeur;—there was nothing of all this;—the servant, or attendant, (Klaas,) was ordered to approach his master, (Vaillant,) with several rows of glass-beads, and a grenadier cap, ornamented with a copper-plate that represented the arms of Holland, *viz.* a lion rampant, having seven arrows in one of its fore-paws, and in the other a naked sabre. (This symbol excited the admiration of the savages, as the figures on the plate chanced to represent their own peculiar weapons and the most formidable animal of their country.) Silence was proclaimed—the elected monarch came forward—on his head Vaillant placed the cap—his cloak Vaillant ornamented with rows of beads—the same strange but friendly hand encircled his arms with tin bracelets, and round his neck threw a chain, from which was suspended a padlock in shape of a butterfly. Then was the air rent with shouts of “Long live King Haripa!” The ‘*Desired*’ and ‘*Beloved*’ of other nations could not expect more sincere well-wishers or louder plaudits. During the ceremony of installation, the whole horde seemed to be deprived at once of sense or motion; their astonishment was almost beyond conception.

Haripa maintained a ridiculous gravity. The ceremony once over, feasting and dancing commenced, and continued for three whole days and nights. The evil genii who thought to preside over the destinies of the Koraquas fled with their baneful influences to some less happy horde; for with the subjects of Haripa all was harmony.

These people set a high value on their horned cattle, as they constitute the greater part of their possessions. In stature they are above the ordinary size: the colonial Hottentots attendant upon Vaillant reached only to their shoulders. The dress resembles that of the Nimiquas, though in substance it is somewhat different. As springs are very rare, they dig wells, to which they descend by a flight of steps, draw out the water in a wooden vessel, and place it in the skins of buffaloes till wanted:—they always take care to cover the wells in such a manner as to prevent, not merely beasts, but birds, getting into them; yet, notwithstanding these precautions, the wells are often dried up, and the horde compelled to remove.

During his residence with Haripa, Vaillant had some apprehensions that they should be short of provisions. Haripa, however, assured our traveller, that if he would adopt the Koraquas method of hunting he should soon kill more game than the horde could demolish in a month. Rather incredulous, but determined to make the experiment, our hero placed himself in a defile, through which some antelopes were to pass as they were driven from the neighbouring hills. Towards noon, Vaillant observed amazing clouds of dust arising from the sides of the hill, when Haripa

desired him to lie down with his face towards the earth. The antelopes, who did not perceive him, proceeded forward in one direction. When about two thousand had passed, the chief desired him to rise, and discharge his fire-arms, while he used his arrows. Convinced that when the herd was put in motion a sense of fear would induce the antelopes in the rear to press on the faster, Vaillant repeatedly poured the contents of his fusee among the confused multitude, and each of his balls proved so successful, that he at length ceased firing, being well aware that such a quantity of game would only prove a useless burthen.

Our adventurous traveller now set forth to visit the nation of Houzouanas—a warlike and savage race of people. To this end he obtained the guidance of four Koraquas; and, as usual, we have soon an account of his exploits with the wild animals of the desert. Two rhinoceroses were standing quietly in the middle of the plain; and he had the opportunity of enjoying the finest hunt he had ever yet experienced. Great precaution was indispensably requisite;—he and his people were not merely to be out of the way of being seen by the game, but it was more particularly necessary they should be out of their smell;—he therefore proposed to surround them on all sides, and to unite the instant they commenced the attack; but the savages rejected his opinion, and persuaded him to attend implicitly to their directions. Off, therefore, the hunters set, properly armed, and attended by two of the largest dogs. Having made a long circuit to avoid observation, the men reached the banks of the river. The animals were six furlongs from the place: they stood motionless be-

side each other, with their noses to the wind, and their hinder parts towards Vaillant, who, from the difference in their size, imagined them to be male and female. Jonker—the courageous Hottentot—now entreated his master to wave his determination of attacking the beasts, and to permit him alone to approach them as a *bekruyper*, or creeper, assuring him that he would acquit himself to his perfect satisfaction. His request was complied with; and Jonker, with his fusee, approached the creatures on his belly, like a serpent; while each of the hunters, attended by two persons, repaired to their respective posts, and awaited the event in silence. Jonker advanced deliberately, with his eyes fixed intently on the animals: if they turned their heads, he continued motionless till they had resumed their former posture, and then he proceeded; and he crept towards them for about an hour, when Vaillant observed him rise up from behind a large bush, and, after examining the stations of his comrades, prepare for firing. Shortly after, one of the animals looked behind him, and received the contents of Jonker's fusee: the beast set up a hideous yell, and ran, followed by the female, towards the spot from whence the explosion proceeded. Jonker threw himself flat on the earth; and the beasts ran towards Vaillant: the dogs were then set at liberty, and Vaillant prepared to fire; but the animals turned from him to another hunter, by whom they were greeted with a ball, and then to another hunter, who favored them in a similar manner. It is almost impossible to describe their rage at this moment: they kicked at the hunters most terrifically, threw around them showers of stones,

and ploughed up the earth to the depth of several inches. The female now made her escape; and the male endeavoured to place himself in such a position as to prevent his being harassed but in front. Vaillant, aware of his intention, completely frustrated it; and a few more balls brought the animal, exhausted, to the ground. No sooner was it dead, than the Hottentots were eager to collect its blood. Vaillant set himself to ascertain its dimensions:—its height was seven feet five inches: its length, from the nose to the root of the tail, eleven feet six inches; and its principal horn eighteen inches: it weighed between two and three thousand pounds; and would afford a feast equally delicious and magnificent.

Returning to the camp from this excursion, Le Vaillant was struck by a most exquisite perfume, that guided him, through a grove of mimosas, to the most lovely plant he had ever seen. It was a lily, seven feet high, which waved proudly in its flexible stem, and impregnated the air with its fragrance. The stem was six inches in circumference, ornamented with leaves three feet long and three feet and a half wide. On the upper part were displayed thirty-nine corollas, or flowers, eighteen of which were in full bloom, six in half bloom, and fifteen just ready to open: the greatest number formed a calyx one-third larger than European lilies: thin petals, of a flaxen grey outside, and pure white within, were finely bordered with crimson, and set off by a pistil and stamina whose colours were equal to the brightest carmine. "In short," says our traveller, "this plant, produced in solitude, and pure as

the sun which had embellished it, had been respected by all the animals of the district, and seemed defended even by its beauty." Impatient to possess this singular flower, Vaillant called several of his people to his assistance. With their help, he cautiously dug up the bulb of the lily, which measured thirteen inches in height and twenty-seven in circumference: its shape and colour were nearly similar to a tulip; but, instead of being composed of several coats, it was pulpy, full, and weighty. When properly arranged and planted in the basket, it was carried to Vaillant's tent, where he observed all the corollas open in a regular succession, till its perfume was exhausted and its scent totally decayed.

After visiting the country of the Kabobiquas, Vaillant arrived in that of the Houzouanas, who are of low stature, well proportioned, and exceedingly strong. Their complexion is somewhat similar to that of the Malays. From the heat of their climate, they discard all clothing, except a small skin, which descends from the waist to the knee. Their huts are different from the Hottentot's, as they are cut vertically through the middle; and when upon the tramp they leave them standing. The district they inhabit extends, in a regular direction from east to west, as far as from Caffraria to the country of the Greater Nimiquas: its breadth from south to north was unknown.

Upon the authority of Le Vaillant, we mention the singular peculiarity which attaches to the women of this country, though we confess that we are somewhat inclined to question the accuracy of the report. It is

true, that Dame Nature has not created all beings after a similar fashion; whether we observe the beautiful females of Circassia, or the monstrous ugly features which are sometimes found among the negroes of Africa. We will not, therefore, say, that women should not be discovered who possess a sufficient protuberance of posterior to admit their children to stand behind, like the footman to an English carriage,—we only repeat, that it is asserted by our traveller with equal gravity and minuteness of detail.

From this country Vaillant journeyed into that occupied by the Gheyssequas hordes. These people bear a strong similarity to the inhabitants of the surrounding districts.

The adventures of Le Vaillant were now drawing towards a close. He received from the Cape pressing invitations to return there; and, after having spent several years among nations, and in countries, but little known before, he left Africa in July, 1784, and arrived at Paris in 1785.

BROWNE'S TRAVELS IN EGYPT AND LYBIA,

FROM THE YEAR 1792 TO 1798.



IT was Mr. Browne's anxious desire to visit the former seat of the Ptolemies, the renowned emporium of the East, once so celebrated for splendour and for power, and now esteemed for its magnificent remains. On the 10th of January, 1792, Mr. Browne arrived at Alexandria. The chief remains of the ancient city are,—an imperfect colonnade near the gate that leads to Rosetta, and an eminence in the south-east, which is known by the name of 'the Amphitheatre.' Little or no vestiges remain of the suburb denominated 'the City of the Dead.' The only monuments of antiquity that retain the least degree of perfection are,—'the Obelisk,' the column usually termed 'of Pompey,' and a sarcophagus of serpentine marble, used as assisting in the great mosque. The latter curiosity is exceedingly rich in hieroglyphics, and has received but little injury from time.

Mr. Browne, having obtained, at Alexandria, some information relative to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, resolved to explore its remains. His route lay along the coast for about seven days. He passed a place called Araschie, and was fully convinced that it was not the Oasis of Ammon. *Oasis* signifies a cultivated

spot, surrounded by deserts. From Siwa he continued his course to the plain of Gegagib. On the 1st of May he set out towards Rosetta; and in about four hours arrived at Aboukir, the 'Taporisis Parva' of antiquity. He then visited the town of Terane; and, on the 16th, found himself at Cairo.

The city is situated on the east of the Nile: its suburbs, *viz.* Misr-el-attike and Bulak, forming two points of contact with the river. To the east and south-east of the city is a ridge of that extensive chain which accompanies the Nile to Upper Egypt, sometimes receding to the distance of three miles, and at other times opposing its barrier to the progress of the stream. The northern side is bounded by a plain, similar to the Delta in the nature of its soil and productions. The natives of Cairo consider the city as the most magnificent place under the canopy of Heaven, and emphatically style it—'the matchless city—the mother of the world.' The extreme narrowness of its streets is indispensably necessary, to secure the inhabitants from the fierce effulgence of a meridian sun. The length of the city, from north to south, may be estimated at about 3,500 yards. This, however, greatly exceeds the dimensions from east to west. The principal street runs in a parallel line to the Chalige. The houses are commodious, built of stone, two or three stories high, flat roofs, and latticed windows on the ground-floor, except when that floor is appropriated for a shop. The court-end of the town is near the Birket-el-fil, a pool which receives the waters of the Nile from a distant part of the city. The houses of the Europeans are situated on the Chalige, and are

consequently in the most disagreeable and unhealthy part of the city; for the Chalige is a public receptacle for all kinds of nuisances. Previous to the rise of the Nile, it is cleaned, and becomes a street; but when filled by the increase of the river, it assumes the appearance of a canal, and is covered with boats. The palace of a Bey consists of a square court, furnished with apartments for his Mamelukes, a splendid harem for the women, and rooms for himself, one of which is rendered pleasant by a contrivance in the roof, which admits, at any moment, a copious supply of fresh air. There are commodious warehouses for the reception of wholesale goods; and each retail trade has its extensive buildings, and its particular and allotted division. Markets are established in every quarter; and there are numerous coffee-houses.

Cairo contains more than 300 mosques. That of Jamma-el-azher is the most magnificent. It is ornamented with marble pillars and Persian carpets. It is a charitable establishment, from which some thousands of indigent ecclesiastics are supplied with various necessaries. A number of persons, distinguished alike for their knowledge of Arabic and theology, are, under an ecclesiastic of the higher order, supported by its revenue. Its library is enriched by a vast collection of manuscripts.

The mosque of Mohammed-Bey Abud Hahab is constructed of the richest materials, and is the finest specimen of eastern magnificence. The mint is within the walls of the castle. The remains of Salah-eddin's palace are deserving attention: it has several magnificent columns, that still resist the power of time; a

long and curious apartment, which commands a capital view of the city and the Nile; and a chamber appropriated to the manufacture of embroidered cloth. To the north-east of the city live several of the patricians of Cairo; and near to their houses is an open space, where the Mamelukes exercise their horses and perform their military evolutions. To the east is observable a continual series of tombs, standing beneath a naked mountain, of white sand and calcareous stone. The city is furnished with open spaces, among which we may mention the Romeili, where feats of juggling are performed by the worthy magicians of the place.

The population of Cairo may be estimated at about 300,000 souls; but we are inclined to question Mr. Browne's accuracy, when he supposes that Egypt contains a population of two millions and a half. The Arabs, or lower class of Mahometans, form the body of the people, and pride themselves on their origin. The Copts, or ancient inhabitants, are highly interesting to an observant spectator: their hair is dark, and frequently curled; the complexion is a dusky brown; their noses are aquiline; and their eyes black. The religion is a compound of the most glaring errors of the Romish church and the several absurdities of Mahomet. The Copts are acute and industrious; and may, upon the whole, be termed an ingenious people. An imprudent use of their distilled liquor may be reckoned among their failings. The Mamelukes, whose number may be about twelve thousand, are military slaves, imported from Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia; besides others, who are taken captive in battle, or brought to Egypt by merchants on speculation. Browne de-

cribes them as repaying with the warmest gratitude the kind attention with which they are treated. The inferior Mamelukes wear the military dress constantly, which is distinguished from that of other Mahometan citizens by a pair of large crimson drawers, of thick Venetian cloth, attached to their slippers of red leather, and greenish cap of a peculiar form, decorated with a kind of turban. Their arms are—a pair of pistols, a dagger, and a sabre;—when they engage in battle, they have a pair of large horse-pistols and a battle-axe. They also wear a helmet and a suit of armour. Their horses are of the finest Arabian breed, and are frequently purchased for 150 or even 200 pounds. Their masters supply them with provisions, but give them no stipulated pay; nevertheless the Mamelukè contrives, by one means or another, to raise sufficient money to gratify either his avarice or his debauchery.

The government of Cairo, and of Egypt in general, is in the hands of twenty-four Beys, each of whom is chosen from among the Mamelukes by the remaining twenty-three, though, in fact, such an election is always determined by the appointment of the most powerful. Besides their dominion over certain districts of Egypt, these Beys receive other dignities from the Porte, to which revenues are attached. Each of the Beys fills the offices in his district with his own slaves. Mr. Browne thinks that an opulent Bey may have a revenue of from 30,000 to 50,000 pounds;—that of Murad Bey is more than double. The revenue of the inferior Beys may be about 15,000*l.* per annum. The revenue, or rather income, of the Cadis arises from the receipt of a tenth part of whatever is litigated before him: their

decisions are speedy, but too often swayed by the omnipotent influence of gold. The Shech of Bikheri is an officer of great influence; and the priests of the four sects have the entire jurisdiction of their adherents. In cases of equity, each Bey sits in judgment, and usually displays considerable acuteness and knowledge of character.

The chief source of revenue in Egypt arises from the receipt of the tenth of merchandize imported into the country, the impost on the production of lands, and the capitation-tax exacted from unbelievers. The chief local tribute is a land-tax, yielding in the aggregate about 420,000*l.*; but frequently the Beys raise the sum to near a million and a half. There are also other and minor sources of revenue.

The power of the Pasha has been nearly annihilated by the intrigues and ambition of the Beys.

The greater part of the lands in Egypt may be said to be divided between the government and church. As the government claims a right to inheritance, and the fines paid on readmission are very heavy, in short, ruinous,—persons who have landed property frequently make an appropriation to a mosque, when the lands become part of the *wakf* of that establishment, and the claim of government is superseded. This is a mere evasion, the original proprietor still continuing, and the priests merely receiving a small annual gratuity for their connivance. A tenant of land seldom holds more than he and his family can properly cultivate; but he is by no means attached to the soil on the principle of villainage,—he is always at full liberty to move.

The city of Cairo is furnished with a number of

large and sumptuous reservoirs in different parts, where water is given to travellers. The baths are numerous, the attendants dexterous, and the charges moderate. With respect to the majestic river Nile, from which the houses are supplied with water, and the adjacent lands are fertilized, its greatest breadth may be computed at about 2,000 feet. Its motion is slow, and its water so muddy that the natives are obliged to put it into jars, previously rubbed on the inside with a composition of bitter almonds, before they can make use of it. Its rise is about twenty-four feet in perpendicular height. The medium increase is about four inches per day, and continues from the end of June to the beginning of September, when it gradually subsides to the following solstice. Exclusive of large and excellent eels, none of its fish resemble those of Europe. The bulti is somewhat similar to the white trout, and occasionally weighs fifty pounds. Among the various kinds of water-fowl may be mentioned the Turkey goose, whose flesh is very delicious. The crocodiles are apparently reduced in number, and confined chiefly to the district above Assiut. The other striking and ancient features of the Nile are—the rafts of Belasses, or large jars, that are used for carrying water, and the rafts of gourds, on which individuals conduct themselves across the stream.

From Cairo to Assuan, a distance of about 360 miles, the banks of the river, exclusive of occasional rocks, resemble a succession of steps, and are clothed with esculent vegetables, among which the bamea is predominant. It usually grows to the height of three feet.

Previous to the discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the commerce of Cairo was very extensive; and it may yet be regarded as the metropolis of trade in eastern Africa, as Tripoli is of the west.

The curious method of hatching eggs by incubation is almost peculiar to Cairo, and has frequently been described by other travellers. A low-arched apartment of clay, with two rows of shelves, forms the oven, where the eggs are placed in such a manner as to partake equally of the warmth without touching each other. They are gently moved about every four hours, during the whole time of their remaining in the oven, which never is longer than twenty-two days, as the chickens then free themselves from the shells, and are delivered to their proper owner, who pays the master of the oven so much a-hundred for his care and attention. Those eggs which prove unproductive are generally known to be such at the expiration of the first eight days; and, on the delivery of the chickens, they are likewise produced, for the satisfaction of all parties.

During the Ramadan, many amusements are exhibited: the *gerid* and various other exercises are performed by daylight; and the evening is introduced by an exhibition of wrestling, in which the lower classes of Egyptians exhibit actively, if they do not evince science. These are succeeded by the plaintive melody of the male singers; next advance the story-tellers, who relate the most romantic adventures with surprising readiness and rapidity of utterance; then appear the wits, whose droll similies occasion bursts of laughter; and the pleasures of the evening terminate by the exertions of

the rope-dancers, female singers, and women who play upon musical instruments, and exhibit dances which, though they may be called beautiful, are certainly not highly delicate.

The women of Cairo are of a middling stature, and well-formed: the upper ranks are tolerably fair: they usually enter the connubial state at fourteen, and are past their prime at twenty years. The appearance of the Coptic women is extremely interesting. It is a remarkable fact, that the children of European parents, born in Egypt, seldom survive their third year.

Having studied Arabic with great attention, Mr. Browne pursued his journey to Assiut, a city which has become extremely populous within the last few years.

On the 11th of October, Mr. Browne arrived at Girgi, formerly the capital of Upper Egypt. He then continued his passage upon the Nile, and, having visited Nakade, he arrived at Aksor, the ancient Thebes.

The massy and magnificent ruins of ancient Thebes, —the Egyptian capital, the city of Jove, the city with a hundred gates,—extended on both sides of the Nile, are sufficient to fill every intelligent spectator with awe and admiration, while Homer's admirable description rushes into the memory. These ruins, probably the most ancient in the universe, extend about nine miles along the Nile: their breadth, eastward and westward, towards the mountains, is equivalent to seven miles and a half; and, as the river is about 900 feet broad, the circumference of the ancient city may be computed at twenty-seven miles.

The Great Temple is an oblong square building of

vast extent, with a colonnade at each extremity. Its stones and massive columns are covered with hieroglyphics. The Temple of Abuhadjadj is the next in importance. These, the most considerable remains, are situated on the eastern bank of the Nile. On the western bank are two colossal figures, of calcareous stone, apparently designed to represent a man and a woman. Remains of a stupendous temple are also observed, with excavated caverns in the rock; and many of the columns of the magnificent palace of Memnon are nearly forty feet high, and upwards of nine in diameter. The walls and columns are decorated with hieroglyphics. This ruin stands at Kourna.

Behind the palace is a passage which leads up the mountains to the sepulchral caverns that were constructed for the reception of the ancient kings. They are all hewn in the freestone rock, and are apparently formed upon one general plan, though somewhat differing in the formation of their respective parts. The entrance is by a passage of considerable length, opening into a chamber, from which it branches out in two directions, the one leading to the large chamber, which contains a sarcophagus of red granite, and the other discovering several painted cells, or recesses, where, among the figures, Browne particularly noticed the two harpers described by Bruce.

Though some European authors conjecture that Thebes was never surrounded by a wall, Mr. Browne is of a different opinion, and imagined that he had found sufficient vestiges to entitle that opinion to credit. In the precincts of the great temple at Aksor is a small chamber, lined either with porphyry or red granite,

from the roof of which may be seen what has apparently been a gate. Some other imperfect remains are visible with a telescope under the same circumstances, and in directions west and north. From the situation of these ruins, precisely opposed to each other at the three cardinal points, it is conjectured that there originally stood three of the gates of the ancient city.

For some time, Mr. Browne continued travelling in various parts of Egypt; but we are now to trace him in a south-easterly direction from Feirem. Pursuing this course, our traveller observed two small pyramids, of unburnt brick, and a passage through the mountain at Hawara. After passing Illahon, he returned to Bedis, noticing the channel of a large canal denominated the Bahrbila-ma, and a deep cut now called Bathen, but supposed to be the artificial Mæris of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. On the following day he passed the pyramids of Dashur, five of which appeared successively, exclusive of those of Sakarra. That of Medun is built of soft freestone, of a singular construction; but it has apparently been very elegant. The top is now extremely broad, and would be difficult of ascent;—probably the summit was completed by another square, which has been removed. The northern side has been injured by the attempts of travellers to obtain a view of the interior, which is, however, entirely solid. The base of the pyramid is not a natural rock; for the cement and respective stones, to the very foundation, have been discerned. Of the pyramids of Dashur, the one which is in the most southerly direction is built in the form of a cone, terminating in an obtuse triangle. The faces of all the pyramids are directed

to the four cardinal points of the compass. At Sekarra, ten of these monuments exist, all of a superior size: many smaller ones have been plundered for the sake of the materials.

The two largest are at the distance of two hours and a half from Jize, and are known to all who travel in quest of Egyptian curiosities. In the one which has been opened, Browne found a chamber, thirty-four feet five inches in length, lined with granite, and containing a sarcophagus of the same material. Besides these, there was a small chamber, eighteen feet nine inches in length, and seventeen feet one inch in breadth; an antichamber: a main gallery; a descending passage of 105 feet one inch; and a passage to the inferior chamber, measuring 109 feet one inch. These edifices are built, for the most part, of a soft white freestone, replete with shells.

Nothing now remains of the ancient Memphis;—the land upon its site is clothed with corn, and embellished with fine date-trees. Next to Thebes, Memphis was the most venerable and ancient city. Alexandria succeeded Memphis, and continued the metropolis till Grand Cairo was founded by the Saracens.

On the 1st of March, 1793, Mr. Browne again quitted Cairo, and arrived at Suez, which he describes as a small town, whose chief article of trade is coffee, and only apparent fortification some old cannon, unfit for service. The largest of the ships in the neighbourhood of Suez was intended for the Indian trade, and the rest were designed for traffic to Jidda.

On the 22d of March, our traveller reached the monastery of Sinai. The mountain now bearing the

appellation of Sinai is lofty and abrupt; and on the northern side of it our traveller observed some snow. The whole is a remarkable rock of red granite, diversified with patches of soil, on which appear almond-trees, figs, and vines. Innumerable rills gush from various apertures in the precipice, and meander among the little gardens. Sinai has two summits, the one resembling Parnassus, the other known by the name of St. Katherine: from the latter, which is the highest, it is probable that Moses descended with the Decalogue.

Again our traveller visited, and again he quitted, Cairo; and we are to imagine him proceeding, with but little to interest, to a place called Sweini, where resides a governor under the Sultan of Dar-Fur, and where all strangers and merchants are compelled to wait till the pleasure of the sovereign is announced. Mr. Browne, however, travelling not as a trader, might be called "the king's stranger," and naturally expected to be speedily admitted to the royal presence: but he was detained, and had only to await, with patience, the hour of his emancipation. The circumstances attending our traveller were so peculiar, and he laboured under so many and serious disadvantages, that he has given the following relation to the public, under the idea of rendering an acceptable service to other travellers:—

"Previous to my departure from Cairo, I was apprised that all commerce in Dar-Fur was conducted by means of simple exchange; I therefore sought for a person who might transact this business for me with some degree of probity, as my entire ignorance of the articles fit for barter, and the application of my mind

to other objects, were sufficient reasons to deter me from acting as a trader myself.

“A person was accordingly recommended to me at Cairo, in whom I frequently observed keenness, but no fraud; and, in general, that absolute devotion to the will of his superior for which his countrymen are, at least *externally*, remarkable.

“Shortly after my departure, however, his obsequious behaviour was transformed into insult and disobedience; and, on our arrival at Sweini, he contrived to send one of his associates to the Sultan, in order to keep me from his presence, and to detain me, under pretence of my entering the country with some iniquitous purpose. At the same time, the villain himself who formed this diabolical plan took advantage of my momentary absence to take from one of my boxes, that had been broken upon the road, a quantity of red coral, by the help of which commodity he expected to make his way with the great.”

In consequence of this villainous procedure in his servant, a person arrived at his lodging with a spurious letter from the Sultan, ordering that he should not be molested till he arrived at the house of a person named Ibrahim El Wohaishi, in Cobbé, where he was to wait for further orders. It was singular that no order was sent for the protection of his person while he remained at this place. Submission, however, was unavoidable. We can hardly picture to ourselves a more lamentable situation than the one in which Browne so unexpectedly found himself. Unsettled in his own mind, and persecuted by an ignorant race, the health of our traveller began to decline. It was a month before his unplea-

sant symptoms diminished; and Mr. Browne again requested to visit the Sultan. He arrived at El-Fasher, where he was introduced to Misillein, one of the principal ministers. This man was rather a buffoon than minister of state: he received the European with a rude stare, and a mingled smile of scorn and aversion: he was seated on a mat, under an awning of cotton cloth, and had others of the royal attendants with him. To the ridiculous questions that they asked, Browne gave such replies as he judged might be satisfactory; but to the request which he made that he might proceed under a safe escort to Kordofan, he was told, that it was impossible that he could proceed there at present. After this interview our traveller again fell sick: he sent a message to the Sultan, earnestly requesting to be permitted to proceed, but no answer was returned. He was soon visited by the Melek Missillein, and had reason to believe that this good gentleman carried more out of the house than he brought into it, since several articles of European merchandize were missing. He soon returned to Cobbé, and remained there till the summer of 1794. He subsequently returned to El-Fasher, and at last succeeded in obtaining admittance into the presence of the Sultan. Occasionally he had an opportunity of seeing, but none of speaking to, this exalted character. Anxious to make another effort to promote his design, Mr. Browne presented himself to the monarch at a great public audience. He was seated on his throne, which was spread with small Turkey carpets, under a lofty canopy, composed of various Syrian and Indian stuffs, loosely suspended from a light frame of wood. The Meleks were seated

at some distance on the right and left, and behind them a line of guards, whose dress consisted of a cotton shirt of the native manufacture. They had spears and targets, and wore on their heads caps ornamented with small plates of copper and a black ostrich's feather. Behind the Sultan were several eunuchs in rich dresses; and at his right-hand stood a kind of hired encomiast, who continued to vociferate during the whole ceremony,—“See the buffalo, the offspring of a buffalo, a bull of bulls, the elephant of unrivalled strength, the mighty Sultan Abd el Rachman el Rashid! May God prolong thy life, oh master! may God assist thy councils, and crown thy arms with conquest!” But again was our traveller compelled to withdraw without attaining his end. When the Sultan appears in public, he is attended by guards and slaves, the latter bearing a canopy over his head. When he passes his subjects, they bow profoundly to the earth or kneel with much humility,—even the Meleks approach the throne on their hands and knees. Foreigners are not expected to be so servile.

We are not inclined to give a detailed account of the peculiar manners and customs which distinguish the inhabitants of Dar-Fur; indeed they do not materially differ from those of other uncivilized nations in that part of Africa:—they have no morality, no religion: they are liars and cheats even towards their nearest relatives; and it was long, indeed, before Mr. Browne could extricate himself from his perilous situation, and return to Cairo.

Undismayed by former dangers, Browne again quitted Cairo, and we have much pleasure in meeting

him again at Jerusalem. The weather was, unfortunately, intensely cold; the snow began to fall; and our traveller's approach towards the holy city was certainly none of the most agreeable. It is seated on an eminence; and its walls, which remain tolerably perfect, are constructed of a reddish stone, and form the principal object in the approach. The religious of Terra Santa are possessed of great power; and their manufactory of relics, crucifixes, chaplets, &c. is in a most flourishing state;—yet is the church of the Holy Sepulchre so shamefully neglected, that the beams (said to be cedar) are falling to decay, and the roof is so materially injured that the snow penetrates into the church. The Armenians have a very handsome convent, and large enough to accommodate one thousand pilgrims. The Catholic convent has a large subterraneous cistern, which receives the snow as it melts from the roof and other parts, and thus supplies the monks with water during the greater part of the year. The Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem, commands the best view of the city; in front is the chief mosque, said by the Mahometans to contain the body of Solomon. From the same Mount may be seen the Dead Sea. The intervening country is rocky. The tombs of the kings are composed of hard rock, and embellished with Grecian sculpture. On the sarcophagi are numerous ornaments, and each apartment is secured by a heavy pannelled door of stone. They are supposed to have been constructed by the command of Herod, and have been materially injured by the attempts of various persons to discover hidden treasures.

“Bethlehem is about six miles from Jerusalem, in

a beautiful and fertile country. The water is conveyed in a low aqueduct, which formerly passed to Jerusalem. The *Fons Signatus* yields a constant supply to three cisterns, one of which is in fair preservation. The beautiful rivulet *Deliciæ Solomonis* laves the herbage of the valley, and fertilizes the gardens,—while the circumjacent soil is clothed with fig-trees, vines, and olives.

About the same distance, towards the Wilderness, stands the convent of St. John, in the midst of a picturesque and romantic country. The mode of agriculture is here extremely curious:—as the country abounds in sudden risings and declivities, little walls are built, for the purpose of sustaining the soil and forming terraces: the earth is turned up with small ploughs, drawn by oxen; and a driver must take care to turn his plough in such a manner as to avoid touching the walls. The breed of cattle is small; horses are scarce; and the asses, similar to those of Europe, are used for travelling.

Jerusalem may contain about 20,000 inhabitants. The government is in the hands of an Agar, who generally receives his authority from the Pasha of Damascus; but the whole of Palestine may be regarded as in the power of the Arabs. Arabic is the general language, except among the Greeks and Armenians. The Christian women are known by wearing a white veil;—the Mahometan veil is of a different colour.

Naplosa is the capital of Samaria. It is pleasantly situated between two hills, on one of which is the castle. The Christians have no establishment in this (to them) hostile city. The road from Naplosa to

Nazareth is rocky and mountainous: the vales, however, were filled with vines, fig-trees, and olives; and the rocks were occasionally shaded with a charming variety of vegetation. Sebaste, or Samaria, is a deserted village. Ginea is a tolerable town; and Nazareth is pleasantly situated on a declivity. Most of the inhabitants are Christians. At a little distance is Mount Tabor, from whose summit there is a charming prospect.

Passing Acre, Mr. Browne arrived at the site of the once famous and magnificent Tyre, now dwindled away into a small assemblage of wretched huts. The isthmus which unites it with the continent is about six furlongs in length. The isle is of an irregular form, and is about half a mile over in the broadest part. The circumference of the ancient city could not have exceeded twelve furlongs. The isle is destitute of vegetation; nor, with the exception of three mutilated columns of granite, were any vestiges of antiquity discovered. To the southward were observed some remains of an aqueduct, that formerly supplied the city with water,—a cistern, resembling those of the Fons Signatus,—and a fountain that rises with sufficient strength to turn a mill.

At Kefrawan, the mountains are embellished with lofty firs, clothed with innumerable herbs and odoriferous shrubs, and studded with the most exquisitely-brilliant flowers. The myrtle and the lavender grow wild upon the eminences, and the rose of Jericho adorns the banks of the rivulet. The vallies are planted with vines and mulberry-trees, and corn and lentils are produced in astonishing abundance.

Beirut (the ancient Birytus) was the next spot visited by our traveller. Even now the approach to this town, through its fine, but neglected, groves, is grander than to any other on the coast of Lybia. The suburbs of Beirut are nearly as extensive as the city itself.

After visiting Antora on Mount Libanus, Mr. Browne proceeded to Tripoli, the air of which place is very unhealthy. From Tripoli he continued his route to Ladakia, the ancient Laodicea. On the 5th of May he departed for Aleppo, travelling through one of the most picturesque countries he had ever seen. On the 23d of July he arrived at Damascus, the approach to which city is very remarkable, being embellished for several miles with beautiful gardens, and by a paved way of considerable length. The situation of Damascus is in an extensive plain: it is adorned for miles round with trees and flowers. The walls are circular, ancient and strong, but not lofty: they are furnished with nine gates; and near the mountain are some Saracenic remains. There are in the city a variety of eleemosynary establishments,—one constructed by the Sultan Selim, for the reception of strangers; unfortunately, however, it is fallen into disuse.

On the day after his arrival, Mr. Browne witnessed the entrance of the grand caravan from Mecca. The more wealthy pilgrims were carried in litters, and others rode in panniers on the backs of camels. A street of several miles long was lined with spectators, some eager to see their friends, others anxious to gratify their curiosity, and others, again, impressed with reverence for the sacred procession. But, on the ensuing

Saturday, our traveller witnessed a scene which might rival an English coronation—a sovereign's opening a British House of Parliament—or a late solemn procession to St. Paul's:—it was the entrance of the Pasha of Damascus, who is, *ex officio*, the chief of the sacred caravan. The procession entered the city in the following manner:—first 300 cavalry, mounted on Arabian horses; fifteen men on dromedaries, armed with carbines; great officers, admirably mounted and elegantly clothed; part of the Pasha of Tripoli's janizaries; the Pasha himself, his officers, and the remainder of his guard; the Tatarawan of the Damascene Pasha; another troop of 400 cavalry; a body of musqueteers; 150 Albanians, in uniform, before whom was borne the green silk standard of the prophet Mahomet, with sentences of the Koran embroidered in gold, and the magnificent canopy brought from Mecca;—this was attended by a strong party of foot-guards: then came the Pasha's three tails, consisting of white horses, richly caparisoned, each bearing a silver target and a sabre; six led dromedaries, in elegant housings; the chief personages of the city, the Aga of the janizaries, the governor of the castle, and the Mohassel: the rear was then brought up by the Pasha of Damascus, dressed in a habit of green cloth adorned with the fur of a black fox, and attended by his two sons, who, like himself, were mounted on the finest steeds of Arabia. Upwards of a hundred camels were employed in bearing the tents and baggage of the Pasha. The whole procession passed without the least noise or disturbance.

Our traveller once more returned to Aleppo, and, on the 21st of October, set out with the view of pro-

ceeding by Anatolia to Constantinople; he was, however, compelled, by the disturbed state of the country, to vary his route a little. In the course of his expedition he ascended Mount Taurus, now called Karun: it is a chain of high rocks, running from east to west. Several thousand acres on the mountains abound with cedars, sables, and junipers. At Bostán, the natives, like the generality of Anatolians, form a striking contrast to the more polished inhabitants of Lybia. The women generally shelter their faces from the sun and rain by broad flat pieces of metal, placed on the head, and fastened under the chin by strings. Copper is the metal used by the poorer, silver by the more opulent females.

Mr. Browne arrived at the city of Angora on the 22d of November. It yet exhibits some relics of former grandeur. The town is beautifully situated, and is one of the neatest our traveller visited: its streets are paved with granite: it is surrounded by fine and productive gardens. From Angora, Browne made the best of his way to Constantinople, and, passing through Germany, arrived in London on the 16th of September, 1798, after an absence of seven years.

BARROW'S TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,

IN THE YEARS 1797—1798.

IT is well known, and universally acknowledged, that Mr. Barrow has a large claim upon public gratitude;—not only has he afforded us a most complete and interesting account of the Cape of Good Hope and its immediate vicinity; but he has given to the world an amusing, instructive, and, we have every reason to believe, a most authentic, detail of the manners of the inhabitants of the far-distant regions of Southern Africa. His lively journal has set forth their peculiarities of mind and body in whimsical array; his powerful pen has been most successfully exerted in describing the many romantic and magnificent spots which his ardent thirst for knowledge led him to visit; and his inherent love of truth has warned him to avoid those embellishments, which turn the journal of a traveller into a tale of fiction, and from which we rise with but little satisfaction or improvement, because we are in doubt what to credit, or how much to reject.

In the year 1798, the colony of the Cape of Good Hope was found to contain an area of 128,150 square miles, computing its extent east and west at 550, and north and south at 233, English miles. This extensive country, exclusive of Cape Town, contains 15,000 white inhabitants. The land is in many places barren, and

chains of lofty mountains rise in every direction, which are doomed to complete sterility, or produce only noxious and poisonous plants.

Mr. Barrow gives to the mountainous chains the three following names:—1st. The irregular Belt: this happily encloses a large and fertile tract of land, from twenty to sixty miles in width. 2dly. The Swarte Berg, or Black Mountain, which is higher than the first-mentioned, and frequently consists of double chains. The district enclosed within this chain, or chains, is varied; in some places it is barren, in others exceedingly fertile: its general surface is higher than that of the irregular Belt, its temperament more uncertain, and its intrinsic value far inferior. The third round is called the Nieuwveldt-Gebergte;—together with the second, it encloses the *parched desert*, which is destitute of every human habitation. The country rises from the western coast towards the interior. To the northward of the Cape the soil is sandy, barren, and desolate; but the traveller, in an easterly direction, will be well rewarded for his labour, by witnessing rich lands and magnificent scenery.

The territory known by the name of the Cape is divided into four districts, in each of which a landrost, or civil magistrate, is established, who, with the approbation of six of the principal inhabitants, determines petty causes of dispute, and superintends the affairs of government.

The Cape district is chiefly composed of that mountainous peninsula whose southern extremity is denominated the Cape of Good Hope, and the northern is the Table Mountain, flanked by the Devil's Hill on

the east, and the Lion's Head on the west. The peninsula, about thirty-six miles in length and three in breadth, is connected with the main land by a low neck of land, and may be described as a broken mountain, the different masses of which are of different formations, alternately piercing the clouds with rocky fragments, and cheering the eye by luxuriant vegetation. Table Bay and False Bay, one of which laves the northern, and the other the southern, shore of the isthmus, are commonly resorted to by trading vessels. During the south-east winds, which blow from September to May, the former affords the better shelter: during the remainder, while the north and north-westerly winds are blowing, the latter is the preferable harbour. There are also two small bays on the northern side, called Wood Bay and Chapman's Bay; but they are neither safe nor convenient harbours.

Cape Town is erected on a pleasant declivity near the Table Mountain, the Devil's Hill, and the Lion's Head: its foot is washed by Table Bay, and the place commands a fine view of the anchorage. There are about eleven hundred houses: the streets are regular, neat, and airy, many of them planted with oaks, and supplied with running streams. The town is ornamented by four spacious squares: it has a Calvinist and a Lutheran church,—a castle, in which one thousand men may be accommodated,—and a building originally intended for a hospital, but now converted into a barrack: there are also several public offices. The plain between Table Mountain and the town is studded with many and handsome houses. The government house is conspicuous: it is erected on a

fertile soil, surrounded by about forty acres of excellent land, which is divided by oak hedges into squares. The public walk runs up the middle, between two rows of myrtle, and is shaded by an avenue of spreading oaks.

The stupendous mass of rock known by the name of the Table Mountain attracts the immediate attention of every visiter at the Cape. The northern front of Table Mountain is a horizontal line, nearly two miles in length; it directly faces the town. The bold front, which rises at right angles to meet this line, is sustained by projecting buttresses, which rise from the plain close in with the front, and somewhat more than midway from the base. These, with the division of the front into three parts, a curtain flanked by two bastions, the first retiring and the other projecting, render its appearance similar to the dilapidated walls of a fortress. The height of these walls is 3582 feet above the level of Table Bay. The eastern side is yet bolder, and has one point considerably higher. Towards the west the rock is rent into frightful chasms, and worn into pointed masses. About four miles towards the south the mountain descends in successive terraces to the chain, which extends completely along the peninsula. The wings of the front, denominated the Lion's Head and the Devil's Mountain, are in fact but disunited fragments of the Table Mountain. The height of the former is 2160 feet, that of the latter 3315. The upper part of the Lion's Head is a circular mass of stone, which, from some points of view, resembles the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Devil's Hill is broken into a number of irregular points.

The substratum of the plain on which the town is built, and the shores of Table Bay, compose a bed of blue compact schistus, generally running in parallel ridges towards the south-east and north-west, but not unfrequently interrupted by masses of a flinty rock of a similar colour. From Robben Island, in the mouth of Table Bay, are procured blue flags, diversified by white streaks: they are used for paving the terraces before the houses. A body of strong clay, tinged with iron, and abounding with brown foliated mica, lies upon the schistus;—enormous blocks of granite are imbedded in the clay, and coarser blocks of a similar class are found among the African mountains. The first horizontal stratum of the Table Mountain commences about 500 feet above the level of the sea, and rests upon the clay and granite already noticed. On a rough sand-stone, of a dingy yellow colour, is a deep brown sand-stone, containing veins of hematite and calciform ores of iron: then comes a mass of shining granular quartz, about a thousand feet in height, which, from exposure, is changing into sand-stone. Indeed, on the summit of the mountain the transition has taken place, and myriads of pebbles of semi-transparent quartz surround the skeletons of rocks, in which they were formerly imbedded.

The ascent to the summit of Table Mountain is through a deep chasm, three quarters of a mile in length, which divides the curtain from the left bastion. The perpendicular cheeks at the foot are more than one thousand feet high: the angle of the ascent is equal to forty-five degrees. Leaving the romantic scenery of the chasm, and passing through the portal, the adven-

turer feels no little disappointment at the tame insipid plain that spreads before his eye; but, after a moment's pause, he looks around, and is struck with the unrivalled magnificence of the scene below him.

The wooded clefts of the mountains on the peninsula yet afford shelter to the wolves and hyænas, but their number is much diminished. The *das* is an animal common to this colony: it is about the size of a rabbit, of a dusky colour, short ears, and no tail: the male has horns about four inches in length, straight and tapering. Upon the sandy isthmus is also met with the *düiker*, or diver;—neither this animal nor the *griesbok* has been mentioned in any systematic work. The diver is of a dusky-brown colour, three feet in length and thirty inches in height: the female has no horns; those of the male are long, black, and annulated towards the base. The *steenbok* was originally more numerous than any of the antelope tribe: it is now almost extirpated. The horses at the Cape were originally brought from Java. The oxen are indigenous: they are used for drawing heavy waggons, and are remarkable for the height of their shoulders and size of their horns. Eagles, vultures, kites, and cranes, abound at the Cape, and hover round the summit of Table Mountain. There are vast varieties of fish, and, during the winter season, whales are common in all the bays of Southern Africa, but these rarely exceed sixty feet in length; occasionally a whale has produced ten tons of oil. The penguin sports in the rocky islands of False Bay. The most common shells are those of the univalve tribe, as the *Patilla*, *Haliotis midæ*, *Cypræa*, *Volutes*, and *Cones*. Among the insects we may enu-

merate large black spiders, venomous snakes, scorpions, and scolopendras: land turtles, cameleons, and lizards are often seen: a species of locust is also troublesome in the gardens; and, if the traveller can boast a cessation of pain from the annoying musquito, he at any rate is wretchedly plagued by a species of sand-fly. There is but little timber round Cape Town, though abundance of small trees: the silver tree, the conocarpa, and others, are spread over the country in wild luxuriance, and serve the purposes of fuel. Many of the tropical, and most of the European fruits, are cultivated at the Cape. The fruiteries and gardens are commonly divided into squares, and defended from the parching south-east wind by cut edges of quince-trees, oaks, and myrtles. The grain is chiefly barley; but beyond the isthmus, and along the western coast, corn is successfully cultivated. At the close of the rainy season, the large *Othonna* ornaments the plain beneath Table Mountain, and the western shore of Table Bay: it springs up in full luxuriance from a verdant carpet of the creeping *Trifolium melilotos*. The star-flowers, with their regular radiated corollas of yellow or white, occasionally diversified with violet and deep green, add beauty to the prospect; and the *Oxalis cernua* gives its due share to the general loveliness:—its varied tints, from the most brilliant purple to the most unsullied white, are truly exquisite; and when the beams of a brilliant sun are withdrawn from these productions of a benevolent Creator, and these gay families of flowers involve their odoriferous petals, the modest *Ixia cinnamomea* unfolds its delicate blossoms, and perfumes the evening gale with the most reviving sweetness. The

Mirorea, the *Iris gladiolus*, the *Antholiza*, all furnish a variety of species equal in grace and elegance to the *ixia*. The sides of the hills are scented with geraniums; and the amaryllis will demand the attention of the true lover of the works of nature. Contrasted with the deep foliage of the oak, and the brown hue of the stone-pine, we view with admiration the soft and silver-coloured leaves of the *Protea argentea*. Extensive plantations of this tree environ the foot of Table Mountain; and the tribes of heaths are numerous, and, it may well be said, most truly elegant. Nor are the swampy parts of the summit of Table Mountain without their attractions:—there are seen two species of heaths, the *Cenæa mucronata*, and the *Physodes*, whose delicate blossoms are glazed by a glutinous coating, which exhibits a most delicious appearance when cheered by the beam of a meridian sun.

“ These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good !

“ Almighty ! ”

The division of the year at the Cape is into four parts, as in the countries of Europe:—from September to the commencement of December, spring; from December to March, summer; from March to June, autumn; and from June to September, winter.

The approach of winter is generally remarked by the subsiding of the winds, and the disappearance of a fleecy cloud on Table Mountain, which is not improperly called its table-cloth. These tokens are usually succeeded by fogs, dews, and cold north-westerly winds,—storms of thunder, lightning, and rain;—in about three days the atmosphere brightens, the conti-

mental mountains appear covered with snow, and a light sprinkling of snow or hail is observed about the head of the Table. The standard of temperature at Cape Town, during winter, is from fifty degrees at sunrise to sixty at noon; in summer the variation of the thermometer is from seventy to ninety degrees. The smallest change of the barometer is a sure sign of an alteration in the weather, since the greatest range is very inconsiderable.

Mr. Barrow's departure from the Cape was appointed for the 1st of July, 1797; and the first place mentioned, after our traveller had bade adieu to his friends, is Strickland. At no great distance is a hill called 'the Paarlberg,' from a chain of large round stones that encircle its summit, like the pearls of a necklace. The whole of this hill is ornamented with the beautiful flowers and shrubs peculiar to the Cape; and is rendered more striking by the presence of several species of the *Certhia*, or creeper, whose brilliant plumage, fluttering amidst the blossoms, so far solicits and obtains the notice of the admiring passenger, that he forgets every thing in contemplating its beauties. The lovely birds sit perched on the edge of the corollas, extracting, with their sickle-shaped bills, the sweet juice from the *Mellifera*; or they are heard warbling the most delightful notes in this charming shrubbery.

While Mr. Barrow was at Franche Hock, the people were busied gathering in their vines: these vines are planted in the same manner we plant gooseberry-bushes in England, and, requiring no standard, or prop, repay the labour of the husbandman better than any other kind of produce. One acre of land will yield five

thousand stocks of vines, and this will produce a pipe of 154 gallons of wine. The retail price at the Cape is from ten to thirty pounds sterling. The sort denominated "Cape Madeira" sells at twelve pounds per pipe, as also a tart pleasant wine, called "the Steen wine." The Cape and its environs produce other kinds of wine, many of them extremely luscious. The peculiar taste noticed in all Cape liquors probably arises from the grapes hanging so near the earth. In this neighbourhood is also found a curious animal, like an antelope:—it is called the "rock-leaper:" its hoofs are cloven, subdivided into two segments, and indented at the edges, by which it readily adheres to the steep sides of rock without slipping: its hair is of a greyish colour, extremely light, and so brittle that it breaks in the hand upon the slightest touch: it is furnished with short, black, and erect horns, annulated a little above the base.

Crossing the brook of Geelbeck, Barrow observed a marsh which was lightly sprinkled with a fine powdery substance, similar in its appearance to snow: it was found to encircle the roots of a frutescent plant, which was apparently a species of saltwort: the woody branches of the plant were closely surrounded by minute fleshy leaves. Mr. Barrow collected a quantity of the powder, with some sand, from which he obtained some crystals of pure solid nitre, by boiling the solution, and evaporating the water; the liquor also produced a small quantity of a different alkaline salt. From the ashes of this plant, known by the name of *Canna*, almost all the soap used in the colony is manufactured.

Ostriches are commonly seen on the great deserts,

whose black and white plumes, moving in the wind, serve to direct the Hottentots to their nests. Several females often lay their eggs in the same nest, which they hatch together, with the assistance of a male, who regularly takes his turn of sitting. The eggs are considered as a delicacy, and are prepared in various ways.

Travelling for a length of time over a barren and uninteresting country, our traveller at last arrived at Zwartebery. The rapidity of vegetation at this place was truly astonishing, when we reflect that the summits of the neighbouring mountains were yet covered with snow. The peach and almond were in full blossom, the oranges ripe, and the vegetables so luxuriant, that (listen, oh ye gardeners!) many of the cauliflowers were eighteen inches in diameter. From the facility with which the inhabitants of this spot obtain nutritious food, they grow to an immense size, and have, by some, been considered a race of giants.

In the extensive plain called De Beer Valley, the springbok is said to be seen in herds to the number of ten thousand each. The strength and elasticity of its muscles is such, that it has been known to spring from fifteen to five-and-twenty feet at a single leap: its common pace is a constant jumping, with all its legs stretched out at the same time, while the hair at its rump divides at every spring, and displays a surface of unrivalled whiteness. The gemsbok is larger than the springbok, and is a very courageous animal: its flesh is considered of a very superior flavour. The koodon is about the size of an ass, but considerably longer: its body is of a mouse-colour, with a few white spots on the hinder parts: its spiral horns are thirty-six

inches in length: the neck is furnished with a short mane: its flesh is dry and insipid.

After traversing districts alternately barren and ornamented with the choicest shrubs and flowers of Africa, Mr. Barrow at length arrived at Algoa Bay, a distance of about five hundred miles from the Cape. The extent of the Bay itself may be twenty miles. Fifteen miles westward of the Bay, the shore is skirted by a grand and romantic forest, where trees of various sorts and dimensions cover many thousand acres of ground. Amongst these, the *yellow wood* frequently grows to the height of forty feet in trunk, clear of branches, and ten in diameter. The *iron wood* is also lofty, about three feet in diameter, close-grained, hard, and ponderous. The *stinking wood*, so called from its offensive odour, is but little inferior in size to the yellow wood, and is indisputably the finest timber in the country: its grain and shading nearly resemble the walnut;—some beautiful furniture might be made of it, and it would be serviceable for the purposes of ship-building. The *nasagal hout* is another fine tree: its grain is closer and darker than common mahogany.

Near to the Bay is found a species of antelope, called the *red goat*. In size and colour it resembles the blue antelope: its horns are near a foot in length, inclining forwards, and annulated about three inches above the base: its throat is covered with a crest of short hair.

It was now Mr. Barrow's intention to proceed towards Caffraria; and many persons joined his party. They soon found themselves among the Caffres, and, amidst several hundreds of them, formed an encampment. The females of the country first endeavoured

to attract our traveller's attention;—he describes them as of short stature and brown complexion, curious and sportive, but withal extremely modest. The men were tall, robust, and muscular—possessed of a peculiar firmness of carriage, and an open ingenuousness of countenance: their skins were extremely dark,—they rubbed them and their short curly hair with a solution of red ochre: some of the men had cloaks of skins, others were naked. The women had on long cloaks; and on their heads they wore leathern caps, ornamented with shells, &c.

In the course of a few days, the party arrived at the temporary residence of the monarch of Caffraria.

The natives of Caffraria, taken collectively, are probably superior in figure to any other nation upon earth: they are strangers to many of the vices and diseases which enervate the European; their diet is simple, and the air they breathe salubrious; they are strangers to languor and melancholy; their countenances are always cheerful; and their general carriage bespeaks a mind happy and contented. Polygamy is allowed, but few except the chiefs have more than one wife;—infidelity is punished by a fine; and the husband is permitted, if he likes, to repudiate his frail partner. Murder is punished by instant death, unless the crime arise from accident, in which case a fine is imposed. Thieves are merely compelled to restore the stolen property. Perhaps the most singular custom prevalent in Caffraria is the manner of the disposal of their dead:—their chiefs are usually buried in very deep holes, under the places that are appointed for the nocturnal repose of the oxen; and their children are commonly deposited

in excavated ant-hills: but all other persons are on their decease exposed to the wolves, which animal is held sacred in Caffraria.

Leaving the residence of the Caffre monarch, which presented nothing remarkable, Mr. Barrow proceeded to Sunday River, Windy Corner; and in a few days encamped at the foot of a mountain that forms one of the highest points in Southern Africa. The streams which glided along the plain were abundantly covered with reeds, and frequented by flocks of small birds, among which were noticed the *grenadier* and the *long-tailed finch*, the former of a greyish-brown colour, except in the summer months, when the feathers of the male assume a beautiful crimson on the neck, breast, and back; and on the throat and belly they are of a glossy black. The long-tailed finch is subject to greater and more curious changes: the feathers of the tail of the male, which are fifteen inches long, though the body is barely five, are placed in similar proportions to those of the domestic cock; but this only continues to the winter, when it is brown, short, and horizontal, like that of the female. The construction of their nests is singular;—thirty or forty of them have been discovered in one clump of reeds.

Quitting the open country of Sneubergh, our traveller proceeded northward, and encamped at Gordons Fonteyn, in the vicinity of the last Christian habitation in that part of the colony. Having procured an additional escort, Barrow proceeded to the boundary between the colony and the country of the Bosjesmans. Here they found, amongst the bushes, a vast number

of nests of surprising size, and inhabited by numerous flocks of small birds: they were immediately recognized as *locust-eaters*. The bird is migratory, and apparently of the thrush species: it is only to be seen in places frequented by the locusts: its head, breast, and back are of a pale cinereous colour; the belly white; the wings and tail black; the throat marked with two naked black channels. The nests, which at a distance appear to be so large, consist of several little cells, each of them forming a distinct nest, with a tube leading to it from the side.

The party soon proceeded to a *craal*, which contained about five-and-twenty huts, each about one yard high and four feet wide, with a hollow place in the middle of the ground, resembling the nest of an ostrich. In this hollow was a little grass, serving the purpose of a bed, in which the inhabitants lay coiled up after the fashion of some quadrupeds. The men were without clothing, and rendered more disgusting by a porcupine's quill, or a piece of wood, which was passed through their nose. The females wore a small belt of springbok's skin, and had their heads fancifully adorned. The people were of diminutive stature,—the tallest man four feet nine, the most gigantic woman four feet four: they are uncommonly agile, will leap the most frightful precipices, and outstrip the fleetest horse: they are cheerful and active; and it is only when they have failed in entrapping their lawful game, that these Bosjesmans take the liberty of attacking the herds of the farmers in the colony. Their customs are, in general, similar to those of the **Hottentots**.

The fatigue of the excursion to the *Sow Mountain* was amply compensated by a sight of many beautiful plants.

Mr. Barrow had been very eager to gain a sight of the drawing of a unicorn, by the Bosjesmans. Hitherto he had failed; but a guide now promised to conduct him to where the representation of a unicorn might be discovered among the drawings of the Bosjesmans. Passing a country equally romantic and fertile, the party arrived under a long projecting ridge of sandstone. Several sketches of various animals were observed, and many ludicrous caricatures of the colonists; but the grand object of research was yet wanting. Several excavations in the kloofs of the mountains were examined, and at length a deep cave was discovered;—in it were various representations, one evidently intended for an animal with a single horn projecting from its forehead: the only distinct parts, however, were the head and neck,—the body had been erased to make room for that of an elephant.

Near to the Baboon River, Barrow observed the country embellished with spreading mimosas, whose golden clusters hung in rich luxuriance, and afforded employment to myriads of bees, whose honey was found suspended in large quantities from the adjacent rocks. The nests of the bees are easily found by the Hottentots, who rely implicitly on the direction of a little brown bird, denominated the *indicator*, or honey-bird. This little creature, having discovered a nest, flies in quest of some one, and, by its whistling and chirping, allures the individual to the place.

For very many successive days and weeks Mr. Barrow

journeyed onwards with but little to interest. He arrived at the Bavian's Kloof, where he was surprised and delighted to witness the effect which the pious efforts of the modest Moravian Missionaries had already produced among the Hottentots. Proceeding in a westerly direction, Mr. Barrow reached Hottentot's Holland Kloof, from whence he had a magnificent view of Cape Town and the sweeping shores of the two great bays. In a few days he arrived at the town.

Three months, however, had scarcely elapsed, when Mr. Barrow announced his determination of making a tour to the northern part of the settlement, along the western coast; and on the 10th of April he set out. After two days' journey our traveller came to Greone Kloof, and from thence he crossed to Saldanha Bay, which he considers as a most secure and commodious sheet of inland sea-water;—in length it is about fifteen miles, and its entrance is masked by three rocky islands, which, if properly fortified, would render the bay inaccessible to an enemy's fleet. After crossing the Berg River, Mr. Barrow found his progress considerably impeded by the extreme heaviness of the roads. After a slow and tedious progress of upwards of thirty miles, he arrived at the Piquet Berg, beyond which a grand and curious spectacle presented itself,—a multitude of pyramidical columns, many of which were several hundred feet in height, and as many in diameter, rising out of the coarse crystallized sand; and fragments of sandstone along the summit, which were several miles in width, and only bounded in length by the horizon. From the cavernous appearance of these columns, which had so well resisted the ravages of time, and the coarse

sand with which their bases were enveloped, it was apparent that they were originally united, and in all probability might then form one connected mountain, similar in its appearance to the northern range.

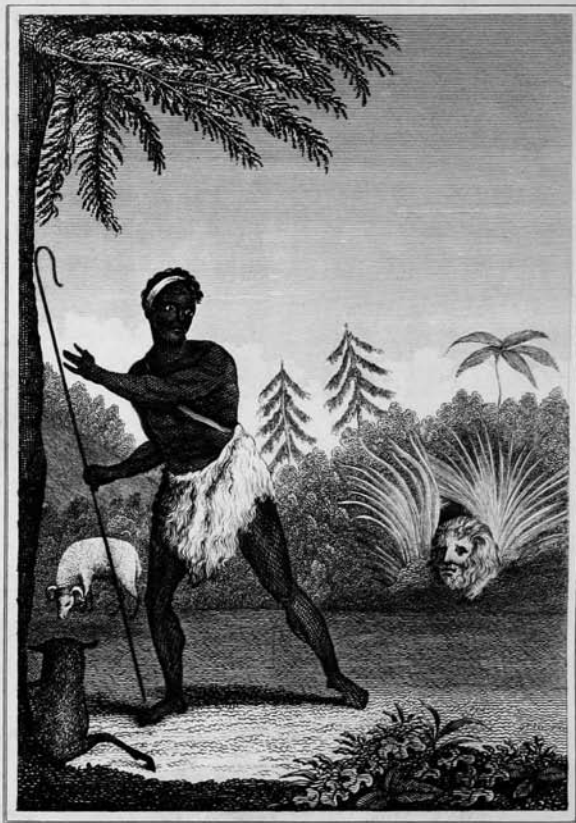
Mr. Barrow soon after crossed the Elephant River at a part where the banks were covered with a luxuriance of rice, that vied in whiteness with the falling snow. On approaching the summit of a chain of mountains, many of whose romantic and varied peaks were a thousand feet in height, the weather suddenly changed from a mild and serene temperature to a perfect hurricane, which roared with terrific power amidst the excavations. Yet even in this spot a peasant had erected his little hut;—close to it was a spring, and round the sequestered dwelling a few roods of earth were cultivated, just sufficient to supply the man with bread.

Having crossed the Desert, they came to a narrow pass among the hills, which is considered the commencement of the Namaqua country;—they then arrived at the bed of the Hartebeest River, which, though finely shaded by the mimosas, was perfectly dry. By digging about five feet under the pebbly and crystallized sand, a fine stream of fresh water was discovered; and Mr. Barrow seems inclined to believe, from this and similar experiments, that many of the African rivers are supplied with such subterraneous waters.

The natives of the place where our traveller then was could neither understand the language of the Hottentots, nor the Dutch,—he proceeded to the house of a Dutch peasant. He was a tall old man, with a

sallow visage, straggling hair, and a dingy beard. Unaccustomed to the visits of strangers, he was agitated at our traveller's entrance. In the chimney-corner was an ancient matron, whose face was as black as that of her bearded master; and a female slave, whose appearance was not more prepossessing. Nevertheless dinner was ordered;—a quarter of a sheep was broiled, and served up on the lid of a chest, which was covered with a piece of cloth exactly similar to that which composed the petticoat of the damsel who prepared the feast. The good landlord was by no means in the pitiable condition he appeared: he was rich in flocks and herds, and had large sums of money placed out at interest.

Previous to Mr. Barrow's arrival at this place, a considerable sensation had been produced in the country by the following circumstance:—A Hottentot, who had for some time endeavoured to drive his master's cattle to a pool of water, suddenly beheld a monstrous lion couching in the midst of the pool, with his eyes glaring upon him. Alarmed at so unexpected an occurrence, he instantly ran through the herd, in the hope of escaping the dreadful pursuit, thinking that the animal would doubtless sacrifice the first beast that came in his way. The poor native was, however, lamentably mistaken;—he turned his head—he perceived the lion had already passed the cattle, and was following him with all the expedition in his power. Breathless, and nearly fainting with terror, (as who would not have been?) the miserable Hottentot climbed up an aloe-tree, the trunk of which had fortunately been lately cut into steps. At the same instant, the



A Hottentot Shepherd attacked by a Lion.

lion sprang towards his victim, and—missed him—and fell to the earth. But, alas! poor Hottentot! your enemy did not retire when he had recovered himself;—he was not seen bounding away to his distant thicket, there to ruminate over his disappointment, and plan new and more successful excursions;—no, the creature sat himself down at the foot of the tree, and quietly remained there the goodly space of four-and-twenty hours. Thus, then, if we may be permitted to liken a Hottentot to an English monarch, was our friend in Africa placed in a similar predicament to his most sacred and yet most facetious Majesty King Charles the Second, of famous oak-tree memory, with, however, it must fairly be owned, this difference:—the Hottentot's enemy could not ascend the tree, but he might starve out the inhabitant thereof; while the funny monarch and his friend the Colonel were aware that other animals of a similar species to themselves could ascend the broad branches of an oak, and at “one fell swoop” do away with old Rowley and Colonel Carlis into the bargain. At the expiration of twenty-four hours, the lion felt himself thirsty, and retired to a neighbouring pool. His absence was the moment of exultation and deliverance;—the Hottentot leaped from the tree, and, in the bosom of his happy family, forgot the dangers which had passed. Yet he did not do this quite so easily as may be imagined: this king of the forest returned, and, without ceremony, ventured to approach within three hundred yards of the Hottentot's dwelling;—there, however, he was good enough to turn to the right-about, and finally relinquished his game.

One day, Mr. Barrow was compelled to take shelter in the hut of a Namaaquas chief, who was a great sportsman. The hut was covered on the inside with trophies of his victories over the beasts of the desert. He affirmed that in one excursion he had killed three white rhinoceroses and seven cameleopardales.

In a conversation with a native of a country which extends along the sea-coast for some distance beyond Orange River, Mr. Barrow learned that it is richly furnished with copper ore, from which the Damacas (such is the country called) extract the pure metal in the following manner:—Having made a sort of charcoal from the wood of their mimosas, the flame of which is smothered by sand, they break the ore into small pieces, and lay an alternate strata of the materials in a small enclosure of stones: the charcoal is then kindled, and blown with several pair of bellows curiously made of gemsbok's skins, and furnished, in the place of pipes, with the horns of that animal. In this manner, then, is the copper obtained in its pure metallic state. It is then manufactured into bracelets, rings, &c. by means of two stones, which supply the want of an anvil and hammer. The rings and the links of their chains are open, and they have not yet discovered the art of soldering; but upon the whole the workmanship is good.

It appeared, even in Mr. Barrow's time, that the Moravian Missionaries had penetrated into the country of the Namaaquas, by whose admirable conduct and truly Christian advice it may be fairly hoped that these savages will learn to place confidence in persons of a different complexion to themselves, and will be con-

vinced that the present government of the colony is widely different from that which so iniquitously sanctioned the Dutch peasantry in the most cruel and lawless oppression.

Pursuing his course, Mr. Barrow had the satisfaction to heal a wound inflicted by a poisoned arrow. Near to Hantam the travellers saw a troop of locusts:—"For several hours," says Barrow, "they continued to hover in the air at such a height as not to be individually distinguished; but their immense number formed a kind of cloud, that completely took off the radiated beams of the sun, and cast a confused shadow upon the ground." In some places, where the locusts had been particularly troublesome, the farmers got rid of them by kindling fires of some acrid plants: these soon created such an insufferable smoke, that the locusts were glad to emigrate.

In crossing the Reggeveld Mountains, Mr. Barrow met with a species of bird called the *condor*. Its size was indeed immense,—the spread of its wings ten feet one inch; and its strength so considerable, that, after one of the wings had been broken by a gunshot, it kept three dogs at bay for a length of time, and at last seized one of them with its claws, tore away some of its flesh, and compelled the whole trio to renounce further hostility.

Near the Olifants River is a spring of chalybeate water, whose temperature is 108 degrees of Fahrenheit.

After crossing the Berg River, and passing through Zwartland, Mr. Barrow pursued his journey across the Tiger Mountain, from whence he proceeded to the Cape, where he arrived on the 2d of June, 1798.

CAPTAIN PARRY'S VOYAGES.



THE failure of the expedition in search for a North-west Passage, under the command of Captain Ross, in the year 1818, induced the Lords of the Admiralty to make another experiment; and accordingly the *Hecla* and the *Griper*, properly fitted out for the undertaking, were placed under the command of Lieutenant William Edward Parry, a gentleman highly qualified for an undertaking perilous in itself, and rendered more peculiarly so by the failure of Captain Ross.

The *Hecla* was a bomb of 375 tons, built in a merchant's yard at Hull, and was in every respect fit for the service. The *Griper* was originally a gun-brig of 180 tons. The ships were completely furnished with provisions and stores for a period of two years, and every possible precaution was taken to secure at once the comfort and the health of the daring navigators. The main object of the expedition was to endeavour to find a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; and Captain Parry was also directed to ascertain the correct position of the different points of land on the western shores of Baffin's Bay; to make every possible philosophical observation on the magnetic influence; and to collect, preserve, and bring home

the most interesting specimens from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.

The expedition left the river in the month of May, 1819; and on the 14th of June arrived off Cape Farewell, which is the most southern point of Greenland. They then made an unsuccessful attempt to gain the western coast of Davis' Straits; but were prevented by the ice, and compelled to proceed midway between the coasts. Having thus ascended to 74° north the latitude of Lancaster Sound, to which their attention had been directed in the first instance, and finding the ice still between them and the western coast, they entered the ice, and, after eight days of extraordinary exertion, succeeded in getting into the open water to the west. Having landed at Possession Bay, the place where the former expedition had touched after leaving Lancaster Sound, they entered the strait of that name, on the 1st of August. This inlet was now found to lead direct into the long-sought-for Polar Sea;—it extends about 150 miles in a direction due east and west, the shores bounding it to the north and south being nearly parallel at an average distance apart of from forty to fifty miles. It is very decidedly stated that these shores, though in several places indented so as to form considerable bays, or, perhaps, in some cases, entrances into channels dividing the adjoining lands into islands, yet in no one case were they found to approach in such a manner as by any possibility to cause them to appear to meet. The supposition, therefore, of a high range of land terminating the supposed bay, seems altogether unfounded. To the now-ascertained strait the name of Barrow Strait was given. In this the

water was deep, and clear from ice; but on entering the Polar Sea, the barrier of ice preventing further progress westward, they bent their course in a southerly direction, and entered a large sound, or inlet, of above twenty-five miles in breadth, and which, upon its eastern coast, was sufficiently free from ice. To this inlet they gave the name of Regent Inlet; and down it they sailed one hundred and twenty miles, when, being obstructed by ice, they returned. It is conjectured that there is a communication between this inlet and the north of Hudson's Bay.

Having again reached the western extremity of Barrow's Straits, they found the ice broken up to such an extent that they were enabled to proceed westward. Here the sea was open, and clear from ice both to the north and to the west, in which latter direction, however, land was still visible; and the vessels pursued their course, passing a number of islands, some presenting rocky cliffs, others again low, and apparently sandy. One of these is of a large size, and to it they gave the name of Byam Martin Island. Upon it they found the relics of huts which had belonged to the Esquimaux, and also the horns and some of the bones of musk-oxen and rein-deer. Proceeding westward, they, on the 6th of September, attained by longitude 110° the meridian of the Copper-mine River. Here they discovered a very large island, extending from long. 106° W. to 115° , and in lat. $74^{\circ} 30''$ to nearly 76° . To this island they gave the name of Melville Island. From long. 96° to 110° W, the sea appeared free from land, though completely frozen up in a southerly direction (off the north boundary of Ame-

rica); but land, probably an island, was discovered in long. 112° to 114° , being very distant to the southward. On the 8th of September they attained to the long. of 112° W.; and, finding the ice rapidly increasing, and every appearance of the commencement of the polar winter, with violent north-westerly gales, they retreated on the 22d, and on the 26th anchored in a small bay on the south coast of Melville's Island, in about five fathoms water, and within two hundred yards of the shore. The latitude of this harbour is $74^{\circ} 45''$ N., and its longitude very nearly 111° W. They experienced considerable difficulty in reaching it, from the rapid accumulation of ice, through which they were obliged to cut a passage for three miles. Here the ships were imprisoned during a period of three hundred and ten days. On the 31st of July, 1820, the ice began to break. On the 6th of August the ships proceeded towards the western extremity of Melville's Island, in long. 114° , when, owing to the immense barriers of ice, further progress became impossible, and the vessels, returning through the Polar Sea, Barrow's Straits, and Lancaster Sound, into Baffin's Bay, sailed directly homewards.

Such is a brief account of the geographical proceedings of Captain Parry; and we now turn to some of the more prominent and interesting proceedings and observations connected with the voyage, and shall also enter into some detail as to the manner in which these brave men passed their time during their sojourn in Winter Harbour.

“Having,” says Captain Parry, “reached the station where in all probability we were destined to re-

main at least eight or nine months, during three of which we were not to see the face of the sun, my attention was immediately and imperiously called to various important duties. Not a moment was lost, therefore, in the commencement of our operations. The whole of the masts were dismantled, except the lower ones and the Hecla's main-top mast; the latter being kept fidded for the purpose of occasionally hoisting up the electrometer chain, to try the effect of atmospherical electricity." When the ships were secured, Captain Parry's attention was directed to the comfort of the officers and men, and to the preservation of that health which, under Providence, they had all hitherto enjoyed.

Such arrangements were made for the warmth and dryness of the births as circumstances seemed to require; and some difficulties were to be overcome which could not perhaps have been anticipated. Soon after their arrival in Winter Harbour, and when the temperature of the atmosphere had fallen below zero of Fahrenheit, it was found that the steam from the coppers, and the breath and other vapour generated in the inhabited part of the ship, had begun to condense into drops on the beams and sides of the vessel to such a degree as to keep them continually wet. For the purpose of removing this serious inconvenience, Captain Parry tells us, that "a large stone oven, cased with cast iron, in which all our bread was baked during the winter, was placed on the main hatchway, and the stove-pipe laid fore and aft on one side of the lower deck, the smoke being thus carried up the lower hatchway. On the opposite side of the deck an apparatus had been attached to the

galley-range for the purpose of conveying a current of heated air between decks. This apparatus simply consisted of an iron box, or air-vessel, about fifteen inches square, through which passed three pipes of two inches diameter, communicating from below with the external air, and uniting above in a metal box fixed to the side of a galley-range;—to this box a copper stove-pipe was attached, and conveyed to the middle part of the lower deck. When a fire was made under the air-vessel, the air became heated in its passage through the three pipes, from which it was conveyed through the stove-pipe to the men's births. While this apparatus was in good order, a moderate fire produced a current of air of the temperature of 87°, at the distance of seventeen feet from the fire-place; and, with a pipe of wood, or any other imperfect conductor of heat, which would not allow of its escaping by the way, it might undoubtedly be carried to a much greater distance. By these means we were enabled to get rid of the moisture about the births when the people reposed; but when the weather became more seriously cold, it still accumulated in the bed-places occasionally to a serious and alarming degree. Among the means employed to prevent the injurious effects arising from this annoyance, one of the most efficacious, perhaps, was a screen, made of fear-nought, fixed to the beams round the galley, and dropping within eighteen inches of the deck, which served to intercept the steam from the coppers, and prevent it as before from curling along the beams and condensing upon them into drops. This screen was especially useful at the time of drawing off the beer, which we had lately been in the habit

of brewing from essence of malt and hops, and which continued to be served for several weeks as a substitute for part of the usual allowance of spirits. We found the steam arising from this process so annoying during the cold weather, that, valuable as the beer must be considered as an antiscorbutic beverage, it was deemed advisable to discontinue our brewery on that account. While on this subject, I may also add that when the weather became severely cold we could not get the beer to ferment so as to make it palatable."

The greatest attention seems to have been paid to the quantity of the food, which was permanently diminished one-third; and in the article of fuel the most rigid economy was adopted. The men were regularly mustered for inspection morning and night, at which times Captain Parry regularly visited every part of the ship, accompanied by Lieutenant Beechey and Mr. Edwards. For the purpose of amusing the men during the long series of comparative inactivity, Captain Parry proposed to the officers to get up a play occasionally on-board the *Hecla*;—to this they very readily acceded, and on the 5th of November the first performance was exhibited. A weekly newspaper was also set on foot, called "The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle," of which Captain Sabine undertook to be the editor, under the promise that it was to be supported by original contributions from the officers of the two ships. These weekly contributions had the happy effect of employing the leisure hours of those who furnished them, and of diverting the mind from the gloomy prospect which would sometimes obtrude itself on even the stoutest heart.

An observatory was erected on shore with a quantity of fir plank; and, as its walls were double, with moss placed between them, it was not difficult, even in the severest weather, and with a single stove, to obtain a high temperature.

After the arrival of the ships in Winter Harbour, several rein-deer and a few coveys of grouse were seen; but the sportsmen were not successful in their pursuit of game, for only three rein-deer were procured previous to their migration, and that of the other animals, from the island. Wolves and foxes, indeed, remained during the winter. The full-grown deer killed in the autumn gave from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and seventy pounds of meat;—a fawn weighed eighty-four pounds.

Captain Parry mentions the effect which severe cold has in benumbing the mental as well as the corporeal faculties:—it was striking in a man named Pearson, and in two young gentlemen who had been induced to remain on shore longer than they should have done. Pearson, indeed, lost some of his fingers; and was only saved by a sort of miracle from falling a victim to the inclemency of the weather. When he and the young gentlemen to whom we have alluded went into the captain's cabin, they spoke wildly and indistinctly; indeed a rational answer could not be drawn from them. They appeared as if they were suffering from the effect of intoxication.

On the 20th of October the Aurora Borealis was observed, forming a broad arch of irregular white light, extending from N. N. W. to S. S. E.; the centre of the arch being 10° to the eastward of the zenith. It

was brightest near the southern horizon ; and frequent but not vivid corruscations were seen shooting from its upper side towards the zenith. The magnetic needle was not sensibly affected. Towards the latter end of October nothing could exceed the beauty of the sky to the south-east and south-west, at sunrise and sunset. Near the horizon there was generally a rich bluish-purple, and a bright arch of deep red above, the one mingling imperceptibly with the other. It soon became rather a painful experiment to touch any metallic substance in the open air with the naked hand ; so that the instruments were to be handled with great caution : and one curious effect of cold was observed upon them :—if an instrument had been for some time exposed to the atmosphere, so as to be cooled down to the same temperature, and was then suddenly brought down into the cabin, the vapour was instantly condensed around it so as to give it the appearance of smoking, and the glasses were covered almost instantaneously with a thin coating of ice, the removal of which required great nicety, to prevent the risk of injuring them, until it had gradually thawed, as they acquired the temperature of the cabin. If you placed a candle in a certain direction from [the instrument, with respect to the observer, a number of very minute *spiculæ* of snow were also seen sparkling around the instrument, at the distance of two or three inches from it, occasioned, as was supposed, by the cold atmosphere produced by the low temperature of the instrument almost instantaneously congealing into that form the vapour which floated in its immediate neighbourhood.

The 4th of November was the last day on which

the sun would, independently of the effects of refraction, be seen above the horizon till the 8th day of February.

On the 5th of November, the theatre opened with "Miss in her Teens," which afforded to the men so much delight, that Captain Parry determined to follow up the amusement. The fitting-up of the theatre, and pulling it to pieces again, occupied the men four or five days; and this was a matter of no trivial importance under existing circumstances. In fact, the want of employment for the crew was what Captain Parry dreaded more than any thing.

About the time of the sun's leaving this dreary region, the wolves began to approach the ships more boldly, howling most piteously;—although suffering from hunger, they never attempted to attack the men. The white foxes visited the ships at night; and one of them was caught in a trap set under the Griper's bows.

On the 17th of November, a remarkable variety of the Aurora Borealis was seen by some of the officers. Lieutenant Beechey says, "Clouds of a light-brown colour were seen diverging from a point near the horizon, bearing S. W. by S., and shooting pencils of rays upwards at an angle of about 45° with the horizon. These rays, however, were not stationary as to their position, but were occasionally extended and contracted. From behind these, as it appeared to us, flashes of white light were repeatedly seen, which sometimes streamed across to the opposite horizon; some passing through the zenith, others at a considerable distance on each side of it. This phenomenon continued to display itself brilliantly for half-an-hour, and then became gradually fainter, till it disappeared about four o'clock.

The sun, at the time of the first appearance of this meteor, was on nearly the same bearing, and about 5° below the horizon.

During the three months of almost total darkness, the officers and men continued healthy, cheerful, and constantly employed. The officers and quarter-masters were divided into four watches, which were regularly kept: the remainder of the ship's company were allowed to enjoy their night's rest undisturbed. The hands were turned up at a quarter before six, and both decks were well rubbed with stones and warm sand before eight o'clock, at which time, as usual at sea, officers and men went to breakfast. After breakfast, and after the men had been inspected by the officers as to their state of personal cleanliness and good condition, they were permitted to walk, or rather run, upon the upper deck for some time, while Captain Parry went below to examine the state of their births, &c. Every precaution was taken to remove dampness, or, what more frequently happened, an accumulation of ice, and no part of the vessel escaped the most minute inspection. At this time, too, the commander had an opportunity of seeing the few sick men on-board, and inquiring as to their progress towards recovery. On his return to the upper deck, he generally inspected the men himself; and then, if the weather would permit, allowed them to run on shore. If they could not go on shore, they were ordered to run round and round the deck, keeping step to a tune on an organ, or not unfrequently to a song of their own. The men dined at noon, the officers at two o'clock.

The scene, when viewed from shore, on one of

those clear yet almost dark days which now and then occurred, induced contemplations which gave birth to melancholy more than to any other feeling. Not an object was to be seen on which the eye could long rest with pleasure, unless when directed to where the ships lay, and the little colony was planted. The smoke which there issued from the several fires indicated the presence of man, gave a partial cheerfulness to the prospect, and the sound of voices, heard during the time of extreme cold to a great distance, broke the stillness of the scene;—except at the moments when these voices were heard, it was the stillness of death—of dreary desolation—and the total absence of animated existence. At such a time, and in such a scene, the thoughts of these hardy men would often wander homewards; and they would sigh when they reflected on the many blessings which attach to the white cliffs of Albion, and the dear beings they had left there. In scenes less desolate, the value and the charms of *home* are acknowledged.

In the afternoon the men were usually employed in drawing and knotting yarns, and in making points and gaskets. At half-past five in the evening the decks were again cleared up, and the men at six were again beat to divisions;—a similar examination to what occurred in the morning took place, and afterwards the men went to supper and the officers to their tea. After supper, the crews were permitted to amuse themselves as they pleased till nine o'clock, when they went to bed. At half-past ten the officers retired. In this manner, then, did the days pass, the necessary duties about the ship occupying also some time. On Sundays the men

attended divine service on-board their vessels; and it was impossible that any set of persons could pay more devout or serious attention to their religious duties.

The theatrical entertainments came regularly once a-fortnight, and continued to prove a source of infinite amusement.

The North Georgia Gazette was productive of constant pleasure, not only to the contributors, but to those who, from diffidence in their own powers, dared not attempt to seek a place in its columns.

The return of each successive day had been always very decidedly marked by a considerable twilight for some time about noon, that on the shortest day enabled them to walk out for two hours. There was usually, in clear weather, a beautiful arch of bright-red light overspreading the southern horizon for an hour or two before and after noon; the light increasing in strength as the sun approached the meridian.

On Christmas-day the weather was raw and cold. To mark this happy day in the best manner circumstances would admit, divine service was performed on-board the ships, a small increase of allowance was given to the crews of the vessels, and the officers partook of a social meal. Not the slightest impropriety occurred on-board the vessels; and the men, thankful and happy, retired to rest, under the protection of a wise and good Providence, who is present wheresoever we may go.

On the morning of the 16th of January, a cross appeared about the moon, consisting of vertical and horizontal rays of white light: the thermometer was at 44° in the early part of the day, but it fell considerably in the course of the morning.

The 7th of January was one of the severest days to the feelings that was experienced during the winter. It is impossible to conceive any thing more inclement than such a day. About this time the beautiful *aurora borealis* was frequently seen; but the only very brilliant and diversified display of it occurred on the evening of the 15th. The following interesting account of it was given by Captain Sabine:—

“ Mr. Edwards, from whom we first heard that the aurora borealis was visible, described it as forming a complete arch, having the legs nearly north and south of each other, and passing a little to the eastward of the zenith. When I went upon the ice, the arch had broken up towards the southern horizon, and was the ordinary aurora, such as we had lately seen on clear nights, being a pale light apparently issuing from behind an obscure cloud, at from six to twelve degrees of altitude, extending more or less towards the east or west on different nights, and at different times of the same night, having no determined centre or point of bisection; the greater part, and even at times the whole, of the luminous appearance being sometimes to the east, sometimes to the west of south, but rarely seen in the northern horizon, or beyond the east and west points of the heavens. This corresponds with the aurora most commonly noticed in Britain, except that it is as peculiar to the northern as here to the southern horizon, occasionally shooting upwards in rays or gleams of light. It was not distinguished by any unusual brilliancy or extent on this occasion, the splendid part of the phenomenon being detached, and apparently quite distinct. The luminous arch had

broken into irregular masses, streaming with much rapidity in different directions, varying continually in shape and intensity, and extending themselves from north, by the east, to south. If the surface of the heavens be supposed to be divided by a plane passing through the meridian, the aurora was confined, during the time I saw it, to the eastern side of the plane, and was usually most vivid, and in larger masses, in the E. S. E. than elsewhere. Mr. Parry and I noticed to each other, that, where the aurora was very brilliant, the stars seen through it were somewhat dimmed; though this remark is somewhat contrary to former experience.

“The distribution of light has been described as irregular, and in constant change; the various masses, however, seemed to have a tendency to arrange themselves into two arches, one passing near the zenith, and a second about midway between the zenith and the horizon, both having generally a north and south direction, but curving towards each other, so that their legs produced would complete an eclipse: these arches were as quickly dispersed as formed. At one time, a part of the arch near the zenith was bent into convolutions resembling those of a snake in motion, and undulating rapidly; an appearance which we had not before observed. The end towards the north was also bent like a shepherd’s crook, which is not uncommon. It is difficult to compare the light produced by an aurora with that of the moon, because the shadows are rendered faint and indistinct by reason of the general diffusion of the aurora; but I should think the effect of the one now described scarcely equal to that of the

moon when a week old. The usual pale light of the aurora strongly resembles that produced by the combustion of phosphorus; a very slight tinge of red was noticed on this occasion, when the aurora was most vivid, but no other colours were visible.

“Soon after we returned on-board, the splendid part wholly disappeared, leaving only the ordinary light near the horizon: in other respects the night remained unchanged; but on the following day it blew a fresh gale from the N. and N. N. W. This aurora had the appearance of being very near us; and we listened attentively for the sound which is said sometimes to accompany brilliant displays of this phenomenon, but neither on this nor on any other occasion could we distinguish any.”

On the 25th of January, a wolf crossed the harbour, close to the ships:—it was observed to be quite white: it had a long body, and was extremely lean: it stood higher on its legs than any of the Esquimaux dogs; but in other respects it much resembled them. The tail was long and bushy, and always hanging between the legs; and, while running, the head was kept very low. It is not a little extraordinary that the men were never able either to catch or kill one of these animals, though they were constantly before them for months, and as constantly endeavouring either to destroy or take them.

The immense distance at which sounds were heard in the cold weather has already been mentioned,—the circumstance always afforded matter of surprise, though it was every day occurring. People were often heard, at the distance of a mile, conversing in a common tone

of voice; and one day Captain Parry heard a man singing to himself at even a greater distance. Another curious fact is also mentioned:—Lieutenant Beechey and Messrs. Beverley and Fisher, in the course of a walk which led them to a part of the harbour about two miles distant, and directly to leeward of the ships, were surprised by suddenly perceiving a smell of smoke so strong as even to impede their breathing. After walking a little farther they got rid of it. This shows to what a distance the smoke from the vessels was carried horizontally, owing to the difficulty with which it rises at a low temperature of the atmosphere.

During the latter part of the time the ships were in Winter Harbour, the men occasionally went out on shooting excursions, and frequently returned at night with that painful inflammation in the eyes which is occasioned by intense light from the snow, aided by the warmth from the sun, and called in America “snow-blindness.” Some tribes of American Indians cure this complaint by holding the eyes over the steam of warm water; but our northern travellers found a cooling wash, made of a small quantity of acetate of lead mixed with cold water. This removed the inflammation, and in three or four days the eyes were well.

On the 17th of May, the operation of cutting the ice round the Hecla was performed. The ice alongside the ships was found to be six feet thick. A large hole was dug under the stern, being the same as that in which the tide-pole was placed, in order to enter the saw. This occupied two days. In the meantime all the snow and rubbish were cleared from the ship’s side, leaving only the solid ice to work upon; and a trench,

two feet wide, was cut the whole length of the starboard side, from the stern to the rudder, keeping within an inch or two of the bends. Care was taken here and there to leave a dike, to prevent the water which might ooze into one part from filling up the others in which the men were working. The trench was cut with axes to the depth of four feet and a half, leaving only eighteen inches for the saws to cut, except in those places where the dikes remained. The saw entered the hole under the stern, and was worked in the usual manner, being suspended by a triangle made of three spars,—one cut being made on the outer side of the trench, and a second within an inch or two of the bends, in order to avoid injuring the planks. This operation was a cold and tedious one.

When the ships were fairly afloat, and the extreme severity of the season somewhat abated, Captain Parry determined upon setting out on a journey to examine the extent and productions of Melville Island;—accordingly he selected his party; and on the 1st of June, 1820, he commenced his expedition. The journey, however, was not productive of any great advantage, nor are any incidents related which can give it peculiar interest. They passed deep ravines, and made their way over rough and toilsome roads; and after fifteen days absence returned, to the great joy of the officers and men who had remained at Winter Harbour.

The dissolution of the ice of the harbour went on so rapidly, that, early in July, holes were worked from the pools on the surface quite through to the sea beneath. The ships were ready for sea, and a regular and anxious look-out was kept for any alteration which might fa-

vor a removal from Winter Harbour. On the 1st of August, the ice was sufficiently broken up to allow the anchors to be weighed, and to permit the crews, after a residence, or rather an imprisonment, of ten months, to leave Winter Harbour. During their sojourn there they had frequent hunting-parties, and with various success. For nearly twelve months they were on the shores of Melville Island, during which time they killed 3 musk-oxen, 24 deer, 68 hares, 53 geese, 59 ducks, and 144 ptarmigans, altogether yielding about 3766 pounds of meat.

About the 4th of September, the expedition fell in with the whalers; and on the following day came alongside some islands near Agnes' Monument, on which they discovered the residences of the Esquimaux. When not far from one of these islands, four canoes were seen paddling towards the ships, with great confidence, and without the least sign of fear or suspicion. As they approached the vessels, the Esquimaux called out loudly; but nothing like a song, nor even an articulate sound which could be expressed by words, could be distinguished. Their canoes, by their own desire, and with their assistance, were taken on-board; and the people came up the side of the ship without hesitation. The party consisted of an old man, apparently much above sixty, and three younger men, probably from nineteen to thirty years of age. When on-board, their vociferations seemed to increase with their astonishment and pleasure. If they received a present, or were shown any thing which excited fresh admiration, they expressed their delight by loud ejaculations, which they occasionally continued till they were hoarse and

out of breath. They accompanied these noises with jumping; and the height to which they leaped was in proportion to the satisfaction they received. The old man readily descended into the cabin; the younger men seemed averse from such a step until shamed by the confidence and courage of their elder companion. Although there was no interpreter, yet there was no great difficulty in conversing by signs; and the old gentleman sat for nearly an hour, with tolerable composure, to have his picture taken. It must indeed be confessed, that he was kept quiet by the presents which were from time to time lavished upon him. While the senior thus sat, the juniors were behind him bartering their commodities, with honesty it must be allowed, but yet in such a manner as proved them to be no strangers to traffic. For instance, supposing a knife was offered for any article, they would hesitate for a short time, till they perceived no additional article would be offered, and then they would at once consent to the exchange. After having received any thing, either in the way of bargain or as a present, they immediately licked it twice with their tongues; after which they seemed to consider the business satisfactorily terminated. The youngest of the party very modestly kept somewhat behind his companions, and, before he was observed to have done so, missed several presents, which his less diffident, though not importunate, friends had received. One of the canoes had been purchased by Captain Parry; and therefore, as these vessels will contain but one person, it was necessary its late owner should be landed in a boat. In going ashore it was evident the Esquimaux could, if

they pleased, far outstrip the boat, though they politely kept alongside of her.

On the following day, Captain Parry, Captain Sabine, &c. landed on the island from which the Esquimaux had come, and were speedily joined by the old gentleman and one of his younger companions. They brought with them, as before, some pieces of whale-bone, and seal-skin dresses, which were speedily disposed of, great care being taken by them to produce only one thing at a time. It was difficult to take a drawing of the young man, owing to his inclination to jump about when pleased. As a proof of their good-natured disposition, the younger Esquimaux for awhile employed himself in sharpening the seamens' knives, which he did with considerable expertness on any flat smooth stone, returning each as soon as finished to its proper owner, and making signs that he was in want of another. The old man was very inquisitive, and directed his attention rather to those things which were useful than to those which were merely amusing. "An instance of this occurred," says Captain Parry, "on my ordering a tin canister of preserved meat to be opened for the boat's-crew's dinner:—the old man was sitting on the rock, attentively watching the operation, which was performed by an axe struck by a mallet, when one of the men came up to us with a looking-glass. I held it up to each of the Esquimaux, who had also seen one the preceding evening, and then gave it into each of their hands successively. The younger one was quite in raptures, and literally jumped for nearly a quarter of an hour; but the old man, having had one smile at his own queer face, imme-

diately resumed his former gravity, and, returning me the glass, directed his whole attention to the opening of the canister; and when this was effected, begged very hard for the mallet, which had performed so useful an office, without expressing the least wish to partake of the meat, even when he saw us eating it with good appetites. Being prevailed on, however, to taste a little of it with some biscuit, they did not seem at all to relish it, but ate a small quantity from an evident desire not to offend us, and then deposited the rest safely in their canoes. They could not be persuaded to taste any rum, after once smelling it, even when much diluted with water. I do not know whether it be a circumstance worthy of notice, that when a kaleidoscope or a telescope was given them to look into, they immediately shut one eye; and one of them used the right and the other the left eye."

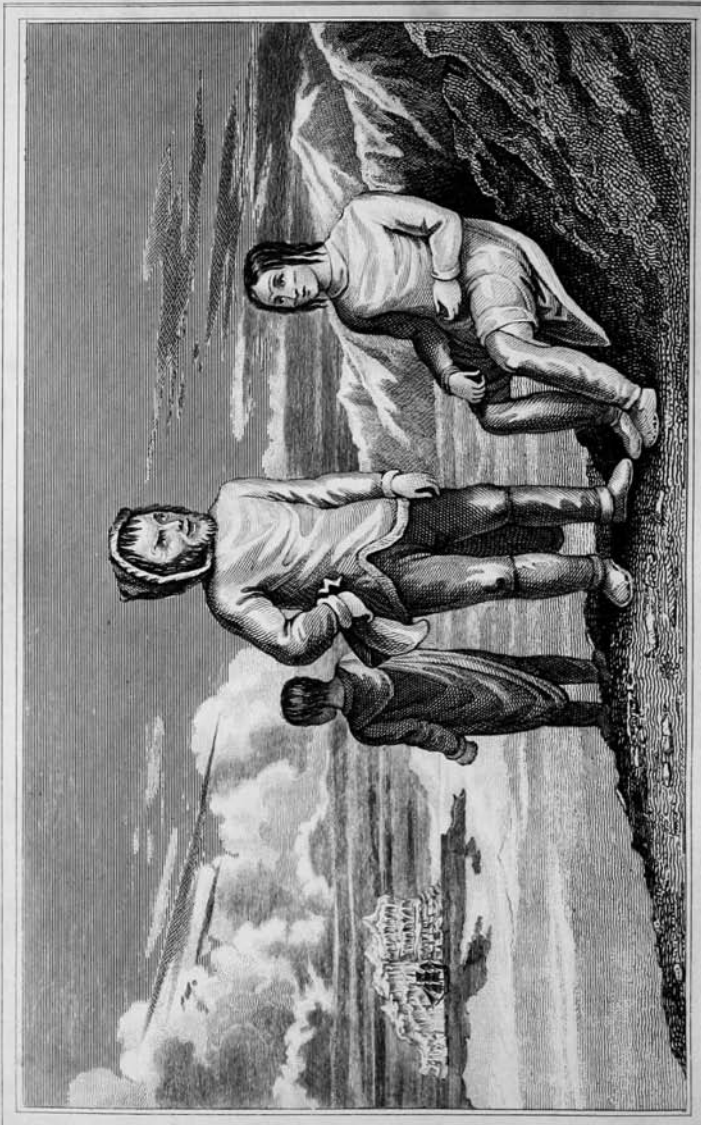
It required no little care and dexterity to get in and out of their canoes so as to preserve the balance: in doing this they usually assisted each other. The young man, in the present instance, assisted his aged friend into his frail bark, and then, with some difficulty, contrived to get into his own. When the boat's-crew commenced rowing, the Esquimaux began to paddle along; and having learned the "Huzza! give way!" of the English sailors, they began most stoutly to vociferate it.

Captain Parry now proceeded to visit two Esquimaux tents, which were in a warm and pleasant situation. When the strangers came in sight of the tents, every living animal there—men, women, children and dogs—were in motion; the latter to the top of the hill

to be out of the way, the others to meet the visitors, loudly and continually shouting "*pilletay!*" (give me); —at least this was the only articulate sound which could be distinguished amidst the general uproar. Besides the four men, who had already been seen, there were four women, one of whom was about the same age with the old man, and therefore probably his wife; the others were about thirty, twenty-two, and nineteen years of age: the women of thirty and twenty-two were supposed to be the wives of the two elder young men; they had infants at their backs, in a kind of bag, much after the same fashion as gipseys are accustomed to carry their children. Moreover there were seven children, from three to twelve years of age, independent of the two infants who were behind the mothers' backs. The market was speedily opened;—knives, axes, brass-kettles, needles, and other articles, were bartered for; and a sledge was purchased by Captain Parry with a number of pikes.

The honesty of these poor Esquimaux was truly extraordinary. It is well known, and we have often had occasion to remark, that the wild and savage inhabitants of other countries are dreadful cheats; these people were strictly just, not merely so far as respected one another, but so far as related to the strangers.

The stature of this tribe, like that of the Esquimaux in general, was far below the usual standard. The height of the old man might be four feet eleven; the younger men were five feet four and a half to five feet six inches in height. In the younger individuals the faces were round and plump, skin smooth, complexion not very dark (except that of the old man), teeth very



ESKIMEAUX OF THE NORTHERN REGION.

white, eyes small, nose broad, but not very flat; hair black, straight and glossy; and their hands and feet extremely diminutive. The grown-up females might be from four feet ten to four feet eleven inches in height. The features of the two youngest were regular; their complexion clear, and by no means dark; their eyes small, black, and piercing; teeth beautifully white, and perfect; and their countenances on the whole pleasing. Their jet-black hair hung down loose about their shoulders, a part of it on each side being carelessly plaited or rolled up into an awkward lump. The youngest woman was probably unmarried, for she was not tattooed, which the other women were. The men and children were not tattooed.

The dress of the men consists of a seal-skin jacket, with a hood, which is occasionally drawn over the head. The breeches are generally of seal-skin, and reach below the knee; and the boots, which meet the breeches, are made of the same material. The costume of the women was not altogether so decent as that of the men, nor could it have been so comfortable. The children were remarkably well clothed.

The tents were supported by a long pole of whale-bone, fourteen feet high, standing perpendicularly, with four or five of it projecting above the skins which form the roof and sides. The length of the tent is seventeen, its breadth from seven to nine, feet; the narrowest part next the door, and widening towards the inner part, where the bed, composed of a quantity of the small shrubby plant the *Andromeda Tetragona*, occupies about one-third of the whole apartment. The pole of the tent is fixed where the bed commences;

and the latter is kept separate by some pieces of bone laid across the tent from side to side. The door, which faces the south-west, is also formed of two pieces of bone, with the upper ends fastened together; and the skins are made to overlap in that part of the tent which is much lower than the inner end. The covering is fastened to the ground by curved pieces of bone, being generally parts of the whale. The tents were ten or fifteen yards apart, and about the same distance from the beach.

The canoe which was purchased was sixteen feet eleven inches in length, and its extreme breadth two feet one inch and a half. When floating, two feet of the fore-end are out of the water. When the canoes are taken on shore, they are carefully placed on two upright piles, or pillars of stone, four feet high from the ground, in order to allow the air to pass under to dry them, and prevent their rotting. The paddle is double, and made of fir, the edges of the blade being covered with hard bone, to secure them from wearing.

Their spears, or darts, were like the harpoons of our fishermen,—of two parts, the staff, and the spear itself: the former usually of wood, if wood can be procured, and from three and a half to five feet in length; the latter about eighteen inches long, occasionally tipped with iron, but more frequently ground to a blunt point at one end, while the other fits into a socket in the staff, to which it is firmly secured by thongs. The lines are very neatly cut out of seal-skins.

The runners of the only sledge seen were composed of the right and left jaw-bones of a young whale, being nine feet nine inches long, one foot seven inches apart,

and seven inches high from the ground. These runners are connected by a number of parallel pieces, made out of the ribs of the whale, and secured transversely with seizings of whalebone, so as to form the bottom of the sledge, the back being made of two deers' horns placed in an upright position. The lower part of the runners is shod with a harder kind of bone, to resist the friction against the ground. The dogs are similar to those seen on the coast of Baffin's,—shy and wild; and some of them have very much of the wolf about them. They devour their food in a most ravenous manner; and the young ones will at any time kill themselves with over-eating, if permitted.

In a corner of each of the tents might be seen a lamp of oil and moss, and over the lamp was suspended a small stone vessel, of an oblong shape, broader at the top than at the bottom, and containing a large mess of sea-horse flesh, with a quantity of thick gravy. Now all this, had it not been for the blood and the dirt, *might* have been palatable enough. Captain Parry was desirous of exchanging a brass-kettle for one of these stone vessels: it was not difficult to conclude; and the woman to whom the vessel belonged, after the meat, &c. had been emptied into another vessel, very deliberately wiped the inside of the pot with the flap of her jacket ere she delivered it to the new owner. Some of these vessels are made of the whale stone. Their knives are made of the tusk of the walrus, cut or ground thin, and retaining the original curve of the tusk.

But little could be gleaned respecting the language, manners, and number, of this tribe of Esquimaux. They call the bear *nennook*, the deer *tooktook*, and

the hare *ookalik*. They appeared to be well acquainted with the musk-ox. As to food, they had plenty of it: much was found concealed under stones along the shore of the north branch, as well as on Observation Island. But little disease could be discovered among these people; and upon the whole they possessed not merely the necessaries, but, when compared with the Esquimaux of North Greenland, many of the comforts of life.

The latitude observed upon Observation Island was $70^{\circ} 21' 57''$; its longitude $68^{\circ} 28' 33''$.

The fine inlet in which is Observation Island was named the "River Clyde;" and, after leaving it, the ships were some days before they got completely clear from the ice; indeed it was not till the 26th of September, nearly two months from the time of their departure from Winter Harbour, that they could be said to be quite free from it. When we look back upon the length of time they passed in Winter Harbour,—when we consider the severity of season, and the occasional hard duty which the crews of the two vessels had to perform,—it is only surprising that more serious cases of illness did not occur, and more frequent accidents happen. Only one man died during the voyage: his name was William Scott; and his was a disease neither brought on nor increased by the climate.

The men first began to feel the extremity of the cold in their toes. Some men were at first fortunate in experiencing only the uncomfortableness of common chilblains, while others were more severely affected. In the latter case, after suffering a short time from the pain of cold, the toes became gelid, colourless, and

insensible, until acted on by the stimulus of a warmer atmosphere, when pain ensued, which acquired a degree of almost intolerable acuteness. A case occurred on-board the *Hecla* which may serve to illustrate the effects of severe cold:—The house erected on the shore for scientific purposes caught fire by accident: a servant of Captain Sabine's, in his endeavour to extinguish the fire, exposed his hands, in the first instance, to the operation of considerable heat; he afterwards remained on shore with his hands uncovered, at a temperature of from 43° to 44° below zero of Fahrenheit. When observed, and taken on-board, his hands were perfectly hard, inflexible, colourless, possessing a degree of translucency exhibiting more the external character of pieces of sculptured marble than those of animated matter. They were immediately plunged into the cold bath, where they continued upwards of two hours ere their flexibility was completely recovered. The abstraction of heat had been so great, that the water in contact with the fingers congealed upon them, even half-an-hour after they had been immersed. During the cold application, a considerable degree of reaction took place, attended with so much pain that the poor fellow was obliged to be conveyed to bed. In less than three hours very active inflammation had supervened, extending high up the arm; and soon afterwards, each hand, from the wrist downwards, was enclosed in a bladder, containing upwards of a pint of viscid serous fluid. Three fingers, however, on one hand, and two on the other, were insensible to the remedy applied: they continued cold, and, whilst arterial action was powerful as far as the first joints of these fingers, the

vessels of their extremities were in a perfect state of collapsion. No stimuli restored animation to these fingers; and, when the inflammation began to subside, a separation took place between the dead and the living parts, and eventually the amputation of them became necessary.

The clothing which the men carried with them was found abundantly sufficient; and they were in general able at any time to brave the severe cold of the external air.

Many and great difficulties occurred, however, in preserving that personal cleanliness which was so desirable. The smoke with which the air in the interior of the vessels was loaded, attached itself to the persons and clothing of the men in such quantity as to cause considerable inconvenience; and tolerable comfort was only to be obtained by frequent washing. But the time and fuel necessary to procure enough water for this and other purposes created a tendency to neglect the duties of cleanliness. For many months their shirts were dried by suspending them in the neighbourhood of the stoves and flues; and if a man could procure one clean shirt a week, he thought himself very fortunate.

A few cases of scurvy appeared; but the character of the disease was mild. To the case of Scott, whose lungs were diseased, and whose illness proved fatal, we have already alluded.

It is not our intention to extract from the interesting Narrative, given to the world by Captain Parry, of his Expedition in 1819 and 1820, those ingenious remarks on the probable existence of a north-west passage

which he has there inserted;—by his late return that question seems settled. Yet some good seems already to have arisen to those concerned in the whale-fishery, from the researches of both Captains Ross and Parry.

“Previously,” says Captain Parry, “to the expedition of 1818, from Baffin’s Bay, the whale-fishery in that sea was almost entirely confined, during the best part of the summer season, to the eastern or Greenland shores, where, at no very distant period, the number of whales was found sufficient to afford abundant employment for the numerous fleet of ships which are annually engaged in this trade. For some years past, however, it has been observed that it requires a much greater share of exertion than formerly to procure the same supply of whales, these animals having been scared from the south-east and north-east bays, and the other southern parts of the coast of Greenland, which, only a few years ago, were considered a sure and abundant fishery, and retired to the northern and western parts of Baffin’s Bay, where they have hitherto been but little molested. Such, indeed, is the general want of success on the old ground, that it is a common complaint among our whalers that this fishery appears to be well nigh worn-out.

“Above forty sail of ships accompanied the expedition of 1818 up the coast of Greenland, nearly as high as the latitude of 76°, where the whales were found to be so abundant as amply to repay the labour and exertions by which our fishermen had succeeded in penetrating thus far through more than ordinary obstructions from ice. Encouraged by this success, and by the knowledge of our having subsequently crossed

to the western coast of Baffin's Bay without much difficulty, the whalers began to extend their views beyond what had formerly been considered the utmost limits of the fishery; and accordingly, in 1819, succeeded in penetrating the barrier of ice which occupies the centre of Baffin's Bay, and, for the first time, sailed over into Sir James Lancaster's Sound, and some of the other bays and inlets on the same coast. In the course of that year's navigation, no less than fourteen ships were wrecked among the ice; but, fortunately, only one or two lives were lost. Not discouraged, however, by this disaster, the enterprising spirit of our fishermen led them again, in 1820, to make the attempt to range over the whole of the northern and western parts of the bay in quest of whales. Such was the well-earned success which attended their efforts, that, in the course of that season, scarcely a nook or corner of this extensive bay remained unvisited by them. Mr. Bell, in the *Friendship*, of Hull, whom I have before had occasion to mention, and one or two other of the ships, sailed up to the very northernmost limits, entered Whale Sound, and were close off the entrance of Sir Thomas Smith's Sound; an exploit which has never been before performed since Baffin first discovered these inlets, above two hundred years ago.

“It has been seen, in the course of the foregoing narrative, in what situation we met with several of our ships, in our return down the western coast in the autumn of 1820. The success they met with on this occasion was such as has seldom occurred in the Davis's Strait fishery in any former season; and thus has a new and extensive field been opened for one of the most

lucrative branches of our commerce, and, what is of scarcely less importance, one of the most valuable nurseries for seamen which Great Britain possesses. Nothing, indeed, can exceed the bold and enterprising spirit displayed by our fishermen in the capture of the whale. At whatever time of night or day the whale is announced by the look-out man in the crow's nest, the men instantly jump into the boats, frequently with their clothes in their hands, and, with an alacrity scarcely equalled in the most highly-disciplined fleet, push on in pursuit of the whale, regardless of cold, hunger, and wet, for hours and sometimes days together. Nor is it solely on occasions where immediate interest is concerned, that this activity is displayed by them. It happened, on the voyage of 1818, that, in endeavouring to pass between the land and a body of ice which was rapidly closing the shore, the *Alexander*, then under my command, touched the ground just at the critical moment when it was necessary to push through the narrow and uncertain passage. It being nearly calm, the boats were sent ahead to tow; but the little way which they could give the ship was not sufficient to have rescued us in time from the approaching danger, and nothing less than the wreck of the ship was every moment to be expected. Several sail of whalers were following astern: but seeing the dangerous situation in which the *Alexander* was placed, and the impossibility of getting through themselves, they instantly put about in the clear water which we had just left; and, before we had time to ask for assistance, no less than fourteen boats, many of them with the masters of the ships themselves attending in them, placed themselves

promptly at the head of the *Alexander*, and, by dint of the greatest exertion, towed her into clear water, at the rate of three or four miles an hour, not one minute too soon to prevent the catastrophe we had anticipated.

“The opening of a new whale-fishery on the western coast of Baffin’s Bay, which constitutes an important era in the history of that trade, and for which the country is indebted to the researches of the expedition of 1818, under the command of Captain Ross, will, perhaps, render expedient a new mode of proceeding in the annual visits of our ships to this part of the polar regions. It has hitherto been customary for a certain number of those intended for the Davis’s Straits fishery to occupy the early part of the season in what is called “the south-west,” which is that part of the sea immediately to the eastward of Resolution Island, and in that neighbourhood. The ships frequently appeared on this ground as early as the 1st of April, when the nights are long, the weather extremely cold and inclement, and with a heavy sea occasionally rolling in upon them from the Atlantic, making this, perhaps, upon the whole, the most severe fishery which is any where used by our whalers. They generally remain upon this coast, as near as the ice will permit them, till about the first or second week in June, not without considerable wear-and-tear to the ships, and the most harassing fatigue to the men; but seldom with a proportionate degree of success to repay them for their toil. After this they strike over the eastern, or Greenland side, and prosecute the fishery on that coast in the usual way. I cannot but consider that this south-west fishery might now be advantageously dispensed with

altogether, and the expense of wages, wear-and-tear, and provisions, for the months of April, May, and June, entirely saved to the owners, or employed in some more beneficial manner. By entering Davis's Straits no earlier than the first week in July, I feel confident that a ship may ensure a 'payable' cargo of fish before the end of the season, without incurring half the anxiety or risk which must always attend the navigation of that sea at an earlier period. By doing this, a ship may, as I have before had occasion to remark, perhaps reach the latitude of 73° or 74° , about the 20th or 25th of July, with very little obstruction from ice. In the course of this passage it is indeed more than probable that not a single whale will be met with, even though the ship should keep the whole way along the eastern margin of the ice. Not discouraged, however, by this circumstance, let her, on her arrival about the parallel of 73° , boldly enter the ice wherever it seems the most probable of her getting through to the western coast. In adopting this measure, there is, doubtless, much risk to encounter, but not more than pushing on to the northward into Prince Regent's Bay, where, from the peculiar conformation of the land, which is extremely favorable for the retention of the ice, a serious obstruction may always be expected.

"In effecting a passage through the central barrier of ice in Baffin's Bay, it is probable that one, two, or, in some seasons, even three weeks may be occupied; while in others, as in the year 1820, nothing but 'sailing ice' may be found in a high latitude, through which a ship makes her way without difficulty. Having once effected this passage, however, there will, I apprehend,

hend, be still more than sufficient time for the accomplishment of their object, except in very unfavorable seasons; for we have the experience of three following years that an open sea will be found at that period to the westward, while the number of whales which we met with on that side of the bay seems likely to ensure to them, at least for some time to come, an easy and abundant fishery. For this purpose, however, the ships should be directed not to be in a hurry to leave the coast until the latter end of September, that month being by far the best in the year for the navigation of Davis's Straits and Baffin's Bay, and consequently affording greater facility and much less risk in the capture of whales. The apprehension which has, I believe, been entertained by some of the ship-owners, of their vessels being caught in the ice so as to prevent their returning, in consequence of remaining too late, is, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, altogether without foundation, unless their stay be extended considerably beyond the period I have mentioned.

“How far the plan suggested above may be considered advantageous as regards a late or an early market for the oil, or whether more profit may be expected by employing the ships in making a Baltic voyage (as is sometimes the case after that from Davis's Straits is completed,) than is likely to result from a full cargo of blubber at the end of the season, are circumstances of which I am not competent to form a judgment, and which must be left to the consideration of the ship-owners themselves. I shall only, therefore, state on this subject what has been suggested to me by one of

those gentlemen, that a ship might, perhaps, be employed to great advantage by occupying the early part of the season (to the middle of June for instance) at Spitzbergen, and then running down into Davis's Straits to complete her fishery in the way I have proposed."

CAPTAIN PARRY'S SECOND VOYAGE



WE feel it incumbent upon us to acknowledge our obligations to the Editor of the "Literary Gazette," from whose very intelligent and always amusing journal the interesting details of Captain Parry's last expedition are principally collected.

The return of the expedition under the command of Captain Parry from the voyage to discover a north-west passage, is an event of so much public interest, that our readers will feel that we have done our duty towards them, in using strenuous exertions to gather from every authentic quarter the following particulars.

The outward voyage in 1821 was prosperous. Passing up Hudson's Straits, the navigators kept near the land on their south, and explored the coast towards Repulse Bay. The farthest west which they attained

was 86° of longitude, and the highest latitude only $69^{\circ} 48'$ N.; and they brought up for winter-quarters at a small isle (which they named Winter Island) in $82^{\circ} 53'$ W. longitude, and latitude $66^{\circ} 11'$ N. The chief part of the summer of 1821 was occupied in examining Repulse Bay, and some inlets to the eastward of it, through some one or other of which they hoped to find a passage into the Polar Sea. In this they were disappointed; for all the openings proved to be only deep inlets, which ran into the continent of America. While thus occupied, early in October the sea began to freeze; and on the 8th of that month the ships were laid up for the winter, in the situation noted above. Here, at Winter Island, the expedition was frozen up from the 8th of October, 1821, to the 2d of July, 1822. The vessels were within two or three hundred paces of each other; and occupations and amusements similar to those practised in the preceding voyage were resorted to.

One of the principal events which we have to notice in this period was the beneficial effect produced by the system of heating the ships with currents of warm air. These were directed to every requisite part by means of metallic tubes, and so well did the contrivance answer its purpose, that the lowest temperature experienced during the winter was 35° below zero. In the second winter it was ten degrees lower, viz. 45° below zero; but this was not so difficult to endure, nor so inconvenient, as the cold in Parry's first voyage, nor indeed, if we are rightly instructed, as that felt in the northern stations of the Hudson-Bay traders on the American continent.

The provision-cases, we are informed, did not turn out so well; for, though the meats were preserved fresh, they were found to be insipid, and the men got as tired of them as they generally do of salt provisions.

Fish were caught, and formed a variety. These were chiefly a small salmon of about seven or eight pounds weight, of which about 300 were taken; the coal-fish, and the Alpine trout, which latter was found in a fresh-water stream on an island to the westward of Winter Island. This river, according to the native accounts, flowed from a lake whence also another river ran into the sea on the other side: that is to say, one stream flowed in a south-easterly direction towards Hudson's Bay, and the other in a south-westerly course towards (perhaps) the Polar Sea. The small fish known by the name of "the miller's thumb" was also in great abundance, and the sea swarmed with molusca.

Nothing occurred, during the first part of the winter, deserving of any particular notice; but one morning, in the beginning of February, our people were surprised by the appearance of strange forms upon the snow-plain in their vicinity, and of persons running to and fro. This was a tribe of Esquimaux, who were erecting their snow-huts, and taking up their residence at a short distance from the vessels. At first it was hoped that this might be Captain Franklin's expedition, but the hope quickly vanished; and the settlers were found to be one of those wandering hordes which roam along the shore in search of food, and make their habitations wherever it can be obtained in sufficient quantity. The great dependence of these people upon the produce of the sea for their sustenance confines

their migrations to the coasts, and, except hastily travelling across land in any journey occasionally, it may be presumed, from their habits, that they never establish themselves ten miles from the water's edge. The intercourse of the voyagers with their new and singular neighbours afforded them much amusement during the remainder of the winter. The snow began to melt about the beginning of May, and put an end to their intimacy.

In the season of 1822, the vessels, having steered along the coast to the north, penetrated only to the long. of $82^{\circ} 50'$, and lat. $69^{\circ} 40'$; and, after exploring inlets, &c. in their short cruise, finally moored for their second winter, about a mile apart, in $81^{\circ} 44'$ W. long., and lat. $69^{\circ} 21'$ N. Here, close to another small isle, they remained from the 24th of September, 1822, to the 8th of last August. They had latterly entered a strait leading to the westward. From the accounts of the Esquimaux, and their own observations, they had every reason to believe that this strait separated all the land to the northward from the continent of America. After getting about fifteen miles within the entrance of it, they were stopped by the ice; but from the persuasion that they were in the right channel for getting to the westward, they remained there for nearly a month, in daily expectation that the ice would break up. In this last hope they were again quite disappointed; and, on the 19th of September, the sea having begun to freeze, they left the straits, and laid the ships up in winter-quarters near the small island alluded to, and called by the Esquimaux "Igloolik."

From these data it is evident that the expedition

has failed in its leading objects. In short, any annual whale-ship might do as much as it has been able, with all its perseverance, to accomplish; and we apprehend that few new lights can be thrown by it upon the great questions of science which were raised by the former voyages. The magnetic pole was not crossed; and it is curious to state, that all the electrical appearances, lights, halos, meteors, &c. were seen to the south. In natural history the acquisitions are very scanty. Generally speaking, hardly any novelty has been ascertained, or remarkable discovery made, in ornithology, piscology, botany, or other branch of science.

In the second winter a more numerous tribe of the Esquimaux, about 150, including the visitors of the preceding year, settled near the ships, and were in daily intercourse with them.

They are peaceable and good-natured: not stupid, but not eminent for feeling or intelligence. The first tribe lived together on terms of perfect liberty and equality; in the second there was an *Angekok*, or conjuror, who exercised a certain degree of authority. There are no signs of the worship of a Supreme Being among them, and they do not appear to have a perfect idea of ONE; nor have they apparently any religious rites at marriages or burials. An Esquimaux bespeaks his wife while she is yet a child; and when she is of marriageable age she is brought home to him, and there is a feast on the occasion. Their funerals are simple: if in winter, the corpse is merely covered over with snow; if in summer, a shallow trench is dug, where it is deposited, and two or three flat stones at top complete the rude sepulchre. They are careful

not to allow any stones or weighty matter to rest on the body; and seem to think that even after death it may be sensible to the oppression. They appeared to have some notions of a future state; but all their ideas on these matters were so blended with superstition, that they hardly deserve to be mentioned. Two wives were possessed by several of the natives, and one is almost always much younger than the other: yet the copartners seemed to live on good terms with one another! The children rarely appear to be more than two, three, or four in a family; though six grown-up brothers and sisters were met with. They live to a good age. Many were above sixty years old; and in one case the great-grandmother of a child of seven or eight years was a healthy old woman at the head of four generations. The stature of the males is about the average of five feet, four, five, or six inches; and none exceeded five feet ten inches. Their color is a dirty-looking yellowish-white; and their proportions by no means robust.

We have mentioned the appearance of their snow-houses when first seen: they are curiously shaped and constructed, resembling three immense beehives grouped together, and entered by one long passage by all the three families to whom these yield an abode. A trefoil affords a tolerable idea of them. They are about nine feet in diameter, and seven or eight feet in height. The passage is about twenty feet in length, and so low that you must creep along nearly on all-fours to reach the hut. This is ingeniously intended to exclude the cold air, which it does effectually, though widened in parts for lodging the dogs belonging to the

several households, and which are stationed in the last sort of antichamber, before the entrances turn off to the right and left for the two nearest huts. The huts themselves are entirely made of square blocks of solid snow, with a larger key-block at the top of the rotunda. The window is a piece of flat transparent ice. Round the interior runs a seat of the same material as the walls, upon which the skins of animals are thrown for seats and beds. Beds are also made of a plant, on the floor. The houses are without any artificial warmth, except what is produced by a sort of oil lamp, in which they use pieces of dry moss for wicks.

In the winter of 1822-3, native dwellings or huts constructed of bone were also seen.—The Esquimaux often eat flesh in a raw state; but it is sometimes cooked, and the women almost invariably submit their food to that process. The utensils are uncommon, though simple. They consist of two vessels of stone; generally the pot-stone or lapis-ollaris, also used in parts of Germany for the same purpose. The lower vessel resembles an English kitchen ash-shovel: the upper one a trough, of a wide coffin form. In the first, which is filled with oil, a number of moss wicks float, and are lighted for the fuel. The oil is gradually supplied from strings of fat hung up above the flames, the heat of which melts them into so many reservoirs of grease. In the second utensil, placed over the fire thus made, the meat is stewed. The natives are filthy in their eating, and hardly reject any thing, from the blubber of whale to the flesh of wolf. When hungry, they devoured the carcasses of ten or a dozen of the latter which were killed by our seamen.

Their food, indeed, consisted chiefly of seal and wolves' flesh; but, notwithstanding this, they appeared to be contented, nay, even happy. Their dresses were made entirely of skin, chiefly those of the rein-deer.

The lapis-ollaris is originally so soft that it may be cut into form with a knife; and when it is not to be found, an extraordinary substitute is manufactured into pots and pans. This is a cement composed of dogs' hair, seals' blood, and a particular clay, which soon becomes as hard as stone, and bears the effects both of oil and fire below and moisture and stewing above.

In the beginning of their intercourse, the Esquimaux were somewhat reserved; but, as their reserve wore off, they divulged a number of interesting particulars.

The females are not, it is true, the most lovely objects in nature: their features are disagreeable, and they have long and harsh, but exceedingly black hair. Every family has a sledge, and generally five or six dogs, with which they travel with great ease, and hunt.

They say that their race sprung from a beneficent female spirit; and that from another wicked female spirit are descended the other three creatures who inhabit the earth, namely, the *Itkali*, or Indians; the *Cablunæ*, or Europeans; and (after long hesitation before they would express it) the *Dogs* which they drive! The *Itkali* they abhor, and speak of as murderers. Of the *Cablunæ* they had only heard by report, never having seen a European till they encountered those in the *Fury* and *Hecla*; but it is clear, from their classing them with the Indians and *Dogs*, that they have no very exalted idea of their virtues.

With their own appellation of Esquimaux they are not acquainted, but call themselves *Enuee*. The other name is understood to be a term of reproach, meaning "Eaters of raw flesh."

From the above it appears that they entertain a belief in certain spirits or superior beings; but their notions concerning them are extremely vague. This was displayed by the Angekok or conjuror. This great man was, after much entreaty, prevailed upon to exhibit his supernatural powers in the captain's cabin of one of the ships. He was accompanied by his wife, and began his operations by having every glimpse of external light carefully excluded. Still the fire emitted a glimmering, and this was covered with a thick mat; so that at length all was utter darkness. The Angekok then stripped himself naked, and lay down upon the floor, and pretended that he was going to the lower regions where the spirits dwell. His incantations consisted of hardly articulate sounds, not appearing to have any meaning attached to them. He also practised a kind of ventriloquism; and modulated his voice so as to give it the effect of nearness and greater distance, in the depths to which he wished it to be believed he had descended. This farce lasted about twenty minutes; and, on the readmission of light, the actor gave an account of his adventures, and of what the spirits had told him. As a proof of the truth of his facts and the reality of his colloquies, he produced several stripes of fur which one of the spirits had fastened on the back of his skin-coat since he went down; which, indeed, his wife had been busily stitch-

ing on during the dark performance. Yet, by such impostures he maintained his sway over his ignorant countrymen, who credited his inventions and powers. The latter were consequently invoked upon all important occasions. Thus, when they became scarce, or rather when the evil genius took away from the waters and the earth, to her caverns beneath, the animals which constitute the principal food of the Enuee, Angekok was employed to bring them back again. This he accomplished, he said, by the following means: He called to his assistance Torngak, his familiar and a friendly spirit, in company with whom he journeyed to the realms below, to combat with the evil genius. With this aid, and by his own address, he vanquished the enemy, and forced her to submit to his decrees. He then cut off the lower joints of her four fingers, and immediately the bears were released, and found their way to the upper regions. His next operation was to cut off the second joints, by which the seals were liberated. The excision of the upper joints performed a like service for the walruses; and, finally, by amputating the hand, the whales were freed to revisit the shores of the Esquimaux. To substantiate the truth of this exploit, the bloody knife with which the deed had been done is produced; and the reappearance of the bears, seals, walruses, and whales, infallibly follows.

An immense value is set upon the testimonies of supernatural intimacy: thus the Angekok declared that he would not barter one of the spirit's gifts (one of the stripes of fur) for any thing that could be offered to

him; and it was with much difficulty that Captain Parry did prevail upon him to barter one for some highly-coveted article.

From the length of time during which the natives were daily with them, our people were enabled to pick up a vocabulary of their language. Some of the journals contain from five hundred to a larger number of words. Their knowledge of figures is very limited, five and ten being their most obvious enumerations. When they wish to express the former, one hand is held up; the latter, of course, requires both: but when the sum exceeds that number, the Esquimaux calls on a neighbour to help him out, by holding up one or two hands as the occasion requires. One of our friends related a whimsical anecdote connected with this sort of dumb-show. He was conversing with a native alone, who wanted to make the large and unusual sign of thirty. He accordingly held up both hands, and was then sadly puzzled how to go farther. It never occurred to him to break off and repeat the signal in any way; but at length he happily struck upon ten more by getting the officer to raise his digitals. Here were twenty; but the ten to be added was the grand *pons asinorum* of Esquimaux numerals! The difficulty seemed insuperable, but again his genius befriended the calculator; he held up one of his feet,—twenty-five! What was to be done?—like one of the wise men of Gotham, our clever native tried to hold up the other foot at the same time; and his efforts to have all his limbs simultaneously in the air were the most ludicrous that can be imagined. But it could not be ma-

naged; and it was not without an immensity of trouble that the proposed number was finally expressed by the four hands and one foot each of the conversing parties.

Other characteristic traits of these simple people may be told in this place. The wives of two of them, one with a baby suckling, (which nutriment they supply for several years,) were taken on-board the vessels for medical treatment, both being in the last stages of disease. It was indeed too late to save them; and they died. The husband of the mother evinced some distress, and howled a little when she expired; but very soon seemed to forget his loss. Yet he attended very sedulously to the proceedings of the Cablunæ. They enveloped the body decently, as is done with sailors, in a hammock, and dug a grave for its reception. To this it was borne, accompanied by the husband, who manifested uneasiness. At last he made himself understood that he was afflicted by the confinement of the corpse. Having obtained a knife, he was permitted to gratify his own feelings, and he cut all the stitches which held the hammock together down the front, so as to give a kind of liberty to the dead form. The covering-in of the grave with earth and stones seemed also to give him pain; but he asked leave to bury the living child with its dead mother. The reason assigned for this horrid proposal was, that being a female no woman would take the trouble to nurse it, as that was never done among them. If it had been a boy, perhaps some one might have adopted and reared it. In fact, the infant, without sustenance, did die on the ensuing day, and was placed at the disposal of its

parent, who drew it away in his sledge to a short distance, and raised a small mound of snow over its lifeless corpse.

In the management of the canoe the Esquimaux are very expert. They are amazingly light, and formed of skin over whalebone. The largest which Captain Parry obtained is twenty-six feet in length; and we observed another, between decks in the *Hecla*, which is nineteen feet long and only nineteen inches in width, half of which are in the depth.

In these the native pursues his marine chase, and spears the fish and fowl. The spear is double-pointed with bone, about six or seven inches in length, and barbed. The shaft is of very light wood, five or six feet long; and below the handle, or part by which it is thrown, are three other barbed bones, standing out a few inches from the wood, and calculated to strike the prey, should the biforked point miss. They kill at twenty yards distance. The bow-and-arrow is also employed in killing game and wild animals. The arrows are pointed with stone, smoothed into a lance-head shape by friction against other stones.

A method of catching seals (and, if we remember correctly, fish also,) through a hole in the ice, is one of the most dexterous of Esquimaux contrivances:— A line is let down, at the end of which is fastened a small piece of white bone or tooth, above an inch long, cut into a rude fish-form, and having two morsels of pyrites stuck into it to resemble eyes. This bait is drawn through the water; and, when seals or other prey approach to examine it, the watchful native spears them from above.

The knives used by the women are curiously constructed, and as cleverly employed in skinning animals and carving victuals as the instruments of hunting are by the men. They resemble a small cheese or saddler's knife; the iron or cutting part being semicircular, and inserted in a bone handle. The whole is three or four inches long, and the edge three or four inches in breadth. With these they carve away underhanded in a very dexterous style.

Spectacles are another of their articles which struck us as curious and well-contrived. They consist of a piece of wood scraped thin, like a bandage, and perforated with two narrow horizontal slits, something like pig's eyes, where we would have glasses; a rim about an inch broad projects in the same direction as that of a hat would; and this simple mechanical process, tied about the head, protects the eyes from the drifting snow and spiculæ, and improves the sharpness of the sight.

The inlet where the second winter was spent presented a solid mass of everlasting ice. It is about ten miles in breadth: its length (of course, not having been traversed,) uncertain. The ebb tide is from the south-west, and the flood from south-east; small channels ran through it, but not wide enough to work a ship. While they lay here, and indeed during the voyage, the vessels do not seem to have encountered much danger from the ice.

To beguile the tedious time, our countrymen occasionally lived in tents on-shore, and hunted, shot, and fished, for the general consumption. Rein-deer were sometimes killed; the carcass of the largest weighed

(without offal) 150 lbs. These were very acceptable to the ships' companies; but their fresh provisions were not always so dainty as venison. The hearts, livers, and kidneys of whales and walruses (brought by the Esquimaux) were not irreconcilable to European palates; and many a hearty meal was made on these, not very delicate, dishes. According to the report of the natives, there were rein-deer on the large island towards the north. No musk-oxen were seen in any part; and from the same authority it was gathered that they only appeared to the westward of the longitude to which the expedition penetrated.

Of birds there were numbers; but their flesh was of a fishy and unpleasant taste: it was made, nevertheless, to serve at times, to vary the Arctic *cuisine*.

Gardening was another expedient for occupying the time, and supplying the table. Mustard-and-cress were grown as on the preceding voyage, and served out to the men in considerable quantities, to the great benefit of their health. Indeed, the looks of the crews bear testimony to their careful treatment. Their loss (as has been mentioned in the newspapers) amounted to five men in the two years and a half. The first two died in the *Fury* within twenty-four hours of each other, in 1822; the one of internal inflammation, and the other of a consumption of long standing. They were consigned to one grave; and a tumulus of stones placed over their bones; their names, &c. being engraved on one of the largest. Soon afterwards, a sailor of the *Hecla* fell from the mast, and dislocated his neck: he died on the spot. Last spring, another sailor died of dysentery in the same ship; and Mr. Fyffe,

the master, fell a victim to the scurvy, while on the passage home: he was, we believe, a native of Northumberland.

It does not appear that any far excursions were attempted from the ships, overland, in any direction. The chief journey was performed by Lieut. Hoppner, and a party under his command, in consequence of news brought by the Esquimaux that two ships had been wrecked last year (1822) five days' journey to the north-east, where the wrecks still remained. The truth of this report was confirmed by the staves, cask-heads, and iron, in their possession. They represented that the crews had gone away in boats; whither, no one could tell. To ascertain who the sufferers were, Lieutenant Hoppner and his party set out, accompanied by the natives as guides; but, after travelling a few days, the latter declared they would proceed no farther. They pointed to the line in which they said the ships would be found, and told their associates they might go without them; but the risk of following this counsel was too great, and the Europeans returned, after a fruitless march.

In these journeys, and their continual migrations, the value of the Esquimaux dog is witnessed. These hardy animals draw the country sledges at the rate of five miles, and more, an hour. Nor is this performed with a light weight attached to them. Eight in harness will draw three or four persons with ease and speed in this manner. On one occasion, an anchor and stock, weighing about a ton, was dragged to its destination by fifteen or sixteen of them; and, generally speaking, they are fully equal to a load of one

hundred weight per dog. They are also bold and vigorous in the chase. With them the Esquimaux hunts the great white Polar bear. They seize their adversary by his long shaggy hair, and worry and detain him till their masters come up with their spears to end the conflict.

Those in the ships, twelve or fourteen in number, are large creatures of various colors,—tan, grey, but mostly black with white spots over the eyes and on the feet, and tip of the tail. They are fierce, and more like wolves than dogs. They do not bark, but snarl, growl, and howl. A good many died, in consequence of the heat, on their way to England. In the *Hecla* was one dog bred between the Esquimaux dog and a lurcher taken out from this country. She had six female pups, one of which gave a singular proof of its sagacity, in the river:—A lighter came alongside with some casks of fresh water, into which it immediately leaped over the side, and ran from cask to cask, trying to get its head into a bung-hole. This being impossible, one of the men good-humouredly drew a bowl-full for it, which it dispatched with evident delight, and then begged for another draught. This it also obtained, drank it nearly all, and, with signs of gratification and thankfulness, made its way back into the ship.

On their native soil, however, these ferocious animals are often destroyed by the still more ferocious wolves. The latter hunt in packs, and even drag the dogs from the huts to devour them. Attracted by the scent, they were always prowling about our vessels, and carried off whatever came in their way. Thirteen

of them were seen in one pack; all of which were trapped and slain. It was of these the hungry Esquimaux made their dinners. At one time they bore away a dog from the *Fury*, in spite of the pursuit of the men.

The animals which may be enumerated besides are—bears, foxes, rein-deer, hares, lemmings, the white ermine, and the marmot.

The birds are—the swan, the beautiful king duck, the eider duck, the long-tailed duck, the silver Arctic duck, &c. &c. Gulls of every kind; the Arctic diver, the loon, the red-throat; guillemots; the snow-bunting, the ptarmigan; ravens, snowy owls, and hawks; birds of song, with a short low chirping note, the Siberian lark, and the Lapland finch.

The insect creation is very limited. There are about six species of flies: the mosquito, very troublesome, but existing only about one month; the wild-bee, i. e. the large black and not our hive-bee; the spider; the butterfly, a small kind of the golden, and the white moth.

The water teems, as we have stated, with molusca, the food for the enormous whale and other species of fish. There is also another minute creature in extraordinary abundance; we mean the small shrimp which is known by the name of “the sea-louse.” These performed a very curious office to the naturalists in the expedition; and their usefulness was very drolly discovered. An officer one day was desirous of preparing a Solan goose for cooking, and, in order to reduce its saltness, he plunged it through an ice-hole into the water; but, alas! next morning, when the goose was to be drawn up for spitting, nothing but

the skeleton appeared. The sea-lice had picked its bones as clean as any anatomist could have scraped them, and thus finely prepared it for any collection of natural history which might want such a specimen! The hint was not lost; for, after this time, whatever skeletons or bones required polishing, were submitted to the lice-operators; and so diligent were they in executing the task confided to them, that they would eat a sea-horse's head clean in a couple of nights!

In the botanical department we have already mentioned the *hortus siccus*. Hardly one of the plants exceeds two or three inches in height, and the flowers are all small, yet some of them are very pretty; and they bloom in such profusion as entirely to enamel their wild and drear locality, for a season of two or three months. The most remarkable which we observe among our specimens, besides the early blue saxifrage, is the *andromeda*, of which the natives make their beds; and the *potentilla*, or wild tansey, the roots of which they eat. This, we believe, is also done in some of the most northern Scottish isles: it is a very minute plant, not more than two inches in height, and the root not larger than that of a single corn-stalk. The *andromeda* is wiry, like heath. All the flowers are yellow or blue; and we find the poppy, one resembling a cowslip, one with a curious berry-seed, several of saxifrage, grasses, a beautiful bright yellow moss, &c. &c. among our specimens.

On the voyage home, the ships touched at Winter Island, and the voyagers were surprised to find their garden vegetables thriving. Whether the plants had re-

sown themselves, or sprung again from the roots, could not be ascertained.

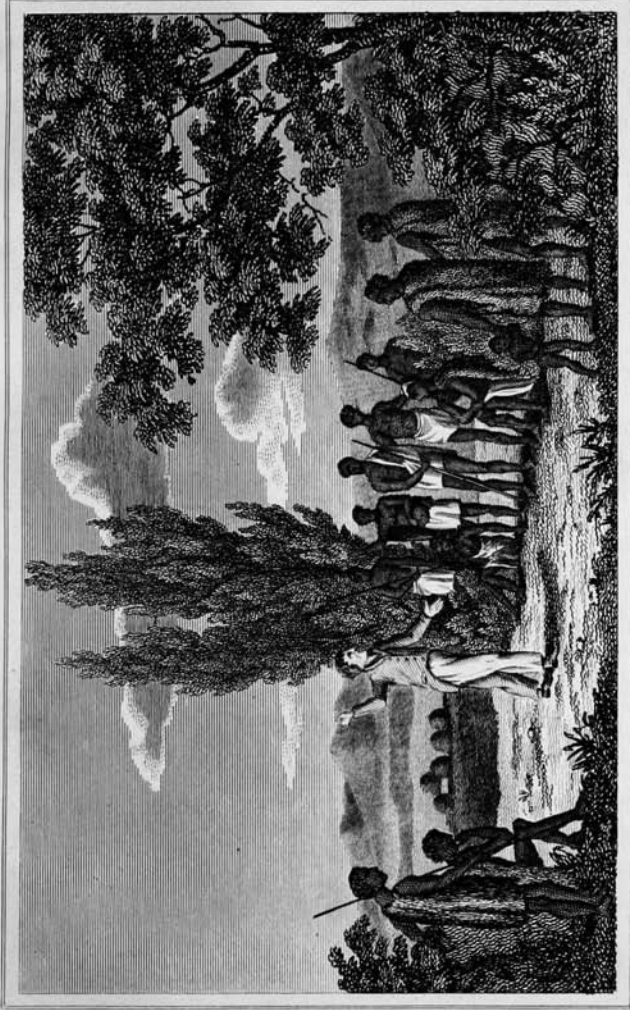
On leaving the Esquimaux, some musquets of small value were given them; and one native and his wife appeared to be desirous of visiting England, but the trouble and uncertainty of restoring them to their own country prevented the gratification of their wishes. The trifling presents which they received, however, effectually consoled them under their disappointment.

ROSS'S SECOND VOYAGE TO THE POLAR SEAS

DURING THE YEARS 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833.

THE object of the editor of this selection of Voyages and Travels having been to present to the public, at a small cost, the information and amusement scattered through the pages of many voluminous and expensive works, he considers himself fortunate in the opportunity afforded him of concluding the series, by an account of one of the most remarkable expeditions ever undertaken in ancient or modern times.

For the design and the entire management of this, the last, and by far the longest voyage to the Polar Seas, the British nation, and the world at large, are indebted to the zeal and perseverance of Captain, now



Mr Campbell Abino persuasion to send Missions
to Sullabow.

Sir John Ross, and to the noble spirit of a British merchant, Sir Felix Booth, who volunteered to furnish all the money requisite to fit out the expedition, from his own private purse, as the Government had declined to lend any pecuniary aid to the undertaking.

Having, in a considerable degree, familiarized our readers to the scenery and the inhabitants of the icy regions of the Arctic circle, we shall avoid all repetitions, as much as possible, and only select from the valuable materials, contained in the copious and minute journal of Sir John Ross, the most interesting novelties.

One of the most important alterations, which experience had suggested to Sir John Ross from his former voyage, was to have his ship fitted with a peculiar apparatus, so as to be used at pleasure, either as a steamer or sailing vessel. Accordingly, a vessel was purchased, called the *Victory*, and so fitted up; and in this ship Captain Ross, accompanied by his nephew, Commander James Ross, sailed from Woolwich on the 23d of May, 1829. The rest of the crew consisted of Mr. William Thom, purser; Mr. George Macdiarmid, surgeon; Mr. Thomas Blankey, first mate; Thomas Abernethy and George Taylor, second and third ditto; Chimham Thomas, carpenter; Alexander Brunton, first engineer; Allan Macinnes, second ditto; William Light, steward; Henry Eyre, cook; Richard Wall, harpooner; James Curtis, ditto; John Park, seaman; Anthony Buck, ditto; John Wood, ditto; David Wood, ditto; Robert Shreave, carpenter's mate; James Marslin, armourer; James Diger, stoker; George Baxter, ditto; William Hardy, ditto. On the 7th of June, before they had reached Port Logan, as the last-named individual was

examining part of the machinery, near the piston-rod, his foot slipped, and he fell in such a manner, as to entangle his arm in the works, by which accident his arm was so dreadfully crushed, that amputation became immediately necessary ; and as Surgeon Macdiarmid was then on board the *John*, a vessel hired to accompany the *Victory*, as a store ship, Captain Ross, availing himself of the surgeon's instruments and medicine chest, performed the operation himself, in order to prevent otherwise inevitable mortification. Sir John's expression on this occasion is so truly characteristic of the British commander, that we transcribe it.—“ If I need not say that I should have been much more at my ease in cutting away half-a-dozen masts in a gale, than in thus ‘ doctoring’ one man, I could not but be gratified, as well as interested, by the effect which this occurrence, vexatious and painful as it was, produced on the men.” The unfortunate stoker was necessarily left at Port Logan, under the best medical and surgical care, and his place on board the *Victory* was supplied by another, of the name of Barnard Langby.

The *John*, on board of which the surgeon was at the time of the accident, had been hired as a consort to the *Victory* ; but the expedition having been unavoidably delayed, the crew of the former mutinied at Port Logan, and refused to complete their engagement. In consequence of this conduct the stores on board the *John* were removed ; and the *Victory*, accompanied only by the *Krusentern*, a decked vessel, of sixteen tons' burden, (which had been placed at the disposal of Sir John Ross by Government,) finally departed from British shores, on her perilous voyage, on the 13th of June.

Many interesting remarks and excellent observations are noted down in the Journal of Sir John Ross, almost every day, which, to nautical and scientific readers, are highly useful; but in pursuance of our design, we shall pass over all the early period of the voyage, in order to introduce the general reader at once to those most interesting scenes which court his attention.

One of the first instances of the good fortune of this voyage occurred on the 23d of July, and was the unexpectedly obtaining the stores of a Greenland whaler, named the Rookwood, which had been wrecked on the 4th of the preceding month. The Victory was lying off an unknown coast, when on the above day, Captain Ross tells us, "he was surprised at the approach of a Danish flag, accompanied by a multitude of canoes. They were alongside almost as soon as they were seen, and we were pleased to find that there were two Europeans in the crowd, which at first seemed to consist of Esquimaux alone; being dressed in the usual clothing of the natives. They introduced each other as the Governor and Clergyman of Holsteinborg, and had come to offer their assistance on the supposition that we were wrecked, as no ship had ever been seen in that creek." After visiting the settlement, and experiencing the greatest hospitality, and having removed the stores wanted from the Rookwood to the Victory and the Krusentern, Sir John Ross and his gallant companions took their departure from Holsteinborg, on the 26th of July.

On the 28th of July our voyagers made the Island of Disco, and the nearest point of land was Godhaven Bay, the residence of the Governor-General of the

Danish settlement in Greenland. At this period of the year, in this latitude, accumulations of ice were daily looked for ; but hitherto, no less to their surprise than delight, none had appeared ; nor till the 29th had they seen even an iceberg.

Having entered Prince Regent's Inlet on the 10th of August, and after encountering a very heavy gale among tremendous masses of ice, on the 13th, at half-past eight in the evening, the *Victory* was securely moored in an harbour of ice, within a quarter of a mile of the place where the stores taken out of the wreck of the *Fury* had been deposited, when that ship was abandoned, four years previously to the present voyage. It is easy to imagine with what deep interest Sir John Ross and his officers and crew proceeded to the examination of this spot, on the result of which so much of their future comfort and even subsistence depended. Only one tent had remained entire, which had been the mess-tent of the *Fury's* officers, and even this betrayed evident signs of having been frequently visited by the bears. Fortunately, the preserved meats and vegetables, which were contained in tin canisters, piled up in two heaps, though thus exposed to all the chances of the climate for four years, had not suffered in the slightest degree. On opening the canisters, their now invaluable contents were found quite perfect, being unfrozen, and the taste of the several articles not in the least altered.

Having in vain searched for any traces or remains of the *Fury*, the attention of the voyagers was turned to the important business of victualling and refitting their vessel from this wonderful storehouse of ice ; or, to use

the words of Sir John Ross, "this ready market, where they could supply all their wants, and all the materials for which they would have searched the warehouses of Wapping or Rotherhithe." Bidding adieu to this North Pole victualling-yard, as the delighted crew jocosely named this memorable spot, the intrepid navigators continued their course along unknown land, and on the 16th discovered an island, in latitude 71° North, to which Sir John Ross gave the name of Brown's Island, and took regular possession of it, and the adjoining land and bay, for King George IV., with the usual ceremony.

The weather up to this period had been surprisingly mild for the season, and continued so till nearly the end of August. The first fall of snow sufficient to impress the officers and crew with the inevitable conclusion, that the period of their icy imprisonment was at hand, took place on the 15th of September, when a severe storm compelled them to fix on a spot from which they could not expect for many months to move! The point selected, or to which, more properly speaking, they were at length driven on the 25th, is thus described by Sir John Ross :—" We succeeded in finding an excellent deep-water channel, between the main land and a range of islands. The entrance however seemed extremely hazardous, being scarcely wider than the ship herself, with a tongue of ice, having only seven feet water on it, extending from side to side. There was, however, neither choice to make, nor time to be spared in resolving. We therefore dropped the ship down by hawsers, grazing the rocks with our keel. How to carry her over the tongue was another problem,

seeing that her draught exceeded its depth ; but while considering this, the tide swept her on it, and she stuck fast ; it having proved, contrary to our reckoning, that it was now ebb. The hawsers were then carried out again, and we contrived to heave through ; yet not without sawing off some projecting points on the two opposite icebergs ; so narrow was the passage. We did not however extricate ourselves from this perilous situation, without passing two other icebergs, one higher than our mast-head, and so close, that our vessel had only half her breadth to spare ! But this achievement over, we had no further difficulty in sailing two miles, through the channel, when we reached a place of security, and made fast to two large icebergs, out of the stream, and near the entrance of a good harbour. In this position there was a large island on each side, and before us the main land."

On the 25th, formal possession was taken of this island, to which the *Victory* was thus moored, and to which Sir John Ross gave the name of his son, calling it Andrew Ross Island.

Having now relinquished all expectation of further progress for the winter, the crew were all occupied in dismantling the ship, and converting it into a suitable habitation for the climate and season. All the sails were bent, and she was completely stripped. "It was now," says the no less sage than gallant conductor of this wonderful expedition, "that we were compelled to think, for it was now that nothing more was to be performed ; it was now also that the long and dreary months,—the long-coming year, I might almost say, of our inevitable detention among the immovable

ice, rose to our view!" To dispel the natural gloom of such thoughts, Sir John Ross employed his active mind in carrying into execution a variety of measures, which his experience suggested as equally beneficial to all under his care and command, by constantly finding employment for their hands, or occupation for their minds.

The strict observance of the Lord's Day, by the orders and example of the chief of this isolated community, must be especially regarded as one of the most effective means which inspired the officers and men with that truly christian fortitude, patience, and even cheerfulness, which marked their conduct in that extraordinary situation.

Under the influence of a religious sense of duty, implicit obedience to the regulations of their commander was willingly accorded. The hammocks in which the men slept were taken down every morning at six o'clock, and hung up at ten at night, and were regularly dried twice a week. The lower deck, being the dwelling-floor, was covered with hot sand every morning, and scrubbed with sand till eight, when the men breakfasted on cocoa or tea; and the dinner-hour was always at noon. When the weather permitted any thing to be done outside of the ship, the men walked after dinner till three or four o'clock; and if otherwise, they were obliged to walk for a certain number of hours on the deck beneath the roof. At five o'clock the men regularly had their tea,—attended an evening school from six to nine, and at ten retired to their hammocks.

It is particularly worthy of remark, that as at this

time it was ascertained there was on board only one year's consumption of spirits, at the usual allowance; and as that article might thereafter be of indispensable value, in case of being shipwrecked, and compelled to take to the boats, or being unable to liberate the ship in spring, or being driven to the necessity of travelling by land, the usual allowance of grog was stopped, and the privation submitted to without remonstrance. The position of the ship at this period was calculated at $69^{\circ} 59'$ latitude, and $92^{\circ} 1' 6''$ longitude.

The year 1829 was now drawing to an end; and after noticing that our icebound adventurers observed the festival of Christmas-day, as nearly as circumstances permitted, according to the good old customs of their father-land, we shall proceed to the commencement of a new year, and introduce to our readers a race of human beings, the native residents of those arctic regions to whom the *Victory* and her crew were prodigies beyond their comprehension. Sir John Ross and his nephew passed some time, occasionally, at an observatory, which had been erected on an eminence on shore. On the 9th of January one of the seamen informed his Captain that strangers had been seen from the observatory; and Sir John, proceeding in the direction pointed out, saw four Esquimaux near a small iceberg, about a mile from the ship. As soon as they perceived him, they retreated behind the iceberg; but on his continuing to approach, the whole party rushed suddenly out of their shelter, and formed themselves in a body of ten in front, and three deep, with one man detached on the land side, seemingly sitting in a sledge. Sending his conductor to fetch Commander Ross

and some of the crew, Sir John advanced alone to within a hundred yards of the natives, who were each armed with a spear and a knife, but had no bows and arrows. Captain Ross, recollecting the word of salutation between meeting tribes of these people was *Tima tima*, hailed them, and was answered by a general shout of the same kind,—the detached man being called in front of their line. Being joined by Commander Ross and a party of men, Sir John and his companions advanced to within sixty yards, and then threw their guns on the ground, with the cry of *Aja Tima*. The Esquimaux immediately threw their knives and spears into the air, returning the shout *Aja*, and extending their arms to express that they had no weapons. Sir John's party then advanced, and embraced, in succession, all those in the front line, stroking down their dress also; and received from them, in return, this established ceremony of friendship. The greatest satisfaction at this proof of friendly intentions on both parts was expressed by the laughter, clamorous shouts, and strange gestures of the natives, sufficiently showing, however, that their visitors had already obtained their unbounded confidence. Commander Ross's previous experience of the habits of these people, and his knowledge of many words and phrases in use among them, were at this time of great value.

He made them understand that he and his companions were Europeans; and they informed him that they were men *Innuit*. There were thirty-one of them; the eldest, called *Illicta*, was sixty-five years old; six others were between forty and fifty, twenty between twenty and forty, and four boys. Two of the number

were lame, and, with the old man, were drawn by others on sledges. Their dress consisted principally of a deer's skin, the upper garments being double, and encircling the body, reaching in front from the chin to the thighs. The sleeves cover the fingers; and of the two skins in which their bodies are thus enveloped, that next to their own skin is worn with the hair inwards, and the upper one with the hair outwards. They wore two pair of boots, and over them, trowsers of deer-skin, reaching very low; and some had even hose outside their boots.

Among their weapons was discovered a sort of dagger, made of the blade of an English clasp-knife, with the maker's name on it; a fact which proved that their tribe had traded with Europeans themselves, or at least had made the exchange with some that had. Commander Ross did not recognise among them any of his acquaintances on his former voyage, nor did any of them appear to have seen him before; but when he mentioned the names of places in Repulse Bay, they immediately understood him, and pointed in that direction. It was also ascertained that the tribe had come from the southward, and that their present huts were at some distance from the ship, to the northward.

The introduction to these Esquimaux having been altogether unforeseen, no means were immediately at hand to improve so fortunate an accident. The cool wisdom, however, of Sir John Ross, aided as it was by the former experience of his persevering and intelligent nephew, soon enabled him to avail himself of the various advantages which an intercourse with these people could not fail to produce, towards the comfort of the ship's

crew, in their present desolate condition, as well as to obtain much valuable information, in connexion with the objects of the expedition.

It was subsequently ascertained, that this party of a wandering tribe had fixed their winter quarters at a distance of about three miles from the ship. An intercourse immediately commenced, and was kept up with mutual and uninterrupted satisfaction. Captain Ross thus describes his first visit to what he calls their village :—" It consisted of twelve snow huts, erected at the bottom of a little bight, (that is, a bay, in a floe of ice,) on the shore. They had the appearance of inverted basins, and were placed without any order ; each of them having a long crooked appendage, in which was the passage, at the entrance of which were the women, with the female children and infants. The passage, always long, and generally crooked, led to the principal apartment, which was a circular dome, ten feet in diameter. Opposite the door-way, there was a bank of snow, occupying nearly a third of the breadth of the area, about two feet and a half high, level at the top, and covered by various skins ; forming the general bed, or sleeping-place, for the whole family ! At the end of this, sat the mistress of the house, opposite to the lamp, which, being of moss and oil, as is the universal custom in these regions, gave a sufficient flame to form both light and heat ; so that the apartment was perfectly comfortable. Over the lamp was the cooking-dish, of stone, containing the flesh of deer and of seals, with oil : and of such provisions there seemed no want. Every thing else, dresses, implements, as well as provisions, lay about in unspeakable confusion.

Of these huts, built entirely of snow, I must also add, that they were all lighted by a large oval piece of clear ice, fixed about half way up, on the eastern side of the roof. In the middle of each passage leading to the chief apartment, was a sort of anti-chamber, leading into a recess for the dogs."

It must have been a source of inexpressible satisfaction to Sir John Ross, and all under his command, to learn from these people, that an abundant supply of provisions was now to be obtained from the provident stores which they had laid up in their snow depositories. But with respect to their further progress in the discovery of the sea which they had hoped to hear of from these wanderers, all that they could learn was, that the land to the eastward was an island, named Kajaktagavik, and they had come along the coast to the westward of it, where there were several great rivers; but they could not exactly discover whether there was a passage to the southward of that island, or of the south point then in view. This was a vexatious disappointment to the hopes of Sir John Ross and his companions, who had looked in that direction for a passage by sea, especially as there was no longer any doubt as to the land to the eastward being the American continent.

Upon intimating the necessity of a return to the ship, Sir John was importuned by applications from many of the Esquimaux to visit it. Eight of them, accordingly, accompanied him; and while six were turned over to the hospitality of the seamen, the two leaders were conducted to the cabin, to dinner. Notwithstanding their astonishment at the knives and forks,

and plates, and other furniture of the table, they soon familiarized themselves to the use of them, and appeared to relish the preserved meat, and the cooked salmon; but rejected entirely the pudding, the rice, and cheese. After dinner, they joined their companions, who had been equally well entertained by the sailors, and all then joined in a general dance with the highest glee and good humour.

On the 11th of January, Tullivahiu, a native, who had lost his leg, was drawn on a sledge to the ship, by another named Tiagashu, according to Sir John's invitation, in order that the surgeon might examine the stump, and the nature of the fracture. The surgeon found that the stump was sound, and had been long healed; and as the knee was bent, there would be no difficulty in fitting to it a wooden leg, for which the carpenter immediately took measure. A few days afterwards, on the 15th, the leg being finished, and Tullivahiu being on board, it was fitted on. Little time was lost ere the hitherto helpless man discovered its use, and began strutting about the cabin in ecstasy, and evincing his grateful delight at a present of so much more value to him than all the pieces of iron, the beads, or knives, and other articles given to his brethren.

About this time the armourer, James Maslin, who had been suffering, during the whole voyage, under the effects of an incurable consumption, began rapidly to decline in strength, and on the 20th of January he died. A grave, with much labour and exertion, was dug for their unfortunate companion, by the crew; and on Sunday the 24th he was interred with due solemnity, and a sermon was selected suitable to the occasion.

No event or transaction of sufficient interest to record, took place during the month of February. March also passed away without any remarkable change in the monotony of this dreary scene. Commander Ross had indeed made some excursions in a sledge, drawn by the Esquimaux dogs, accompanied by a native for a guide, but the result was by no means flattering. If, however, thus far the hopes entertained by Sir John Ross and his nephew had been disappointed, they had the great satisfaction of knowing that no means within their power had been neglected, in accomplishing the object of the expedition, although their efforts had been hitherto unsuccessful. Much importance was attached to the description which the Esquimaux had repeatedly given of the geography of a place, called by them Neitchillee, as a point from which both Captain and Commander Ross were led to believe a more accurate conjecture of the probability of the existence of a northward passage might be formed, than any other that had hitherto been visited.

Accordingly, on the 5th of April, Commander Ross, with the chief mate, Blanky, accompanied by two Esquimaux, named Awack and Ooblooria, set off in two sledges, with dogs, and sufficient provisions for ten days' absence. Unfortunately, however, the weather soon after their departure became very tempestuous; the thermometer sank to minus 4°, and so much snow fell, that the deepest anxiety was felt by their companions as to the practicability of their progress. For five successive days the snow-storm continued with increasing fury; and although the absent officers had with them the two most experienced and active of the Esquimaux

guides, yet the apprehension for their safety was only dispelled by their return on the evening of the 10th.

Sir John Ross remarks, that the result of this laborious and hazardous journey, was a confident knowledge that the land on which they were then stationed, was part of the continent of America; the sea having been seen to the westward by Commander Ross and his companions. We must select some of the very interesting passages of Commander Ross's description of this extraordinary journey, which reflects the highest credit upon our indefatigable and intrepid navigator.

“Our direction,” says he, “was to the south-westward, close along the shore, until noon, when the wind increased to a fresh gale, and the driving snow became so thick, that Awack, who was leading the party, lost his way, and getting among some hammocky ice, had his sledge broken in two places. This accident had nearly put an end to our journey before it had well commenced, as they had no means of repairing the damage. On this account, and because of the gale, which it was now impossible to face, should we have desired to return, the guides began to build a snow-hut; a project which we did not at all approve of, could any means of proceeding be discovered. Mr. Blanky therefore suggested the possibility of mending their sledge by means of their spears; but as I knew they would not consent to this surrender of their weapons, I broke them both, without asking any questions, into lengths fit for the purpose. As might have been expected, this was followed by a sudden burst of united surprise and anger; but on assuring them I would give them two much better spears as soon as we should

return to the ship, they became pacified, and set about the work with the utmost good-nature." Having succeeded in this point, they set forward once more ; but after two hours further progress, with increased labour, among rough hammocky ice, the guides became completely at fault ; as they were unable to see twenty yards before them, on account of the thick drifting of the snow-storm. There remained no alternative ; and most readily then did the storm-pelted travellers consent to the building of a snow hut. " This," says Commander Ross, " was completed in half an hour ; and certainly, never did we feel better pleased with this kind of architecture, which produced for us, in so very short a time, a dwelling, affording a shelter at least as perfect as we could have obtained within the best house of stone. It was, indeed, barely large enough to hold our party of four ; but in the wretched plight we now were, even a worse accommodation than this would have been most acceptable. Our clothes were so penetrated by the fine snow-dust, and frozen so hard, that we could not take them off for a long time ; and not till the warmth of our bodies had begun to soften them. We also suffered exceedingly from thirst ; so that while the Esquimaux were engaged in building the huts, we were melting snow by the aid of a spirit-lamp. The quantity thus shortly produced, was sufficient for the whole party ; while the delight of our guides was only equalled by their surprise ; since the same operation with them is the work of three or four hours, performed, as it is, in stone vessels, over their open oil-lamps."

During this cohabitation with their guides, Com-

mander Ross and Mr. Blankey were not slow in availing themselves of the opportunity to acquire from them all the knowledge it was in their power to communicate: more especially, they were anxious to obtain as much information as possible respecting the nature of the coasts and the sea, to the westward; the latter of which the guides represented to be of great extent. They also described a place called Oo-geoo-lik, which they said was many days' journey across the salt water; thus confirming their previous account of the extent of the sea to the westward; but they could not be made to comprehend the great desire that our voyagers had to reach it.

It was highly interesting to learn also, on this occasion, from these persons, the circumstance which had brought the tribe to which they belonged to the neighbourhood of the station of the *Victory*.

It appeared that two of their people had been fishing to the northward, at a place called Ow-weet-te-week, and there saw the ship beset with ice, and carried past to the southward. Being much alarmed, they set off immediately to join the main body of their tribe at a place called Nei-tyel-lee, where they remained till the arrival of a woman named Ka-ke-kag-in. This person had a sister who was one among a party that had been at Winter Island, when on a former voyage to this part of the world the ship which Commander Ross at that time was on board of was stationed there; and from this woman the Esquimaux received such an enticing account of the reception her companions and herself had met with on that occasion, that they determined to watch the progress of the *Victory*, and mark the spot to which she might

be brought up. They accordingly did so; and the sensations of the Esquimaux on seeing the first foot-marks of the crew on the snow, and their astonishment at the size of the feet thus impressed, were described by the guide, much to the entertainment of Commander Ross and his companions. They also related the consultations which were held as to the propriety of visiting the invaders; and they acknowledged the delight which was felt, when, after drawing up in a line to receive them, they saw the white party throw away their arms.

The position of this snow habitation of Commander Ross, Mr. Blankey, and their Esquimaux fellow-lodgers, is described by the former to be in latitude $69^{\circ} 44' 20''$, and its longitude $0^{\circ} 44' 6''$ west of the station of the Victory: it was built on the south shore of an inlet about three miles long, lying on a W.S.W. line. On each side, the land presented high and rugged shores of granite, and a considerable river ran into that opposite the hut at half a mile distant: this inlet is called Too-nood-lead. At this point of the journey, the guides having contrived most voraciously to devour the food provided, became apprehensive of short allowance, and resolved to go back for a fresh supply. To prevent this, Commander Ross was compelled to resort to stratagem, being aware no reasoning or entreaties would avail against the ceaseless cravings of their insatiable gluttony. He therefore amused their attention for a time, while Mr. Blankey selected some of the best pieces of seals' flesh from a considerable store, which had been provided for the dogs, and wrapped them up in a piece of canvass. This done, Commander Ross

coolly told them that he should proceed on the journey without them, by which they would forfeit the reward ; at the same time, he pointed to his canvass store, informing them that he had abundance of provisions for them all. The trick succeeded, and the guides consenting to proceed, on the 8th of April they arrived at the great lake of Nei-tyel-le. The east shore of this lake presented a ridge of granite-hills, on which were several winter huts, forming a place called by the guides O-ka-u-eet. From an elevated point to which Commander Ross ascended, accompanied by Oo-bloo-ria, he obtained a very perfect view of the extensive inlet ; and learned from the guide, that at a point to which he directed his eye, extending from north-west to south-west, there was a sea free of all ice during summer, and at a short distance behind, a high and bold cape, which terminated the north-east shore, as no land could be seen to the westward ; but from the south-west to the south-east, there was a tract of land connecting the ground on which they then stood with Aovol-le and the shores of Repulse Bay, while there was no way into this sea from the south : so that if it was wished to remove the Victory from her present station to Nei-tyel-le, she would be obliged to go round a long way to the northward. From all that he had seen and learned during this laborious excursion, Commander Ross was convinced that he had beheld the great Western Ocean, of which the natives had so often spoken ; that the land he had travelled over was part of the great Continent of America, and that if there was any passage to the westward in this quarter, it must be to the northward of their then position. To the Cape

above mentioned he gave the name of Isabella Cape, in compliment to his sister, on whose birthday it was discovered.

Such were the principal occurrences during this fatiguing and trying journey of Commander Ross and Mr. Blankey, who safely rejoined their companions, on board the *Victory*, in the evening of the 10th of April.

On the 21st our gallant and intrepid travellers, Ross and Blankey, nothing daunted by the sufferings and privations they had undergone, again set forward on another journey of discovery. Their former guides, however, were not so ready for a new enterprise, being far from recovered from the effects of the former one; and a lad of seventeen, called Noak-wush-yuk, was accepted by Commander Ross as his guide. After an absence, however, of only two days, they returned to the ship, the only useful result of the journey being a completion of the examination of the inlet, called Shag-a-voke, which was the only one to the south through which a hope was left to find a passage to the western sea; and this hope was now surrendered: for Commander Ross declares that he doubts whether even a boat could be carried into the upper part of this arm of the sea; as it certainly would not afford a passage to any ship.

With the relinquishment of all hope to discover a passage into the western sea, to the south of the 70th degree, of course there was an end to all the plans of carrying the ship any further in that direction; and the next grand object of attention was as minute an examination as possible of the country to the northward.

With this important object, Commander Ross, with unbroken zeal and unshaken courage, once more set

forward on an exploring expedition, on the morning of the 27th of April. Much depended upon the accuracy of the reports of the Esquimaux, relative to a place situated to the northward, and which they called Aw-wuk-too-te-ak, as to the existence of a route, by which alone they could get round to the sea of Nei-tyel-le. Commander Ross was accompanied by the second mate, Mr. Abernethy, and the surgeon attended them as far as the village of the Esquimaux, where a guide, who had been engaged to conduct them to the desired place, waited their arrival. On reaching the huts, the party were much surprised at not hearing the shouts of welcome, with which their appearance was always greeted; and still more so, when they found that the women and children had been all sent out of the way—a certain sign of preparation for war: nor was their suspicion lessened, when they saw all the men armed with their knives. The threatening looks of these people still further denoted some cause of anger and hostility; but what that cause might be, was to them a complete mystery! On the first notice of the approach of the party, from the noise of the dogs, one of the Esquimaux rushed out of a hut, brandishing his large knife, while tears were streaming down his aged and furrowed cheeks: in an instant he raised his arm to throw his weapon at Commander Ross and the surgeon, who were then within a few yards of the old man, having stepped forward to ascertain the origin of all this threatened mischief. The uplifted hand of the old man was providentially arrested at the very moment by one of his sons, who thus enabled the assailed party to look to their defence, though they were comparatively

helpless against such a number of unexpected enemies. They accordingly fell back to their sledge, where Commander Ross had left his gun ; and as Mr. Abernethy had no arms of any sort, they resolved to wait at a distance for some further explanation of so extraordinary a scene. The young men continued to hold back their ferocious father, but the rest of his party seemed ready to second his threatened attack. At length they separated from one another, evincing an intention to surround the sledge, and cut off its return to the ship. Seeing this, Commander Ross warned those who were closing in on the rear to desist : for a moment they paused ; but after a short conference among themselves, began again to close in, brandishing their knives in defiance, and had nearly effected their object, when Commander Ross, now convinced that further forbearance was dangerous, placed his gun to his shoulder, and was about to fire, when, fortunately, the alarm which the preparation excited, prevented the execution of the act, and the Esquimaux retreated to their huts, leaving a passage open in the rear to the Commander and his party. The sagacity of Commander Ross, however, quickly pointed out to him, that as this was the first act of hostility on the part of these people, whose friendship it was so necessary to retain, it was most important to discover its cause, and, if possible, to remove it. In vain, however, they waited for the approach of the alarmed people ; and half an hour had passed in suspense and perplexity, when at length, just as Commander Ross had once more raised his gun, one of the women came out of a hut, and fearlessly advanced to the spot where he stood : from this person the ex-

planation of the late scene was obtained ; and it was found to have originated in the superstition of the old man, whose adopted son, a lad of eight years old, had been killed the preceding night, by the accidental falling of a stone, which struck his head. The exhibition of some of the powers possessed by Sir John Ross and his companions, especially the use of fire-arms, the discharge of rockets, and the burning of blue-lights, had created a supernatural character for them in the minds of most of the natives, who, consequently, assigned to their agencies any evil as well as good, which accidentally occurred at this period. On this superstitious feeling, the death of the youth we just described, was attributed by his adopted father, and many of his tribe, to their malignant agency ; and hence arose that sanguinary thirst of revenge, which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, but for the admirable coolness and intrepid self-possession of Commander Ross and his companions. It was, however, no easy task to convince the old woman, who related the facts above, that her hearers were totally ignorant of the boy's death, until they had been told of it by herself, and that they were very sorry that the misfortune had occurred. She, however, related the conversation to two of the men, who had remained neutral during the attack, and who then approached unarmed. A parley ensued, which at length terminated in a conference of the natives among themselves ; when, after a short time, their grim visages, which had so recently threatened war, began to relax, and the knives were put up, having apparently become satisfied that their wonderful visitors were not concerned in the

death of the old man's son. A friendly feeling being thus happily restored, Commander Ross (who having succeeded in obtaining two guides from the tribe to attend him, dispatched Mr. Macdiarmid, the surgeon, on his return to the ship, who would acquaint Captain Ross with what had occurred), once more set forward, accompanied by Mr. Abernethy and the two Esquimaux, on the journey which had been so unfortunately interrupted.

The baggage and provisions were placed on two sledges, each drawn by six dogs; and the travellers flew rapidly over the smooth ice of the bay. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they entered an inlet, running in a N.N.W. direction, which was about a mile wide at the entrance: they continued along the western shore of this inlet till they entered the mouth of a river, about a mile and a half from its entrance. At three they reached a point where the stream was contracted, so as to produce a fall of twenty yards in length; and their further laborious progress was attended with very great difficulty: the valley was filled with loose snow, which prevented their following the windings of the river as they had hitherto done. At six they came to a small lake, the source of the river, surrounded by precipitous shores: thence turning more to the northward, they passed over a high ridge, and arrived, at ten o'clock, at another lake, which finished a most harassing and laborious day's journey, of about thirty miles. Here the two Esquimaux quickly erected a snow hut; and, after a supper of frozen meat, the whole party slept soundly on their beds of snow, during a tempestuous night. The following day's journey was marked by an event which we

must describe at some length; as it furnishes one of the most striking illustrations of the country and its inhabitants. At five o'clock in the afternoon, Commander Ross had halted to make some observations for obtaining the longitude; and the appearance of the instruments used on the occasion, renewed in the minds of the Esquimaux their persuasion that they were used for supernatural purposes, and that the persons who possessed them had the powers of divination or conjuring. As the procuring of food is with these people their chief, if not their sole use of knowledge, their arts and sciences are of course confined to the best means of discovering and securing the prey, in the pursuit and devouring of which their whole life is spent. It was very natural, therefore, when his guide saw Commander Ross looking anxiously and intensely through the tubes and glasses of his quadrant, that he should inquire if they should soon meet with any of the musk-oxen, which range that tract of country. It was impossible to explain the real object of his observation to the untutored Poo-yet-tah; but Commander Ross made him understand, that he was not looking after, or thinking of, musk-oxen. Poo-yet-tah, however, could think of nothing else; and accordingly proposed to build a snow hut on the eminence where they then were, in order to watch for a musk-ox: the anxiety of the Commander naturally opposed this project, and they continued their journey. They had not, however, proceeded during half an hour longer, when the trained eye of the Esquimaux saw the tracks of several of these animals on the face of the hill, at the foot of which they were travelling: among them he observed some traces, which satisfied

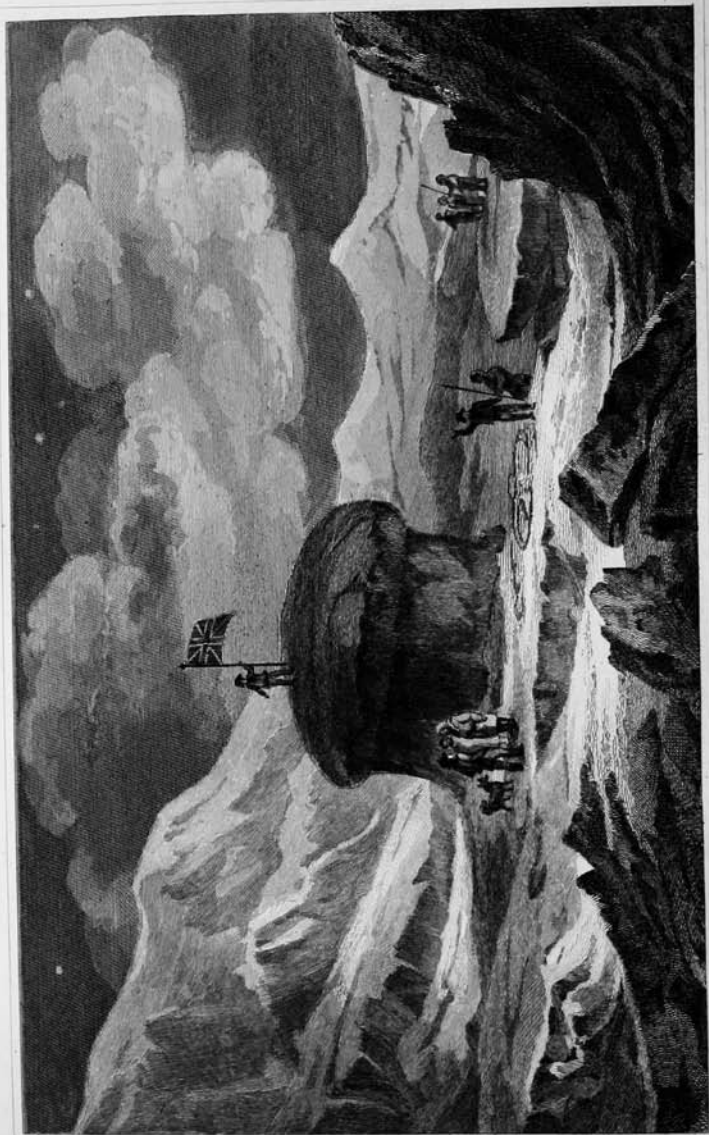
him that two oxen had been on the spot where the party then were, that very evening. It was therefore determined to build a snow hut at the place where they had left the sledges; and while the other Esquimaux was left to complete that necessary work, Poo-yet-tah, armed with his bow and arrows, and Commander Ross with his gun, taking with them three dogs, set off in pursuit of the ox. As soon as they regained the tracks, the dogs, being let slip, went off at full speed, and were quickly out of sight. For two hours the ox-hunters pursued their way through deep snow, when the Esquimaux remarking that the footsteps of the dogs were no longer visible in the track of the oxen, assured the Commander that the dogs had got up with the animals, and were holding one, if not both of them, at bay. In a short time after this remark, on turning the angle of a hill, the sagacity of Poo-yet-tah was illustrated by the sight of a fine musk-ox at bay, before the three dogs; and both the Commander and his guide went off at full speed to the rescue. Poo-yet-tah was first in the field of snow, and was discharging his second arrow when the Commander got up: it struck on the animal's rib, and fell, without even diverting its attention from the dogs, which continued barking and dodging round it, seizing it by the heels, when it turned round, and retreating again as it faced them. In the mean time the beast was trembling with rage, and labouring to reach its active assailants, whose experience had taught them, most dexterously to keep out of its reach. The arrows of the Esquimaux were discharged again and again with little effect, and, in all probability, the attack would have occupied some hours, had not Commander

Ross been present with a far more effective weapon. It was, as the Commander observes, a great pleasure, independently of the value of the expected game, to find an opportunity of showing to the Esquimaux the superiority of his arms: he therefore fired at the animal with two balls, at the distance of fifteen yards. The balls took effect, and the ox fell; but rising again, made a sudden dart at the Commander and the guide, who were standing close together, and who ran for shelter behind a large stone. The enraged creature now rushed forward with all its force, and striking its head against the stone, fell with a crush that was echoed from the surrounding icy ground. The Esquimaux then attempted to stab it with his knife, but failing in his effort, sought shelter behind the dogs, which, at this time, came forward again to the attack, while the animal was bleeding so profusely, that the long hair on its sides was matted with blood; although its rage and strength were apparently undiminished, it continued to advance and butt with fresh fury. In the mean time Commander Ross had reloaded his gun behind the stone, and was advancing to take another aim, when the ox, now goaded to madness, rushed again most furiously towards him, and was actually only five yards distant, when the cool direction of a discharge of both barrels of the Commander's gun gave the creature his mortal wound. The delighted Esquimaux actually screamed with joy; at the same time that he was overwhelmed with wonder at this proof of the power of fire-arms. The horror and surprise he expressed on examining the holes made by the balls, which passed through the animal's body, were extreme; and above all, the sight of the broken shoulder filled him with amazement.

If his superiority in the art of slaughter had thus been shown by our gallant countryman, he had himself a lesson to learn from the Esquimaux, respecting the proper steps to be taken, with respect to the prey thus acquired. "We had now," says Commander Ross, "been eighteen hours without any refreshments; and I naturally, therefore, expected that my friend would have lost no time in extracting a dinner out of the ox. I had, however, done him injustice; his prudence was more powerful than his gluttony. He was content with mixing some of the warm blood with the snow; thus dissolving as much as was necessary to quench his thirst; and then immediately proceeded to skin the animal, knowing very well, what I might have recollected, that the operation would shortly become impossible, in consequence of the severity of the cold, which would soon freeze the whole into an impenetrable mass. For the same reason he divided the carcase into four parts; and as it was too heavy a load to be carried away at that time, he built a snow hut over it, and left it as a store for a future day."

Having devoted so much space to this characteristic adventure, we must now bring Commander Ross and his companion, Mr. Abernethy, once more back to the Victory, which they regained on the 4th of May, after an absence of seven days, during which they had undergone very great fatigue and labour, without meeting any other occurrence worthy of notice.

On the 17th of May, however, we find the ardent Commander commencing a fresh pursuit of the grand object of this expedition. As this journey was intended to be of considerable duration, plans were arranged for carrying



Pukhans Valley

forward stores of provision, and depositing them in secret places, to await the return of the party which were to be pointed out for that purpose. With this view, Surgeon Macdiarmid accompanied the Commander as far as Graham's Valley; but the illness of one of the mates, and several of the men, who were afflicted with a species of ophthalmia, rendered it imperatively necessary that he should return with them soon after the commencement of the journey. The expedition then consisted of only four men, including the Commander and the mate, and Mr. Abernethy; and although they had the assistance of eight dogs in a second sledge, their load, consisting of three weeks' provisions, besides instruments, clothes, and a skin boat, was almost too much for their management. Animated, however, by an unconquerable spirit of enterprise, the Commander resolutely proceeded on his journey. On the 19th a fall of snow, with a fog at midnight, rendered it extremely difficult for them to find their way across the great Middle Lake; and at three in the morning they encamped for rest. The afternoon of that day proved serene; and recommencing their journey at six in the evening, they came in sight of the sea at eleven. Here Commander Ross, ascending a hill on the right, discovered the low land of the opposite shore, stretching across the bay to within twenty degrees of Cape Isabella; and to that Cape he determined to proceed alone, in order to obtain, from its greater elevation, a more extensive view of the inlet. While standing on this eminence, the Commander heard the cheers of the little party he had thus quitted for a time, and which cheers announced their arrival on the shores of the

western sea. "It was to me," Commander Ross eloquently says, "as well as to them, and still more indeed to the leader than his followers, a moment of interest well deserving the 'hail' of a seaman; for it was the ocean that we had pursued, the object of our hopes and exertions; the free space which, as we had once hoped, was to have carried us round the American continent, which ought to have gained us the triumph for which we and all our predecessors had laboured so long and so hard. It would have done all this, had not Nature forbidden it;—it might have done all this, had our chain of lakes been an inlet,—had Graham's Valley formed a free communication between the eastern and western seas: but we had ascertained the impossibility; the desired sea was at our feet, we were soon to be travelling along its surface; and, in our final disappointment, we had at least the consolation of having removed all doubts, and quenched all anxiety of feeling; that where God had said "No," it was for man to submit, and to be thankful for what had been granted. It was a solemn moment, never to be forgotten; and never was the cheering of a seaman so impressive, breaking, as it did, on the stillness of the night, amid this dreary waste of ice and snow, where there was not an object to remind us of life, and not a sound seemed ever to have been heard."

Thus disappointed in the original object of this expedition, the Commander still persevered in pursuing a most useful survey of the coast; and after enduring the severest privations, and suffering extremely from the loss of all the dogs except two, and from a shortness of provisions, did not reach the

Victory till the 14th of June. The result of all his labours had now thoroughly convinced Commander Ross that there was no passage to the westward; and that it must be looked for in a more southerly direction. Several other journeys for that purpose followed, but still without any better results. The activity and energy of Sir John Ross, his enterprising nephew, and of the whole crew, were still, however, day after day displayed, in various useful and amusing occupations; while the Victory remained immovable in its dock of ice and snow.

Among the most remarkable occurrences of the month of July, must be mentioned the fishing excursions of Sir John Ross, his nephew, and Mr. Macdiarmid.

On the 3d, Captain Ross brought to the ship upwards of five hundred weight of fish; and, a few days afterwards, a still larger quantity, which he had obtained from the Esquimaux. The fish had been kept in stores, and were in a frozen state; but, on being thawed, they appeared as fresh as if they had been just caught.

On the 16th, Commander Ross and Surgeon Macdiarmid, for the first time, took some fishing-nets with a party of the natives, and instructed them in their use; at which they evinced equal astonishment and delight. On the first haul they caught 520 salmon; and on the next, 1,130. The joy of the people was extreme when Commander Ross gave them as many as they could carry, and informed them that, in three days, he would return with the nets, and give them a further supply. On his second visit to the lake, they

received him with shouts of joy ; and on throwing in the net, no less than 3,400 fish were brought out ; and so great was the weight, the most serious fears were felt that the net would break.

About this period Sir John Ross began to make preparations for a removal from their present dreary abode. Every exertion was made to get the ship ready for sea ; and as, on the 24th, she became clear of the ice, hopes were indulged that this gallant crew would soon be released from their long imprisonment : the want of a south-westerly wind was now the only impediment ; and, unfortunately, for many days it continued northerly. On the 31st it became westerly, raising in the minds of Commander and crew a dawn of hope, which, however, was of short duration ; for, on the following day, it changed again to the northward ; and, on the 2d of September, there was a complete hurricane of wind, accompanied by heavy falls of snow. Alternate hopes and fears now filled every breast with changes of the weather, until the 4th, when, taking advantage of the spring tides, the crew, giving three cheers, began working the ship through a passage of ice, when, to the great joy of all, she floated on towards a point which had been previously selected. She had, however, proceeded but a very short distance, when she grounded on a rock, and, as the tide returned, she slipped off and took the bottom. The only hope now was, that she might once more float at high water ; and, to give her even this chance, it became necessary to take every article out of the ship in order to lighten her. With all possible alacrity the crew set instantly about this laborious undertaking, and the Victory was

actually cleared of all her stores and provisions. The rising of the tide was now most anxiously waited for, and, as every eye watched its slow but sure approach, every heart felt conscious of the fate that threatened them, if, at the expected moment, the vessel did not float. In that case there seemed for them no other prospect but the fate of the crew of the *Fury*, inasmuch as the stores and provisions must, in the ensuing spring, be left on the beach; and they, themselves, should they live so long, endeavour to discover some whaler which Providence might direct to the entrance of Lancaster Sound, or Baffin's Bay. Under such a conviction, who can attempt to describe the feelings of Sir John Ross, his officers, and crew, at the moment when the mark which denoted the altitude of the tide, told them it was three quarters' tide, and they beheld the *Victory* still stationary! What pen or pencil could depict the countenances of this gallant band of British mariners, as they thus gazed upon what may be termed the telegraph of their impending destiny! One movement would afford them hopes of a safe return to their father-land and their long-left homes; and if that came not, they were doomed to at least a dreary winter of miserable and precarious existence, in a climate scarcely endurable, with all the means of comfort of which they were now deprived. At length the joyous sound, "She floats!" "She floats!" rung from the foremast to the mizen, and hope warmed every bosom. But though the ship now floated, her stores, and, indeed, her whole cargo, being on the beach, it was expedient that she should remain, as near as possible, in the same position, in order to their being

re-shipped. Still it was necessary to move her into deeper water, and she was accordingly carried a little to the northward, and laid alongside an iceberg that was deemed strong enough to hold her. On the return of the tide, however, the ship unfortunately once more grounded, and that in a situation most dangerous, among sharp-pointed rocks. It now became a question of extreme importance, whether to use immediate efforts to move her from this perilous position to a distance from the spot where the cargo could be most easily re-shipped—to a distance which would make its conveyance to the vessel a work of the utmost difficulty and labour—or whether it were not better to incur the risk of some damage to the ship, by detaining her till she was re-loaded. The latter was deemed the least perilous resolution, and the re-shipment took place without any accident occurring to the *Victory*, having occupied two whole days. It being necessary to cut away the ice that still intercepted the ship's progress, the crew laboured with their saws, day after day, till the 13th, when she floated with a southerly wind.

From that day to the 17th, efforts continued to be made, with varying success, to get the ship once more into sail, which was then accomplished; and she stretched along the land, having made nearly four miles. But so very dangerous was her position, and so boisterous and unfavourable the wind, that, in a few days, it became quite certain that our hardy and enterprising, but unfortunate countrymen were doomed to pass the coming winter within four miles of the situation where they had passed the former.

We must pass over the labours and the dangers that

ensued from this time till the 30th of November, when the *Victory* had once more become the ark of preservation to these adventurers, separated from all their fellow-creatures, and who, on that day, bade adieu for a long and certain period, to the cheering sight of the sun! It would be a tedious task to us, and to our readers, to endeavour to convey to them a picture of the occupations of the crew during the successive four months, the monotony of which was uninterrupted, and resembled, in most respects, the corresponding period of the previous year.

The commencement of the year 1831 was cold, but remarkably calm. On the 19th of January the crew were once more gladdened by the appearance of the sun just above the horizon, being one day earlier than it was seen the year before.

The end of March was approaching, and, as yet, none of the Esquimaux had visited the ship. "Our disappointment," says Sir John Ross, "in not seeing them increased, as their expected arrival was delayed. They furnished us with occupation and amusement. We were also in want of seals' flesh for our dogs: for ourselves, too, fresh venison and fish would have been more than acceptable; nor were we so well stocked with skin dresses, as not to wish for more. We still looked forward to their visits with hope." How well do these few words of the gallant Commander of this most extraordinary expedition, describe the state of utter destitution to which he and his gallant associates were at this time reduced, when the appearance of even a tribe of Esquimaux was their most cheering hope! It was, however, the 21st of April before they were gratified

by the visit of three natives, their former acquaintance. They had come over the western hills, with their dogs, and, having been met by Commander Ross and a party from the ship, who had gone on a walking journey, he had directed them to the Victory's station, with a note from himself, containing the agreeable news that he had purchased two stores of salmon for two knives. These welcome friends were detained to dinner, and slept on board. From this day the journeys were re-commenced under the guidance of the Esquimaux, and abundance of provisions, such, at least, as they had now become accustomed to, was obtained; but no occurrence of any interest took place previous to the 27th of May, when Commander Ross commenced his memorable expedition, which enabled that persevering officer to ascertain with precision, the point of the northern magnetic pole. On this subject, so important to science, and so truly interesting to scientific men, it will be sufficient to present the general reader with the result of Commander Ross's discovery, as nearly as possible, in his own words. It must be premised that for a long period the Commander had been devoting himself to the study of the dip of the needle; and that, during the present winter, he had, as he tells us, "carried on a series of magnetic observations; and had at length assigned a place for the magnetic pole, which he believed to be much more accurate than the one which had been previously suggested." Thus prepared, the Commander proceeded, under many difficulties, towards the point in question, and, on the 30th of May, halted, at eight o'clock in the morning, in latitude $69^{\circ} 46' 25''$, and longitude $95^{\circ} 49' 11''$ west. At half-past nine in the evening, he again set out, and

encamped the following morning at eight, within fourteen miles of the calculated position of the magnetic pole. "My anxiety now," says Commander Ross, "did not permit me to do or endure any thing which might delay my arrival at the long wished-for spot. I resolved, in consequence, to leave behind the greater part of our baggage and provisions, and to take onwards nothing more than was strictly necessary ; lest bad weather, or other accidents, should be added to delay, or lest unforeseen circumstances, still more untoward, should deprive me of the high gratification which I could not but look to in accomplishing this most desired object. We commenced, therefore, a rapid march, comparatively disencumbered, as we now were ; and persevering with all our might, we reached the calculated spot at eight in the morning, of the 1st of June. I believe I must leave it to others to imagine the elation of mind with which we found ourselves, now at length arrived at this great object of our ambition : it almost seemed as if we had accomplished every thing that we had come so far to see and to do ; as if our voyage and our labour were at an end, and that nothing now remained for us but to return home, and be happy for the rest of our days." How natural were these thoughts ! and how honestly and plainly are they expressed ! The head must be dull indeed, and the heart made of stone, that does not quickly comprehend, and warmly sympathize in, such noble feelings !

The necessary preparations were no sooner made for taking observation, than they were immediately commenced, and continued throughout that and the greater part of the following day. The details of these obser-

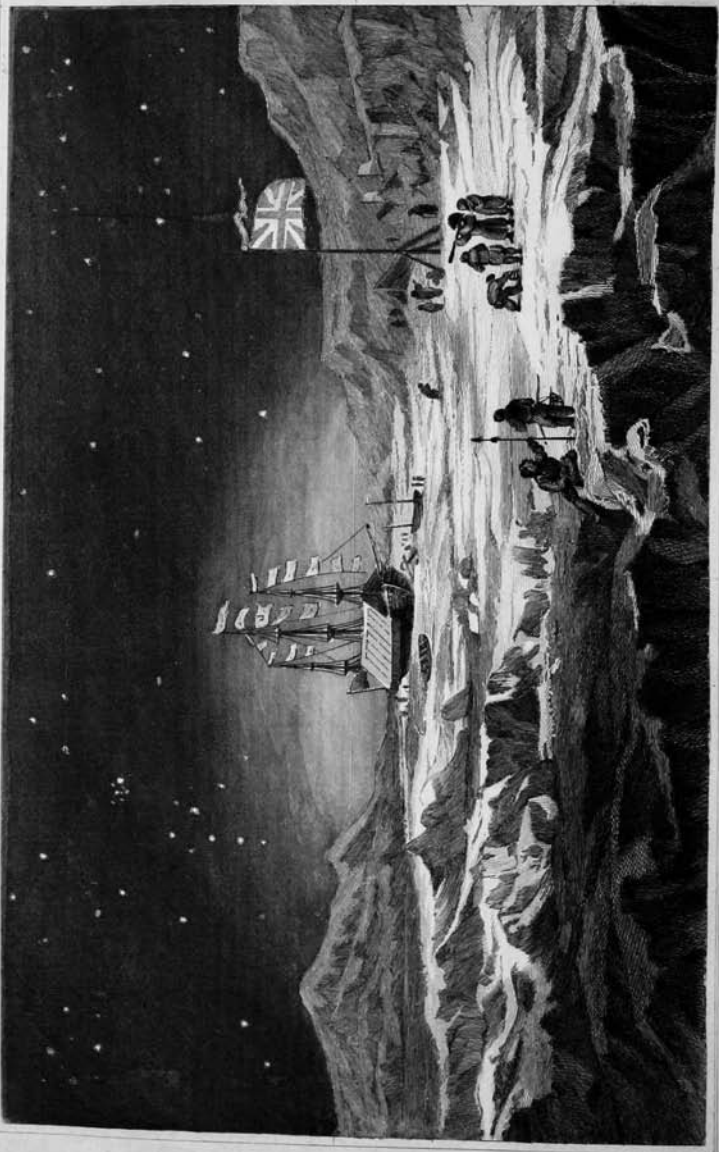
vations are to be found in the Appendix to the Journal ; and they were also communicated to the Royal Society for the purposes of science ; and a paper, containing all that philosophers may desire to know on this subject, has been printed in the Transactions of that Society. In order, however, to gratify general curiosity, the Commander, in a most simple and popular manner, thus relates the most conspicuous results :—“ The place of the observatory,” he says, “ was as near to the magnetic pole as the limited means which I possessed, enabled me to determine. The amount of the dip, as indicated by my dipping needle, was $89^{\circ} 59'$, being thus within one minute of the vertical ; while the proximity at least of this pole, if not its actual existence, where we stood, was further confirmed by the action, or rather by the total inaction of the several horizontal needles then in my possession. These were suspended in the most delicate manner possible, but there was not one which showed the slightest effort to move from the position in which it was placed ; a fact which the most moderately informed of readers must now know to be one which proves that the centre of attraction lies at a very small horizontal distance, if at any.” Having thus satisfied his own mind, the Commander communicated this gratifying result of all their labours to his party, who lost no time in fixing the British flag on the spot, and taking possession of the North Magnetic Pole, and its adjoining territory, in the name of Great Britain and King William IV. With the fragments of limestone that covered the beach, they erected a cairn of some magnitude, under which they buried a canister, containing a record of the result of their labours. The

latitude of this spot is $70^{\circ} 5' 17''$, and its longitude $96^{\circ} 46' 45''$ west. We cannot omit, in this place, the mention of the remarkable confirmation which Commander Ross had the high gratification of receiving on his return to England, of the accuracy of his observations. During the period of the Commander's absence, this subject had engaged much of the attention of scientific men, and of Professor Barlow especially. This learned gentleman had laid down all the curves of equal variation, to within a few degrees of the point of their concurrence, leaving that point, of course, to be determined by observation, should such observation ever fall within the power of navigators. How great must have been the gratification of Commander Ross to learn, on his return, that the place which he had thus examined, was precisely that one, where these curves should have coincided in a centre, had they been protracted, on the magnetic chart of the Professor!

We must now return with the Commander and his party to their still immovable ship, where a recurrence of the same occupations and pursuits, and the same unchanging scene, continued, until the 14th of August, when a party of Esquimaux came on board, among whom was the man for whom a wooden leg had been made; and which the poor fellow had unfortunately broken. Having been consoled by the promise of another leg on this day, he accordingly made his appearance, accompanied by the whole tribe, amounting, together, in men, women, and children, to twenty-two persons, among whom were several who had formerly visited, and been visited by the crew of the *Victory*, while lying in Felix harbour. A ludicrous scene ensued;

as the Esquimaux, according to their custom, most familiarly placed their noses in close contact with those of their former acquaintance, and *kooniggd* their faces till they imparted to them somewhat of the dirty colouring of their own. Dancing succeeded; after which they partook of a repast of baked seal and blubber, and were then rowed on shore, highly delighted with their reception; and none more so than he with the wooden leg, which, having been bound with copper, performed its part much better than ever.

On the 28th of August, the *Victory* once more began to move beyond those walls of ice, which, during a second winter, had imprisoned her. Several serious accidents, however, to the vessel, and a succession of foul winds, added to the impediments of icebergs, retarded her progress so much, after several weeks of incredible labour and hardships endured by the crew, that, after the most tantalizing alternation of hopes and fears, it became evident, by the end of September, that it was the fate of these brave fellows to undergo another winter's imprisonment in cells of ice and snow! In the words of Sir John Ross, "it was at that time impossible to expect any further progress under such a mass and weight of winter" as then surrounded them; while a still worse prospect forced itself on their apprehensions, in the idea of being compelled to abandon the imprisoned ship with all her stores and cargo. Still, however, even in this, the worst event, they had boats, by means of which they might reach Davis's Straits, where they would either meet a whaler, or reach the Danish settlements, in Greenland; and there was still preserved for them the remainder of the *Fury's* stores. October,



Fine Harbour with the Ship Victory frozen in.

November, and December passed over, without any change to lessen or increase the hopes and fears of our imprisoned countrymen, by whom, however, the festival of Christmas-day was observed in a manner too remarkable not to be recorded ; nor can any words so well relate the extraordinary fact as those of Sir John Ross himself. "Christmas-day was made a holiday in all senses. In the cabin dinner, the only fact worth remarking, was a round of beef, which had been in the *Fury's* stores for eight years, and which, with some veal and some vegetables, was as good as it was on the day on which it was cooked. I know not whether the preservation of this meat thus secured be interminable or not, but what we brought home is now, in 1835, as good as when it went out from the hands of the maker, or whatever be his designation, in 1828."

The commencement of another year found the *Victory* still icebound, and its inhabitants still labouring with equal fortitude and patience, to make the best of circumstances. Among other works, a tunnel from the ship to the shore had been begun ; and the men who had been employed, whenever it was possible, on the tunnel, had now the melancholy office to prepare a grave for one of their comrades, James Dixon, the stoker to the engine, who, having been long ill, died on the 10th of January.

The principal cares of the Commander, and the chief labours of the crew, were, from this period to the beginning of April, employed on the preparations necessary for carrying into execution the design of abandoning the ship, which was deemed inevitable. Accordingly, sledges had been made for the purpose of carrying the

boats and provisions; and on the 14th of April, one boat was completely fitted on a double sledge. Sir John Ross having now fully decided on the abandonment of the ship, his object was to proceed to a certain distance, with a stock of provisions and the boats, and there to deposit them for the purpose of more easily advancing afterwards. Fury Beach was the point they now eagerly desired to reach, for the purpose of obtaining supplies, as well as to get possession of the boats; in failure of which they would have their own placed in a position to which they could fall back.

The difficulty of conveying the boats through such a track of country, exceeds all description; and the labour and patience requisite for such an undertaking, seems almost superhuman. Frequently it was necessary to drag them over very heavy ice, over lakes, hills, and valleys; and a whole day was often occupied in getting one boat a quarter of a mile, with the united strength of the whole party; who, sometimes, at the end of such a day's fatigue, had to build their snow huts, and sleep therein, with the thermometer at 30° below zero.

The day at length arrived when the final adieu was to be bidden to the Victory; and here, again, it would be presumptuous in us to use any other words than those of the truly great Commander of this ever-memorable expedition. On the 28th of May, Sir John thus journalizes:—

“ We were employed for our final departure. The chronometer and astronomical instruments which could be spared, and could not be taken, were concealed in the place that we had made, together with some

gunpowder ; the masts, sails, and rigging, were placed with the Krusensten ; and the men carried two sledges, loaded with provisions and stores, as far as the third lake, leaving one on board to take the remaining articles."

On the following day, the 29th of May, he thus proceeds :—

" We had now secured every thing on shore that could be of use to us in case of our return ; or which, if we did not, would prove of use to the natives. The colours were therefore hoisted and nailed to the mast ; we drank a parting glass to our poor ship ; and having seen every man out, I took my own adieu of the *Victory*, which had deserved a better fate. It was the first vessel I had ever been obliged to abandon, after having served in thirty-six, during a period of forty-two years. It was like the last parting with an old friend ; and I did not pass the point where she ceased to be visible, without stopping to take a sketch of this melancholy desert, rendered more melancholy by the solitary, abandoned, helpless home of our past years, fixed in immovable ice till time shall perform on her his usual work."

It is impossible to transcribe such a picture as the veteran mariner here draws of his own feelings, without a tribute of admiration and applause. The actor and the scene, on this occasion, will doubtless furnish to some future Shakspeare a subject of immortal fame.

The succeeding days, and indeed every subsequent day, proved the absolute necessity of the step then taken ; and it was a source of consolation to the

responsible author of the measure, that nothing but what he was then doing could have been done.

From this period until the 1st of July, the whole party underwent a series of hardships of which no description can give an adequate idea; having for thirty-one successive days and nights been travelling over the worst species of ground, with the most wretched accommodation conceivable. On that day, however, they reached their desired point, Fury Beach, on which they encamped about ten o'clock. "We were once more at home, for a time, at least," says Sir John Ross, "such a home as it was; and however long or short was the time that we were destined to occupy it, there was the feeling of home at least, and that was something; it had been the home of all of us since it had been our store-house, and it had been twice that of Commander Ross. The first object, very naturally, was to take a survey of the stores; which, as they were deposited in many different places, it was found very difficult to prevent the half-starved men from getting access to; and who, consequently, in defiance of orders, devoured them with a voracity equal to the Esquimaux; and who, of course, suffered for their folly accordingly.

The possession of the stores so providentially preserved at this place, enabled Sir John Ross to allow the people regular meals daily, and give them occasional comforts to which they had long been strangers. One of the most important labours now was to construct some means of shelter—some substitute for the ship they had been compelled to abandon. Accordingly, a sort of house was built in the

course of ten days, covered with canvass; being seven feet in height, and thirty-one by sixteen in length and width. This, with the considerable repairs necessary to the three boats, by which alone they could hope to reach some point where a ship might touch, now fully occupied all hands. The interior of the temporary building (which the men nick-named Somerset House, the land having been called North Somerset) was divided into two rooms, one for the men, and another subdivided into four small cabins for the officers; and a separate tent was used for a kitchen or cook's room.

On the 1st of August, the ice having partially broken up, and the boats being ready, Sir John Ross ordered preparations for a departure from Fury Beach; as there was a clear navigable stream of water, and it was most desirable to reach Baffin's Bay before the end of the whaling season. The boats were stored with provisions supposed to be sufficient for about six weeks, besides bedding and other necessaries; and each boat carried seven men and an officer. Sir John and his nephew, Commander Ross, exchanged copies of their charts and narratives, in case of separation; and in the house they were now quitting, as they hoped for ever, a bottle was buried containing a brief narrative of their proceedings up to that period.

The extent of their first day's journey was not more than five miles; and this was accomplished with incessant labour, during a period of nine hours. They then pitched their tents on the ice, and were compelled to unload the boats, and haul them along the ice, at some distance from the shore! The following day, resuming their voyage, they took advantage of such

openings as appeared in the ice ; but severe, in the extreme, was the toil of loading and unloading the boats every time ; and, sometimes, after launching them, they could make only forty yards before they were again forced to haul them over very rough and uneven ice.

Successive struggles, ably planned and nobly executed, led these gallant men from one place of encampment to another ; now being encouraged by hopes that they should succeed in their onward progress, and now driven to despair, with no other alternative in view than that of spending another winter in their house at Fury Beach ; even if such a sad alternative could, after all, be relied upon, considering the dangers and toils of retracing their steps. It was not, however, till the 20th of September, that all hope of proceeding was relinquished. On that day Sir John Ross remarks, that, “ putting off at noon, we reached the pack-edge of the ice, at the junction of Barrow’s Straits, and Prince Regent’s Inlet, after forcing our way through that which had been newly formed. It was a continuous mass of ice, giving no hope of breaking up during the present season, advanced as that was ; the land was equally blocked up with heavy ice, so that we were obliged to return whence we had come. “ On the 24th,” says Sir John, “ every one agreed that all hope was at an end, and that it only remained for us to return to Fury Beach.”

When, after the maturest deliberation, this step was decided, and when it was ascertained that it would be impossible to convey back to Fury Beach the stores and other necessaries by the boats, Sir John Ross ordered that three of the bread casks should be broken up, and sledges constructed out of the materials, to

supply the requisite means of conveyance of such things as were more especially necessary. While these orders were executing under the superintendence of the carpenter, the rest of the crew were occupied in housing over the boats, and securing them as well as they possibly could, against the effects of the approaching winter, by fixing their anchors, and placing stones and other heavy articles over them, and then covering the whole with a layer of snow.

On the 4th of October the return to Fury Beach commenced. From Batty Bay to their winter home, was a distance of six and thirty miles ; and that distance was greatly increased by the necessity of going round two bights. So impassable did they find their icy route for the conveyance of any thing of any weight, that, after a few efforts to proceed with the loaded sledges, they were compelled to unload them, and deposit many articles on the beach, with the intention of sending back the sledges for them, after their arrival at Fury Beach.

By labours and exertions almost miraculous, our persevering travellers at length, on the 7th of October, arrived once more at Fury Beach, where, to use the always plain and accurate language of Sir John Ross, "they found their house occupied by a fox, which soon made its escape." "Every thing," says Sir John, "was as we left it ; and as we were not less hungry than cold, having finished our last morsel at breakfast, the men were treated with a good meal ; which, however, the imprudent did not partake of without suffering." The reparation of the house, and the building of a snow wall around it, above nine feet thick, were among the first occupations of the men. The engineer was then set

to work in building an oven, for baking bread ; an ample supply of flour having been most providentially obtained from the stores of the *Fury*, as their stock of biscuits brought from the *Victory* was now nearly exhausted. After these important steps had been taken, it became expedient to think of the means of bringing to their present home the various articles left within four miles of Batty Bay. A travelling party, consisting of fourteen men, was accordingly equipped, and sent forth on this necessary expedition. This party, which was inspirited and directed by the presence of Commander Ross, happily succeeded in its efforts, and returned to Somerset house on the 21st of October, bringing every thing with them except the tents, which had been left at the last stage. Among the most useful articles brought was one of the stoves which had been taken from the *Victory*. Each of the three boats had originally a stove : one of these was brought away on leaving Batty Bay ; a second was now arrived ; and the third was deposited under the boats at that place, when the crew quitted it. There was now a stove for the officers' room, and one for the berth of the seamen ; and having a quantity of funnelling at his command, the engineer soon contrived to diffuse warm air through every part of this extraordinary house.

In this dwelling, such as it was, Sir John Ross, Commander Ross, and their companions and crew, were doomed to pass another dreary winter. On the 14th of November the sun was in the horizon, and was seen for the last time on the 15th.

Every thing that zeal and judgment could accomplish for the comfort and health of those committed to his

government under such extraordinary circumstances, was done by the gallant Captain and his intelligent nephew, Commander Ross. The interior of Somerset House, in December, presented the appearance of a comfortable establishment. The bed-places were completed, the oven was put up, a mess-table was run along the middle part of the house; four bed-places were made for the officers; and a table in the middle part, so that from the officer's mess-berth, a door opened to their cabin. The stove was placed at the front of the table: the funnelling was carried under it, and thence to the outside of the house. Two out-houses were built on the outside; one for a sort of lumber-house, and the other as a store-house for snow, being regularly filled with snow as often as it could be procured. At this time it cannot be matter of surprise that the general state of the health of the inmates of such a dwelling, in such a clime and season, was far from favourable. Three were very ill with a scorbutic complaint, among whom was Mr. Thomas, the carpenter: the cook was afflicted severely with rheumatism; one man had lost the top of two of his fingers, having been frost-bitten at Batty Bay; and, lastly, the mate, George Taylor, a second time frost-bitten, in travelling from Batty Bay to Fury Beach, but who persisted in hobbling on with such aid as his comrades could possibly give him, under the distressing circumstances of such a journey. The men in general, when confined by weather to the house, were required to use such exercise as they could; and one of their principal labours was to carry snow, when the weather permitted, to the out-house fitted up as its receptacle.

Among other sport during the winter, that of hunting and shooting foxes afforded food as well as recreation. One of these animals frequently furnished the Sunday dinner of the officers; and on Christmas Day four baked foxes supplied a sumptuous feast for officers and men; though the beverage of all was only snow-water.

The only occurrence that disturbed the dreary monotony of the ensuing months of January, February, and March, in the year 1833, was the death of Chimham Thomas, the carpenter, which took place early in February, and on the 22d he was buried. The observations of Sir John Ross on this event are worthy of record. "This poor man," says Sir John, "had been three months ill, and his case had long been esteemed hopeless, as he was suffering from scurvy, in addition to a worn-out constitution. It was the first of our losses, however, which could, in any fairness, be attributed to the climate, and our peculiar situation; the first man who died could scarcely have lived longer at home; nor was the death of the other, one that could have been delayed long anywhere."

The month of April brought a change of scene, and animated once more the tired spirits of this band of heroes, as they well merit to be called. The commencement of the necessary preparations for their final departure, were in themselves revivers of hope.

It must be recollected that the distance from Batty Bay to Fury Beach was estimated at thirty-two miles; and a calculation was now made that the stores of provisions and other articles absolutely necessary to be conveyed there, amounted to seven tons. How was the transit of such a load to be effected by thirteen

working hands, (to which number the crew, by sickness and other casualties, were now reduced,) over hummocks of ice, and hills of snow? It had been computed, that the quantity to be conveyed would load fourteen sledges; whereas, the thirteen hands to be employed were barely sufficient to drag two such loaded sledges!

“Our plan now was,” says Sir John Ross, “to carry forward in advance to the boats, which we had left at Batty Bay, sufficient provision to last us from the 1st of July to the 1st of October, as that was the point whence our summer journey and voyage would commence. On Tuesday, the 23d of April,” continues Sir John, “Commander Ross and the parties set off with two loads of various articles, to the depôt, and returned about mid-day on the 24th.”

It may be here remarked, that in order to convey the whole by so few hands, it was necessary for the men, after having dragged the sledges eight miles, to return immediately with the empty sledges, for the remaining part of the stores; so that they had to travel the distance of fifty-six miles, without having advanced more than eight towards the ultimate point of their journey. The incessant labour was necessarily kept up during the whole of April and May, and the early part of June. It was indeed the 24th of May before the arrival of the first load near the place where the boats had been secured at Batty Bay; and it may be readily imagined with what anxiety the search was made for the only means by which they could possibly be delivered from the dreary regions of ice and snow in which they had been so long and so miserably entombed. Nor were the party without just fears on their arrival, when not

a vestige of them was visible: so deeply were they buried in the frozen snow. To dig for them and the concealed stores occupied the greatest part of an anxious day; but ultimately they had the happiness to discover the boats, not much injured: but they found that a considerable portion of the provisions had been devoured by the foxes and bears. Sir John Ross relates an anecdote, about this period, which is so picturesque that we must not omit it.

“On the 25th,” says Sir John, “I remained with the boats in Batty Bay, to make observations, while the party returned to fetch up what was still left. I came back much fatigued. Sleeping here alone in the hut, about midnight, a bear pulled away the stones which supported the canvass roof, and fell in, nearly on the place where I lay. On calling out to know who was there, the creature went off to the other hut; when, as it was examining the cook’s kettle, it received a shot from my gun, under which, whether wounded or not, it was soon out of sight.”

To describe the continued labours of the officers as well as the men, in transporting the stores and provisions, day after day, from Fury Beach to Batty Bay, from their first journey to the 12th of July, would be a mere repetition of what has been already described; and it is therefore sufficient for the reader to know, that on the above day, the whole party and all their stores had safely reached the shores, where they hoped to embark on their homeward voyage.

Having by almost miraculous efforts overcome all the various obstacles and difficulties in gaining this point of hope, it now became the daily occupation of every

man's thoughts, to calculate how long it would be ere the ice would depart, and the doors of the watery deep be thrown open, so as to permit our anxious mariners once more to feel the motion of their beloved element. It was not, however, till the 14th of August, that a lane of water was for the first time seen, leading to the northward. Who can attempt to describe the emotions of the spectators of that sight? No eye could close in sleep that night: all were on the watch for what the dawn of day would bring; and by four o'clock in the morning, all hands were employed in cutting away the ice which obstructed the shore. The tide rose nearly about the same time; and there being a fine westerly breeze, the boats were launched, the sick and the stores were embarked, and, by eight o'clock, the three boats were under weigh.

The language of Sir John Ross must again be used; for no other can convey to the reader so true a picture of that scene, and the feelings it excited in the bosoms of our gallant countrymen. On the 17th, Sir John thus journalizes:—

“Accustomed as we were to the ice, to its caprices, and to its sudden and unexpected alterations, it was a change like that of magic, to find that solid mass of ocean, which was but too fresh in our memories, which we had looked at for so many years, as if it was fixed for ever in a repose which nothing could hereafter disturb, suddenly converted into water; navigable,—and navigable to us, who had almost forgotten what it was to float at freedom on the seas. It was at times scarcely to be believed; and he who dozed to awake again, had for a moment to renew the conviction that he was at

length a seaman on his own element—that his boat once more rose on the waves beneath him—and that when the winds blew, it obeyed his will and his hand.”

With varying winds and weather, these noble spirits pursued their dauntless course by day, occasionally sleeping on shore, in tents, by night, from the 15th, the day of their embarkation, till the, to them, ever memorable 26th of August. On that day, at four in the morning, while yet all were asleep in their tents, the look-out man, David Wood, thought he discerned a sail in the offing, and immediately informed Commander Ross, who, using his glass, confirmed the joyful tidings. All the men were immediately aroused from their slumbers, and, rushing to the beach, began discussing her rig, quality, and course; though some of the most gloomy still persisted that the imaginary ship was nothing but an iceberg.

Instant orders were, however, given to launch the boats, and signals were made, by burning wet powder; and, by six o'clock, the boats were under weigh towards the vessel; but, unluckily, a breeze springing up, she made all sail to the south-eastward, and, in consequence, the boat which was foremost was soon left astern, while the other two were steering more to eastward, in the hope of intercepting her.

About ten o'clock, however, another ship was discovered to the northward, which appeared to be lying to for its boats; and the sanguine belief of the hope-inspired crew, whose eyes were strained towards her, was that she had actually seen them. But such was not the case. In a short time they were convinced she was fast leaving them! Who can picture the situation and feelings of these destitute mariners, who had rejoiced

at having been so near to two separate ships, and now almost sinking under the dreadful apprehension that they should not be able to reach either ! But the wisdom and fortitude of their truly christian commander, Sir John Ross, was here, as on all former occasions, conspicuous. The words of his journal are, " It was necessary, however, to keep up the courage of the men, by assuring them, from time to time, that we were coming up with her ; when fortunately it fell calm, and we really gained so fast, that at eleven o'clock we saw her heave to with all sails aback, and lower down a boat, which rowed immediately towards our own. She was soon alongside, when the mate in command addressed us, by presuming we had met with some misfortune, and lost our ship. This being answered in the affirmative, I requested to know the name of his vessel, and expressed our wish to be taken on board. I was answered that it was ' the Isabella of Hull, once commanded by Captain Ross ;' on which I stated that I was the identical man in question, and my people the crew of the Victory. That the mate who commanded this boat was as much astonished at this information as he appeared to be, I do not doubt ; while, with the usual dunderheadedness of men on such occasions, he assured me that I had been dead two years. I easily convinced him, however, (what, to have been true, according to his estimate, was a somewhat premature conclusion, as the bearlike forms of the whole set of us might have shown him, had he taken time to consider,) that we were certainly not whaling gentlemen, and that we carried tolerable evidence, on our backs, and in our starved unshaven countenances, of being ' true men and no impostors.' A

hearty congratulation followed of course, in the true seaman style ; and, after a few natural inquiries, he added that the *Isabella* was commanded by Captain Humphreys ; when he immediately went off in his boat to communicate his information on board ; repeating that we had long been given up as lost, not by them alone, but by all England. As we approached slowly after him to the ship, he jumped up the side, and in a minute the rigging was manned ; while we were saluted with three cheers as we came within cable length, and were not long in getting on board of my old vessel, where we were all received by Captain Humphreys with a hearty seaman's welcome."

At this point of time, and with this most providential deliverance, the voyage of Captain Ross may be deemed to terminate, and our narrative to close. Never, we will venture to affirm, were men in any age, or of any country, doomed to severer trials and sufferings than the gallant band of mariners, thus rescued from perishing by the *Isabella*. In the description which Sir John Ross gives of the appearance of himself and his companions, there is a sort of manly pathos, if we may be allowed the expression, which must extort admiration from the coldest bosoms. "If," says he, "to be poor, wretchedly poor, as far as all our present property was concerned, was to have a claim on charity, no one could well deserve it more ; but if to look so, be to frighten away the so-called charitable, no beggar that wanders in Ireland could have outdone us in exciting the repugnance of those who have not known what poverty can be. Unshaven since I know not when—dirty—dressed in the rags of wild beasts, instead

of the tatters of civilization, and starved to the very bones—our gaunt and grim looks, when contrasted with those of the well-dressed and well-fed men around us, made us all feel, I believe for the first time, what we really were, as well as what we seemed to others. Poverty is without half its mark unless it be contrasted with wealth; and what we might have known to be true in the past days, we had forgotten to think of, till we were thus reminded of what we truly were, as well as what we seemed to be.”

Such was the situation of all the persons who were permitted to return to England. But they were now among friends and fellow-seamen, and soon was the scene changed from the melancholy to the almost ludicrous. “Every man,” continues Sir John, “was hungry, and was to be fed; all were ragged, and were to be clothed: there was not one to whom washing was not indispensable, not one whom his beard did not deprive of all English semblance.”

Sir John Ross, whilst the *Isabella* remained in the North Regions, continued to make observations; and being desirous to leave at Possession Bay a notice to any vessel that might land there in search of him, and also to verify his chronometer, he was landed there for these purposes; and, after burying a bottle, with a statement of the facts, at the very same cairn which he had built in 1818, he returned on board.

The other ship, which had been first seen by the crew of the *Victory*, they now learned was the *William Lee*, a whaler that had sailed in company with the *Isabella*. These vessels had both continued to a much later period than usual in these seas; and as winter

was then setting in with unusual severity, they saw the expediency of preparing to return.

Accordingly, on the 30th of September, the *Isabella*, with Sir John Ross, quitted Davis's Straits: on the 12th of October they reached Stromness, in the Orkney Islands; were detained two days at the Long Hope; on the 15th were again under sail; and, arriving in the Humber on the 18th, proceeded to Hull in the Rotterdam steam-packet.

The report of their expected arrival having preceded them they were honoured with visits of congratulation from the Mayor and Corporation, the officers of the Trinity-house and the Philosophical Society, as well as many of the principal inhabitants of that opulent and ancient place. On the following day, continuing their voyage by steam, they arrived, on the 29th of October, in London, where Sir John Ross formally reported himself to the Secretary of the Admiralty; and the next morning was presented to, and most graciously received by, his Majesty King William IV., at Windsor.

When the safety and return of Sir John Ross were first made known to the public, the intelligence came so suddenly, after a long period of mourning for his loss, that it could scarcely be believed. The latest accounts which had been received from him were dated July 29, 1829, from Disco Island. The most alarming apprehensions were therefore universally felt for their safety; and a meeting of the Geographical Society was specially held, to consider the expediency of taking measures for obtaining some intelligence concerning, or at least making some efforts in search of, the missing ship and crew. At this meeting it was

resolved to open a subscription, and to organize a Committee to make the requisite preparations for despatching a party in quest of them. Government promptly aided the design; and the individual selected for this interesting service was the gallant Captain Back, of whom, and of the expedition, Sir John Ross speaks in the highest terms in his letter of thanks to the Committee, dated London, October 20, 1833.

Captain Back, it must be remembered, had sailed on his expedition on the 17th of February, 1833, and a letter had been received from him only two days before the announcement of Captain Ross's safety. The letter was dated the 19th of June; at which period Captain Back had safely reached Jack River.

In consequence of the happy arrival of Sir John Ross and his companions, a meeting of the Committee for managing the expedition under Captain Back, was promptly held; and a letter from Sir Charles Ogle, the chairman, on the 23d October, was written, intimating that event to Captain Back, and forwarded by the Hudson's Bay Company with the most extraordinary expedition.

This letter with the packet was received at Sault St. Mary's on the 20th of January, 1834, at noon, was forwarded the next day to the second station, and so continued to be forwarded from each place, either on the same day of its arrival or on the following, until it reached the Great Slave River, at 7 P. M. on the 29th of April. We do not know any instance in which greater zeal was manifested to communicate and convey important intelligence from one quarter of the globe to another.

On the 25th of April, 1834, Captain Back thus

journalizes in his interesting narrative: " This was the anniversary of our departure from La Chine. We were talking, for about the hundredth time, of those kind persons who had come so far to see us away, and had begun to speculate on their different occupations at that very hour, when we were interrupted by a sharp and loud knock at the door. The permission to come in was unnecessary, for the person followed the announcement before the words could be uttered, and with the same dispatch thrust into my hands a packet, which a glance sufficed to tell me was from England. ' He is returned, Sir,' said the messenger, as we looked at him with surprise. ' What, Augustus ?* Thank God,' I replied quickly. ' Captain Ross, Sir—Captain Ross is returned.' ' Eh ! are you quite sure ? is there no error ? Where is the account from ?' The man paused, looked at me, and pointing with his finger, said, ' You have it in your hand, Sir.' It was so ; but the packet had been forgotten in the excitement and hurry of my feelings. Two open extracts from the *Times* and *Morning Herald* confirmed the tidings ; and my official letter, with others from the long-lost adventurers themselves, and from many other friends, English and American, removed all possible doubt, and evinced at the same time the powerful interest which the event had awakened in the public, by a great proportion of whom the party had long since been numbered among the dead. To me the intelligence was peculiarly gratifying, not only as verifying my previously expressed opinions, but as demonstrating the

* A youth who was missing, and about whose fate Captain Back was extremely anxious.

wisdom as well as the humanity of the course pursued by the promoters of our expedition ; who had thereby rescued the British nation from an imputation of indifference, which it was far indeed from meriting. In the fulness of our hearts we assembled together, and humbly offered up our thanks to that merciful Providence which, in the beautiful language of Scripture, hath said, ' Mine own will I bring again, as I did sometime, from the deeps of the Sea.' "

We must now prepare to take leave of our readers, who have accompanied us through this four years' voyage ; and we shall conclude our analysis of one of the most interesting narratives ever presented to a British public, by transcribing the following extracts from the Report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to take into consideration all the circumstances connected with the expedition ; and of which Committee Lord Viscount Sandon was Chairman :—" Your Committee," says the Report, " have found the statements contained in the above letter* confirmed, as far as they have been examined, by the evidence which has appeared before them ; and supported by the opinions of Captain Beaufort, Hydrographer to the Admiralty ; of Mr. Children, one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society ; and of Professor Barlow, who has made the magnetic variations his particular study ; they see no reason to doubt that Captain Ross nearly approached, and that Commander Ross actually reached the MAGNETIC POLE. Under these circumstances, your Committee can have

* A letter addressed by Sir John Ross to Captain the Honourable George Elliott, C.B., dated on board the *Isabella*, in September 1833, and containing a summary of the voyage.

no hesitation in reporting that a great public service has been performed. Independently of the demonstration that one passage, which had been considered by preceding navigators to be one of the most likely to lead from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, does not exist—thus narrowing the field for future expeditions, if such should ever be undertaken ; independently of the addition of between six and seven hundred miles of coast to our geographical knowledge, and of the valuable additions to magnetic science and meteorology, which the expedition will supply ; your Committee cannot overlook the public service which is rendered to a maritime country, especially in time of peace, by deeds of daring enterprise, and patient endurance of hardship, which enlist the general feeling in favour of maritime adventure. . . . It appears, from a memorandum delivered into your Committee by the Admiralty, that “ all the men have received double full pay until they finally abandoned their ship, and full pay after that, until their arrival in England, amounting to the gross sum of 4,580*l.* ; that they have besides been employed in eligible situations in the dockyards, or placed in others that will lead to promotion ; that Mr. Abernethy, the gunner, has been promoted and appointed to the Seringapatam ; that Mr. Thom, purser, has been appointed to the lucrative situation of purser of the *Canopus*, of 84 guns ; that Mr. Macdiarmid, the medical officer of the expedition, has been appointed Assistant Surgeon of the Navy, and when qualified to pass his examination, will be promoted to the rank of Surgeon ; that Commander Ross, to whom it appears the greater part of the scientific results of the expedition are due, has been placed on full pay,

and appointed Commander of the *Victory* for twelve months, that he may by that length of service be enabled to receive the rank of Post-captain, which is, by special minute of the Admiralty, ensured to him at the expiration of that time; and that Captain John Humphreys of the *Isabella*, to whose persevering humanity alone, Captain Ross and his party, under Providence, in all probability owe their lives, has received that remuneration for the expense of bringing them home, which, upon consideration, has been thought proper by the Admiralty, and which appears to your Committee to be a reasonable compensation. Captain Ross alone, the commander of the expedition, who had the anxious and painful responsibility of the health and discipline of the party, for above four years, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulties and hardships, and who had the merit of maintaining both health and discipline in a remarkable degree, (for only one man in twenty-three was lost in consequence of the expedition,) is, owing to his rank, not in a situation to receive any reward from the Admiralty in the way of promotion. Having incurred expenses and losses to the amount of nearly three thousand pounds, and received no more than the half-pay which had accumulated during the expedition; he remains with the same rank with which he went out. Under these circumstances, and looking to the advantages to science, and the honour to this country, which have resulted from the expedition under his command; looking to the expense which the country has been willing to incur on former occasions for less important and honourable objects; your Committee hope they are not transgressing the bounds of a due regard to public

economy, in recommending that a sum of five thousand pounds be voted to Captain John Ross. To Mr. Felix Booth,* to whose modest public spirit, and rare munificence, this expedition is entirely due, your Committee regret they have it not in their power to propose some fit token of public acknowledgment; but they cannot forbear offering the tribute of their admiration and respect."

On a general examination of the result of this expedition, it cannot but be considered, as far as the object of it is concerned, as a decided failure: it was in fact undertaken under the impulse of an ardent mind, smarting under the pain of a wounded reputation, and anxious to retrieve the character, which had been so seriously injured on a former expedition. The discovery of Lancaster Sound was looked upon, by the enterprising men engaged in the arctic voyages, as the channel by which the north-west passage was to be discovered; and, accordingly, an attempt was made by Captain Ross to penetrate through Lancaster Sound, which however entirely failed, as, according to the report of Captain Ross, his progress was stopped by a range of mountains, thereby converting Lancaster Sound into a large bay, through which no passage whatever existed. The report of Captain Ross was considered so erroneous by Captain Parry, that a subsequent expedition was fitted out, and placed under the command of that officer, who actually sailed over the mountains which Captain Ross had seen, and penetrated as far as Melville Island; but having lost one of his ships, the *Fury*, he was obliged to relinquish the expedition and return to England. Captain Parry having thus broken through the barrier

* Sir Felix Booth, Bart.

of Lancaster Sound, it was confidently expected by Captain Ross, that in following up the discoveries of Captain Parry, the solution of the great geographical problem might be satisfactorily solved, and the honour of the discovery be awarded to him. Notwithstanding, however, that the expedition of Captain Ross failed in the object for which it was fitted out, still the spirit of enterprise glowed warmly in the breasts of the arctic voyagers, particularly in that of Captain Back; and he resolved to make another attempt by penetrating through Wager Bay. For this purpose a vessel called the *Terror* was fitted out by Government, but the result was most disastrous, the vessel being blocked up in the ice during the whole of the winter; and received so much damage, that it was only by the most consummate nautical skill, and the most undaunted courage amidst sufferings of a truly appalling nature, that the crew were enabled to return in safety to their native land.

This may be considered as the last of the series of expeditions which have of late years sailed from this country for the purpose of discovering the north-west passage; and the adventures and hardships the partial failures and partial successes of the brave and distinguished men engaged in them, excited the curiosity and interest of all Europe; a curiosity which has, of late, from the news of expeditions fitted out by the cabinet of St. Petersburg, become concentrated on one point—whether a Russian or a British flag would be the first to wave on the newly discovered coast. At this moment it was that the English Government determined to give up the attempt, and fit out no more expeditions; and at the same time, the Hudson's

Bay Company, who had been known in the business formerly only by the zealous and cordial assistance they had afforded to all the Government expeditions, resolved, at their own expense, not aided, as even the Government had been, by public subscriptions, to send out an exploring party of their own officers; and so silent and efficient was their manner of doing the thing, that the first intimation the public had of their intention, was the news of the achievement of this honour for their country.

The projector of this expedition was Mr. J. H. Pelly, the chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company, who adopted and supported with much zeal and ability the suggestion of his friend Mr. George Simpson, resident Governor at Norway House,—the gentleman from whom Captain Back and others have received so much friendly assistance. The choice of the leaders of the expedition rested with Governor Simpson, and, as the event proves, was made with the care, judgment and knowledge, which a matter of such extreme importance demanded. Mr. Dease, by his experience of the dangers to be encountered, his acquaintance with the language and manners of the natives, and the prudence which years impart, was well fitted to render the most valuable assistance to the expedition. On his associate also, Mr. Thomas Simpson, the nephew of the Governor, a young man, twenty-seven years of age, who was educated at Aberdeen for the Scotch Church, (and, like the Governor himself and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the discoverer of Mackenzie River, a native of Ross-shire,) great reliance was placed; his laudable ambition to distinguish himself, it was foreseen, would make him encounter any

peril that could lead to success ; while his literary and scientific attainments fitted him to make the most of it, when obtained. Of both the leaders, however, and of all the brave men who accompanied them, the *élite* of the Company's service, it was felt that, in the words of Governor Simpson, "they were men who would succeed, or perish."

The following is an abridged account of the expedition, as transmitted to the Hudson's Bay Company by Messrs. Dease and Simpson :—

Fort Norman, 5th Sept. 1837.

"We have now the honour to report the complete success of the expedition this summer to the westward of the Mackenzie River.

"On the 1st of June we quitted Fort Chipewyan, with two small sea boats, accompanied by a luggage boat, and a party of hunters for Great Bear Lake ; visited the salt plains, and arrived at Great Slave Lake on the 10th, where we were detained by ice until the 21st. The same cause prolonged our passage across that inland sea ; and having been for two days stopped by a strong contrary wind at the head of Mackenzie River, it was the 1st of July when we reached Fort Norman. Our Indians cast up on the following day, and the crews and cargoes were finally divided and arranged. Our boat-builder, John Ritch, received his instructions to proceed immediately with the fishermen, two other labourers, and the hunters, to Great Bear Lake, and at its north-eastern extremity to erect our winter quarters, and lay in a stock of provisions against our return from the coast. We then took our departure, and on the 4th reached Fort Good Hope. Here we found an

assemblage of Hare Indians and Loucheux. The latter informed us that three of their tribe had been killed, and a fourth severely wounded by the Esquimaux in the preceding month ; which at once put an end to our intention of procuring an interpreter from amongst them, although several volunteered to accompany us in that capacity. They at the same time earnestly cautioned us to beware of the treacherous arts of their enemies. On the 9th of July we reached the ocean, by the most westerly mouth of the Mackenzie, which Sir John Franklin sought for in vain. It is situated in lat. $68^{\circ} 49\frac{1}{2}'$ N. ; long. $136^{\circ} 37'$ W. ; and perfectly answers the description which the Esquimaux messengers gave of it to that officer, when they came to apprise him of the intended attack by the Mountain Indians. We had proceeded but a short time to seaward, when a party of nineteen men came off to us from Tent Island. We gave each of them a small present,—a practice which we continued throughout the voyage ; and employed our vocabularies to the best of our ability, and to their great surprise, to explain the friendly feeling of the Whites towards their tribe. Being a lively and communicative people, we in the course of the season acquired some facility in our intercourse with them ; and when words failed, signs supplied their place, so that we seldom experienced much difficulty in making ourselves understood, or in comprehending their meaning. When indulged, however, they always became daring and excessively troublesome, and they were ever on the look-out for plunder. On the first meeting they made several unsuccessful attempts in that way ; and it was no easy matter to induce them to return to their

camp after we had finished our business with them. They said they wished to accompany us to our encampment, where they would soon have been joined by fresh parties; and we had a shoal and dangerous navigation before us that night. We therefore peremptorily ordered them back, but it was not until we had fired a ball over their heads, that they put about and paddled off. A storm soon after arose, but we made the land in safety the following morning at Shingle Point, in lat. 69° where we were detained until the 11th. The thermometer had already fallen to 48° Fahr. being 30° lower than on the evening we left Mackenzie River; and instead of the bright and beautiful weather we enjoyed in our descent of that noble stream, we were now doomed to travel in cold dense fogs, which enveloped us during nearly the whole of our progress along the coast. But although they perplexed and retarded us, we never allowed them to arrest our course, nor did we ever throughout the voyage encamp, but when compelled to do so by ice or contrary winds; to which line of conduct may, under Providence, be ascribed the early and successful accomplishment of our undertaking. In the afternoon of the 11th of July, we reached Point Key, where we were detained, by a compact body of ice occupying Phillip's Bay, until the 14th. There we were visited by another party of Esquimaux, whose tents were pitched at no great distance from us. They live in the country bordering on Babbage River; and informed us, that except when flooded by the melting of the mountain snow, it is an insignificant stream, not fifty yards in breadth; and of this we had ocular proof in a clear day on our return. Having found a passage through

the ice in Phillip's Bay, we reached Herschel Island the same evening, (14th of July,) and had intercourse with other parties of the natives, who were pretty numerous along this part of the coast. We found on the island the skull of a whale, eight feet in breadth; and whalebone is every where an article in extensive use amongst the natives, especially for the making of their nets, and the fastenings of their sledges. We continued our route before an easterly wind, along and through the ice, with very little interruption till two A.M. of the 17th, when an unbroken pack, extending to seaward, made us seek the shore in Camden Bay, near a considerable camp of Esquimaux. As soon as the fears of the latter were removed, an amicable meeting took place; and having made them the usual presents, we purchased a good many of their mouth ornaments, weapons, and other articles. Three of the men were remarkable for their good looks, upright figures, and a stature of from five feet ten, to six feet. They gave us a specimen of their dances, and one of them afterwards won the palm from all our people at leaping. They informed us that they have two sources of trade: the first and most regular with their countrymen, who come annually from the westward; the other with the Mountain Indians, who use fire-arms, and travel a great way across land from the direction of the Russian settlements. They showed us the knives, iron kettles, beads, and other things thus procured, which we have no doubt are of Russian manufacture. Their means of repayment appeared to us to be very limited, consisting in seal-skins, whalebone, ivory, and a few inferior furs—namely, wolvereens, foxes, and musk-rats.

A pair of indifferent beaver gloves was purchased from them, which they had probably procured from the Mountain Indians; for we saw no other symptom of the existence of that valuable animal near the coast, though it doubtless abounds at some distance up the large wooded rivers, which we subsequently discovered. In the afternoon there appeared a narrow lane of water stretching outwards, and we immediately embarked. We had advanced about three miles from the land, when the ice suddenly closed upon us, before a strong north-east wind; one of the boats got squeezed, and it was only by throwing out the cargo upon the floating masses that she was saved from destruction. By means of portages made from one piece to another, the oars serving as bridges, the cargo was all recovered, and both boats finally hauled up on a large floe, where we passed an inclement and anxious night. Next morning the gale abated, the ice relaxed a little around us, and by a long circuit we regained the shore, about a league to the eastward of our former position. There we were detained till midnight of the 19th, when a favourable wind enabled us to round the body of ice at a distance of four miles from the land, and, continuing, carried us on the 20th into Foggy Island Bay. There we were stopped by the ice, and a violent north-east wind, until the 23d; having on the preceding day made an ineffectual attempt to weather Point Anxiety, in which we narrowly escaped with a thorough drenching. From this situation we had the satisfaction of discovering, during a clear afternoon, a range of rocky mountains to the westward of the Romanzoff Chain, and not seen by Sir John Franklin; but, being within the limit of

his survey we called it the Franklin Range, as a just tribute to his character and merits. On the 22d we again set sail, rounded the pack of ice, which extended six miles to seaward from Yarborough Inlet; then abruptly turning in, we supped near Return Reef, and the survey commenced.

Return Reef is one of a chain of reefs and islets, which runs for twenty miles parallel to the coast, at the distance of about half a league, affording water enough within for such light craft as ours. The main land is very low. From Point Berens to Cape Halkett, it forms a great bay, fifty miles broad, by a third of that depth, which, in honour of the Deputy Governor, was named Harrison's Bay. At the bottom of the bay another picturesque branch of the rocky mountain range, the last seen by us, rears its lofty peaks above these flat shores. We called them Pelly's Mountains, in honour of the Governor of the Company: at their base flows a large river, two miles broad at its mouth, which we named after Andrew Colville, Esq. This river freshens the water for many miles, and its alluvial deposits have rendered Harrison's Bay so shallow, that it was not until after a run of twenty-five hours, during which we had repeatedly to stand well out to seaward, that we could effect a landing on a grounded iceberg, nine miles to the south-west of Cape Halkett. A north-east gale kept us there the whole of the following day. The country extending to the foot of the mountains appeared to consist of plains, covered with short grass and moss, the favourite pasture of the rein-deer, of which we saw numerous herds. Observations were obtained, determining our position to be in lat. $70^{\circ} 43' N.$; long. 152°

14' W. Next morning, July 26th, the tide rose nearly two feet at 6 A.M., and enabled us safely to cross the shoals. At no great distance from our encampment, we passed the mouth of another large river, one mile broad, whose banks were thickly lined with drift timber: we named it the Garry, in honour of Nicholas Garry, Esq. Cape Halkett forms the extreme point of a small island, separated from the main shore by a narrow channel, too narrow for boats. It appears to be a place of resort to the Esquimaux, for we found a spot where they had been building their *baidars* last spring. We suppose them to have been part of a very large camp, which we saw in the bay of Staines River, as we sailed past the east end of Flaxman Island on the 20th of July; that this camp consisted of the western traders of that tribe, on their annual journey to meet their eastern brethren at Barter Island; and that we missed them on our return, from the circumstance of their being then dispersed along the rivers, lakes, and in the skirts of the mountains, hunting the rein-deer.

From thence the coast turned suddenly off to the W.N.W.: it presented nothing to the eye but a succession of low banks of frozen mud. The ice was heavy all along, but there were narrow channels close to the shore: the soundings on these averaged one fathom on sandy bottom. In the evening we passed the mouth of a considerable river, which we named after William Smith, Esq. From thence for about six miles, the coast line is formed of gravel reefs, near the extremity of which, at Point Pitt, the land trends more to the west ward. The ice lay much closer here: numerous masses adhered to the bottom under the water, which obliged us to

search for a passage out from the shore. The night was dark and stormy, and we were in considerable danger; one of the rudders gave way, and we at length effected a landing on a place near an immense rein-deer pound. This was ingeniously formed by the Esquimaux with double rows of turf, set up on a ridge of ground enclosing a hollow four miles by two; the end farthest from the beach terminating in a lake, into which the unsuspecting animals are driven, and there despatched with spears. The vegetable soil in this vicinity was barely four inches in depth; beneath which the clay was frozen as hard as rock, so that our tent pickets could not be driven home. The men had to go a good mile to find a log or two of drift-wood for fuel, the scarcity of which essential article is doubtless the chief cause of the want of inhabitants along so great a portion of the coast. We were detained at this place till the following afternoon, when the ice opening a little, enabled us to resume our route. It blew a cutting blast from the north-east, and the salt water froze upon the oars and rigging. Point Drew, (called after Richard Drew, Esq.) seven miles distant from our last encampment, is the commencement of a bay of considerable size, but extremely shallow, and much encumbered with ice, in pushing through which the boat received several blows; and we had on this, as on many other occasions, to admire their excellent workmanship. To seaward the ice was still smooth and solid, as in the depth of a sunless winter. At midnight we reached a narrow projecting point, across which the peaks of some high icebergs appeared, and were at a distance mistaken for lodges of the natives: the point we named Cape George Simpson,

as a mark of respect for our worthy Governor. It was destined to be the limit of our boat navigation, for during the four following days we were only able to advance as many miles. The weather was foggy and dismally cold; the wild fowl passed in long flights to the westward; and there seemed little prospect of our being able to reach Point Barrow by water. Boat Extreme is situated in lat. $71^{\circ} 3' N.$; long. $154^{\circ} 26' W.$

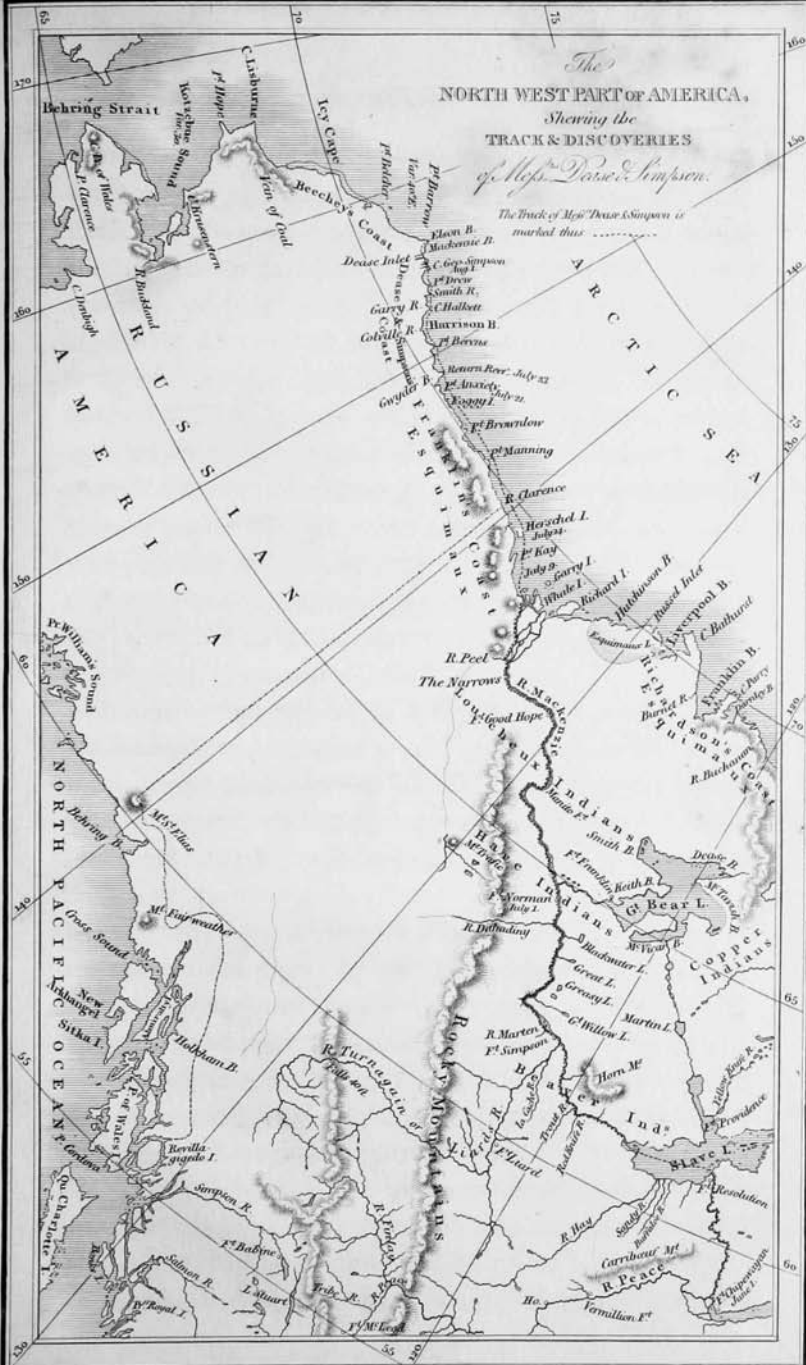
Under the above circumstances, Mr. Thomas Simpson undertook to complete the journey on foot, and accordingly started on the 1st of August with a party of five men. They carried with them their arms, some ammunition, pemmican, a small oiled canvass canoe for the crossing of rivers, the necessary astronomical instruments, and a few trinkets for the natives. It was one of the worst days of the whole season; and the fog was so dense, that the pedestrians were under the necessity of rigidly following the tortuous outline of the coast, which for twenty miles formed a sort of irregular inland bay; being guarded without by a series of gravel reefs, the shores of which were almost on a level with the water; and intersected by innumerable salt creeks, through which they waded, besides three considerable rivers or inlets, which they traversed in their portable canoe. They found at one place a great many large wooden sledges, joined with whalebone, and strongly shod with horn. Mr. Simpson conjectures that these vehicles were left there by the western Esquimaux already spoken of, in their eastward journey, to be resumed on their return when winter sets in. The tracks of rein-deer were everywhere numerous. Next day the weather improved, and at noon

the lat. $71^{\circ} 10'$ was observed. The land now inclined to the north-west, and continued very low, muddy, and, as on the preceding day, abounding in salt creeks, whose waters were at the freezing temperature. The party had proceeded about ten miles, when, to their dismay, the coast suddenly turned off to the southward, forming an inlet extending as far as the eye could reach; at the same moment they descried at no great distance a small camp of the western Esquimaux, to which they immediately directed their steps. The men were absent hunting, and the women and children took to their boats in the greatest alarm, leaving behind them an infirm man, who was in an agony of fear: a few words of friendship removed his apprehensions, and brought back the fugitives, who were equally surprised and delighted to behold white men. They set before the party fresh rein-deer meat and seal oil, and besought them for tobacco (tawacch), of which men, women, and even children are inordinately fond. Mr. Simpson now determined to adopt a more expeditious mode of travelling, and applied for the loan of one of their "oomiaks" or family canoes, to convey the party to Point Barrow, with which, from a chart drawn by one of the most intelligent of the women, it appeared that these people were acquainted. The request was instantly complied with; four oars were fitted with lashings to this strange craft; and the ladies declared that our party were true Esquimaux, and not "Kabloonan." Before starting, the hunters arrived, and were likewise gratified with tobacco, awls, buttons, and other trifles. Dease's Inlet is five miles broad at this place; yet so low is the land, that the one shore is just visible from

the other in the clearest weather. It now again blew strongly from the north-east, bringing back the cold dense fog, but the traverse was effected by aid of the compass. The waves ran high, and the skin boat surmounted them with a buoyancy which far surpassed that of our boasted north canoes. The party encamped on the west side of the inlet: the banks there were of frozen mud, ten or twelve feet high. The country within was perfectly flat, abounded in small lakes, and produced a very short grass; but nowhere had the thaw penetrated more than two inches beneath the surface, while under water along the shore, the bottom was still impenetrably frozen. Not a log of wood was to be found in this land of desolation; but our party followed the example of the natives, and made their fire of the roots of the dwarf-willow in a little chimney of turf. Next morning (August 3d,) the fog cleared for a while, but it was still bitterly cold, and the swell beat high on the outside of a heavy line of ice which lay packed upon the shore: the latter, after extending five miles to the northward, turned off to the north-west, beyond which the lat. $71^{\circ} 13'$ was observed. From this point the coast trended more westerly for ten miles, until the party came to what appeared a large bay, where they stopped for two or three hours to await the dispersion of the fog, not knowing which way to steer. In the evening their wish was gratified, and from that time the weather became comparatively fine. The bay was now ascertained to be only four miles in width; the depth half way across was one fathom and a half on a bottom of sand: that of Dease's Inlet was afterwards found to be two fathoms, muddy bottom, being the greatest

depth between Return Relief and Point Barrow, except at ten miles south-east from Cape Halkett, where three fathoms on sand were sounded on our return. After crossing Mackenzie's Bay, the coast again trended for eight or nine miles to the W. N. W. A compact body of ice extended all along, and beyond the reach of vision, to seaward; but the party carried their light vessel within that formidable barrier, and made their way through the narrow channels close to the shore. At midnight they passed the mouth of a fine deep river, a quarter of a mile wide, to which Mr. Simpson gave the name of "The Belle Vue;" and in less than an hour afterwards, the rising sun gratified him with the view of Point Barrow, stretching out to the N. N. W. They soon crossed Elson Bay, but had no small difficulty in making their way through a broad and heavy pack that rested upon the shore. On reaching it, and seeing the ocean extending away to the southward on the opposite side of the Point, they hoisted their flag, and with three cheers took possession of their discoveries in his (her) Majesty's name.

Point Barrow is a long low spot, composed of gravel and coarse sand, which the pressure of the ice has forced up into numerous mounds, that, viewed from a distance, assume the appearance of huge boulder rocks. At the spot where the party landed, it is only a quarter of a mile across, but is broader towards its termination. The first object that presented itself on looking round the landing place, was an immense cemetery: the bodies lay exposed in the most horrible and disgusting manner; and many of them appeared so fresh, that some of the men became alarmed that the cholera, or



The
NORTH WEST PART OF AMERICA,
 Showing the
TRACK & DISCOVERIES
of Messrs. Deane & Simpson.

The Track of Messrs. Deane & Simpson is marked thus - - - - -

Engraved by A. Peckley

some other dreadful disease, was raging amongst the natives. Two considerable camps of the latter stood at no great distance on the Point, but none of the inmates ventured to approach till our party first visited them, and with the customary expressions of friendship, which dissipated their apprehensions. A brisk traffic then commenced; after which the women formed a circle, and danced to a variety of airs, some of which were pleasing to the ear. The whole conduct of these people was friendly in the extreme: they seemed to be well acquainted with the character, if not the persons of white men; were passionately fond of tobacco; and when any of the younger people were too forward, the seniors restrained them, using the French phrase *C'est assez*, which like "tawaccah" they must have learned from the Russian traders. They designate the latter "Noonagmun;" and a respectable looking old man readily took charge of a letter addressed by Mr. Simpson to them, or to any other whites on the western coast, containing a brief notice of the proceedings of the expedition. To the northward, enormous ice-bergs covered the ocean, but on the western side there was a fine open channel, which the Esquimaux assured the party extended all along to the southward; but so inviting was the prospect in that direction, that, had such been his object, Mr. Simpson would not have hesitated a moment to prosecute the voyage to Cook's Inlet in his skin canoe. The natives informed him that whales were numerous to the northward of the Point, and seals were everywhere sporting among the ice. The Esquimaux were well clothed in seal and rein-deer skins: the men all used mouth ornaments; and the "tonsure" on the

crown of the head was universal amongst both men and boys: the women had their chins tattooed, but did not wear the lofty topknots of hair which are fashionable to the eastward. They were very inquisitive about the names of our party, and equally communicative of their own. A number of their words were taken down, some of which are different from the corresponding terms given by Sir Edward Parry; but the greater part are either the same, or dissimilar only in their terminations. They lay their dead on the ground with their heads all turned to the north: there was nothing else, either in their manners or habits, remarked as differing from the well known characteristics of the tribe, except an ingenious and novel contrivance for capturing wild fowl. It consists of six small perforated ivory balls, attached separately to cords of sinew three feet long; the ends of which being tied together, an expanding line is thus formed, which, dexterously thrown up at the birds as they fly past, entangles and brings them to the ground.

Mr. Simpson could not learn that there had been any unusual mortality amongst this part of the tribe; and is of opinion that the concourse of natives who frequent Point Barrow at different periods of the year, coupled with the coldness of the climate, sufficiently accounts for the numerous remains already noticed. After bidding adieu to their good-humoured and admiring entertainers, the party set out on their return. They were arrested that evening by the ice, but the next morning it opened and allowed them to proceed. At a late hour they reached the camp of the Esquimaux in Dease's Inlet; and after liberally recompensing them for the loan of their canoe, directed some of the men to follow

to Boat Extreme, where it would be left for them. Then continuing their route all night, at five A.M. on the 6th the party rejoined the main body of the expedition.

We commenced our return the same afternoon ; and being favoured with a light wind, and an almost open sea, we sailed all night, and next day (Aug. 7) at noon, reached Cape Halkett. We then steered across Harrison's Bay : the wind increasing to a gale, we shipped much water ; but persevering under treble-reefed sails, at three P.M. of the 8th, we landed safely at Fawn River, within view of the point where our survey commenced. The gale having moderated, we re-embarked the following afternoon ; and running without intermission before a fresh breeze, we reached Demarcation Point to breakfast on the 11th. Several showers of snow fell during this run, and it was piercingly cold. The Romanzoff and British mountains had assumed the early livery of another winter. The ice in Camden Bay was still very heavy, but it protected us from the dangerous swell to which we became exposed after passing Barter Island. Soon after leaving Demarcation Point, the ice became so closely wedged that we could no longer pursue our way through it : the following day it opened a little ; and the weather becoming fine, we put out and advanced for a few hours, when the mountainous swell and heavy ice obliged us to seek the shore, which we reached with some difficulty between Backhouse River and Mount Conybeare. There we were detained until the 15th ; the icebergs, which begirt the coast, were of great size and of every imaginable shape ; but from the summit of a hill, six miles inland, we had an unbounded prospect of the blue ocean stretching to the

north. The pasture in the deep valleys amongst the mountains was luxuriant: herds of rein-deer were browsing there, and we procured some venison. In the night of the 14th the stars and Aurora Borealis were first visible. The following morning we resumed our route; and the weather continuing nearly calm, we reached the western mouth of the Mackenzie on the 17th, and there encamped. The first Esquimaux seen during our return from Boat Extreme, were at Beaufort Bay; but from thence to the vicinity of the Mackenzie, we were continually falling in with small parties, many of whom we had seen on the outward voyage. We maintained a friendly intercourse with them all, and they were very anxious to know whether we were soon to visit them again. The habitations on Tent Island were abandoned, in consequence, we understood, of an alarm that the Loucheux meditated a descent to revenge the murder of their friends.

We have but few general remarks to add to the foregoing narrative. The tides all along the coast were semi-diurnal, the flood coming from the westward. Its rise was however strongly affected by the winds and ice, and our opportunities of observing were but few; the rise generally decreased to the eastward, and at Point Kay it was only eight or nine inches. That the main sea is clear and navigable by ships during the summer months, the long rolling swell we encountered on our return, and the view obtained from the mountains, furnish tolerable proof. We likewise saw some whales on our return. The prevalence of east and north-east winds during the early part of the summer is a remarkable fact: we were indeed favoured by a westerly wind for five days on our return, but this was almost the only

exception. At a more advanced period of the season, however, the wind blew more from the west and north-west. It is now certain, that from Kotzebue's Sound to Cape Parry, there is not a harbour into which a ship can safely enter; but it must be a very unpropitious season that would not admit of achieving that portion of the arctic navigation: and another year ought certainly to suffice for the remainder, whether the voyage was commenced from Barrow's or from Behring's Straits.

The natural history of the coast from Return Reef to Point Barrow is meagre in the extreme. In the botanical kingdom, scarcely a flower or moss was obtained in addition to the collection made on other parts of the coast. In zoology, rein-deer, arctic foxes, one or two lemmings, seals, white owls, snow buntings, grouse, and various well known species of water fowl, were the only objects met with; while in the mineralogical department, there was not a rock *in situ*, or boulder stone, found along an extent of more than two hundred miles of coast. The variation of the compass was found to have increased from one to three degrees, at the corresponding points where observations had been made by Sir John Franklin. At Boat Extreme, on the other hand, it was only twenty-one minutes greater than that stated by Mr. Elson at Point Barrow, where, by continuing the proportions, the quantities would coincide. The moon was never once visible, during the whole outward and homeward voyage, till we returned to the western mouth of Mackenzie, where a set of distances was obtained, and the longitudes of the other points reduced back from thence by means of a very valuable watch, generously lent to the expedition by chief factor Smith.

Our ascent of the Mackenzie River has not been characterized by any circumstances of particular interest. The weather continued calm and beautiful; and the journey was performed entirely by towing, in which manner we advanced at the rate of from thirty to forty miles a day. The river had fallen very low, and the fisheries had in consequence been unproductive; causing a scarcity of provisions, both at Fort Good Hope and among the natives. We saw a good many of the Loucheux, but the Hare Indians were all dispersed in the interior, searching for subsistence. From the coast, up to Point Separation, moose-deer were numerous, being quite undisturbed; but from our first falling in with the Loucheux, no vestige of either moose or reindeer have been seen.

Some Indians from Great Bear Lake have brought us intelligence of the party sent to establish our winter quarters. They were stopped in Great Bear Lake River by ice during the whole month of July; lost one of their canoes; and it was not until about the 6th ult., that they passed Port Franklin, after which they had the prospect of an unimpeded passage across the lake. The continued easterly winds were the cause of this vexatious detention, during which the Dog-ribs kindly supported our people with the produce of their nets.

There are several points of view in which we may look at these discoveries, in regard to their importance and results;—how they may affect our relations with Russia, whose claims may conflict with ours as to the discovered territories; what commercial advantages they are likely to yield; and what are the effects of British commerce and British dominion on the moral character and phy-

sical comfort of the natives of these distant and ungenial climates. We are too firmly persuaded of the power there is in every atom of knowledge—of how quick the transition is from “ken” to “can”—to think lightly of what may be at first but the solution of a geographical problem. The relations of this country to Russia are not so satisfactory as to render unimportant the possibilities of hostile claims which these discoveries may occasion. But, above all, it is needful for estimating these discoveries aright, that we be assured of their beneficial consequences to the aborigines of the country, the various tribes of North American Indians; into the miseries of whose life and position we may infuse a blessing or a bitterness from our civilization.

It was at first thought, that few commercial advantages would arise from the discoveries of Messrs. Dease and Simpson; but from the nature of the interior, which is intersected by rivers and lakes abounding with fish, and the facilities it possesses for the collection of furs, they are likely to be considerable.

The most erroneous and exaggerated accounts have been published of an increase of misery, immorality, and mortality, amongst the Indians of this part of America, owing to their intercourse with the Europeans. Ardent spirits and loathsome diseases have, it is said, decreased the numbers of one tribe especially, the Crees, from thousands to hundreds; and those baneful things have been aided in this work of death by a system of trade which diminishes the means of subsistence, and encourages the thoughtless Indian to borrow beyond his means of repayment, till ammunition, the very means of subsistence to the hunter, is at last denied him; he

becomes a burden on his tribe, and is cast off to perish. No pains have been taken to ameliorate his miseries, to improve his morals, to raise him as a human being, by the introduction of agricultural or pastoral pursuits to relieve the precariousness of hunting; and, except what the Catholic missionaries from Spain, and Lord Selkirk have done, he has been left untaught in civilization and Christianity. The Indians, without doubt, would have been more numerous, more moral, and more comfortable, had they never seen the face of a man professing to be a Christian.

As to these evils, it must be borne in mind that the Indians were for many years subjected to all the corrupting influences of a competition between two rival Companies, who prospered by their debasement,—the North-West Company of Montreal, and the Hudson's Bay Company. Spirituous liquors were introduced as early as the first settlement, by the latter Company, in 1670. During the competition, which did not cease until the year 1821, it was the interest of the rival Europeans to gain possession of the Indians, by whatever means: and it used to happen, that whenever an Indian canoe was seen approaching on the lake, rival boats would start on a race to reach it first; and scenes of bloodshed were the consequence. But since 1821, when the competition—not in fair traffic, but in outwitting and managing the natives ceased, very little spirits has been introduced; though, at the close of the transport business of each season, the half-civilized Indians and half-breeds employed on it, between York Depôt and Norway House, are presented with “a regale,” to each man, of a pint of reduced rum, and a certain quantity of

tea, sugar, butter, bread, and soap, on which they make merry. The average quantity of spirituous liquors introduced per annum into the country has not amounted of late years to more than a quarter of a pint for each man, of the whole population, black and white; liquor has ceased to be bartered for furs, and into the country north of Cumberland, not even wine for the use of the Company's officers is allowed to pass. The use of spirits has been so discouraged, that the Indians are becoming indifferent to them. Regarding the secret disease which it is said Europeans have introduced among the natives, it is surprising it should be forgotten that America is thought to be the source whence it was brought to Europe. To insure against it, however, the Hudson's Bay Company have made it a rule to examine all their own servants before they are allowed to enter the country: and so rare is it of late, that (with the exception of one white,) during a residence of seventeen years in the Company's principal depôt, only two instances were heard of it—in the cases of two loose women, who caught it from people who had come across from the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The assertion, that the means of subsistence for the Indians have been diminished by the European traders, may be estimated at its true value, from the fact that in the spring of 1829, the putrid carcasses of 10,000 buffaloes were seen, which had been mired at one pass or crossing place, on Saskatchewan River; a number more than enough to supply the Hudson's Bay Company's service for ten years. It is true, however, that there has been a remarkable migration of moose and red deer, from the wilds of the interior of Hudson's Bay to

the banks of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers; a country in which, though studded with cities, towns and villages, they are more numerous than where the trading establishments are from two to three hundred miles apart. The improvidence of the Indians, though now lessening, is still very great; they have been seen spearing hundreds of deers for sport, or their tongues merely, and allowing the carcasses to drift away; though, two months after, the same persons will scarcely be able to crawl from their huts, from hunger. The climate is so unfavourable to agriculture, that potatoes are blighted, two seasons out of three: north of Cumberland, wheat never ripens, barley is often cut down green; and, owing to the want of agricultural produce, the servants and officers of the Company are compelled, for eight months of the year together, to live on fish alone at several of their trading establishments. As the snow lies from two to four feet deep for six months in the year, and the cold is so great that no domestic animal can live out of doors, while provender is so scarce that horses are frequently fed on fish, there is little feasibility in the plan of making the natives agricultural by first making them a pastoral people. Even in the highly-favoured climate of the Red River, when an attempt was made in 1833 and 1834 to keep cattle out of doors during winter, it failed; and 200 out of 500 head of cattle were lost, though the most sheltered spot was chosen, and hay and sheds were provided for them. The horns literally dropped off from the frost. A curious fact also appeared,—that domestic horned cattle do not, like horses, buffaloes, and deer, attempt to scrape with their fore feet through the snow for the grass.

It is a pleasing circumstance, that, of late, all the Indian tribes have decidedly increased in numbers, with the exception of the Crees, and the warlike tribes spread over that great extent of prairie country situated between Saskatchewan and Missouri rivers. There are two nations of Crees, called the Swampy, and the Interior: the former occupy the swampy borders of the Hudson's Bay, from Churchill to Eastmain, and two or three hundred miles inland. The Interior Crees, supplied with fire-arms by Europeans earlier than the Chipewyan and other northern tribes, are represented by Sir Alexander Mackenzie as having carried their warlike invasions to the borders of the Arctic Regions, and across the rocky mountains; and overrunning the country, they gave the name of Slave Tribes to the natives on the Mackenzie and Liard rivers,—namely the Chipewyan, Yellow-knife, Hare, Dog-rib, Loucheux, Nahanies, and others. Their career was arrested at length, however, by the measles; which cut off such numbers of them, that, seeing their power on the wane, they broke up as a distinct people, and scattered about into different bands; and the remainder, nearly 3000 in number, are attached to different stations. In 1824, more than 900 of the Black-foot tribe, of both sexes, were destroyed by the Crees. The strangest statements have been made as to the willingness of the Indians to lend their wives and daughters: now, whatever practice of this kind may exist among themselves, we can assert, on the authority of seventeen years' experience, that no such thin occurs at any of the Hudson's Bay establishments.

The Indian character is a singular mixture of vice and virtue, of magnanimity and meanness, of cowardice

and the most heroic courage. It might be thought that the Indians had been benefited by their long intercourse with civilized nations ; they are indeed capable of being, and it is believed are willing to be taught, but little pains have hitherto been taken to reform their minds ; and their white acquaintance seem in general to find it easier to descend to the Indian customs and modes of thinking, particularly with respect to women, than to attempt to raise the Indians to theirs.

The hospitality of the Indians is unbounded : they afford a certain asylum to the half-bred children, when deserted by their unnatural white fathers ; and the infirm, and indeed every individual in the encampment, shares the provisions of a successful hunter as long as they last. Fond too as an Indian is of spirituous liquors, he is not happy unless all his neighbours partake with him. It is not, however, easy to say what share ostentation may have in the apparent munificence in the latter article ; for when an Indian by a good hunt is enabled to treat the others with a keg of rum, he becomes the chief of the night, assumes no little stateliness of manner, and is treated with deference by those who regale at his expense. Prompted also by a desire of gaining a *name*, they lavish away the articles they purchase at the trading forts, and are well satisfied, if repaid with praise.

It has been remarked by some writers that the original inhabitants of America are deficient in passion for the fair sex. This is however by no means the case, especially with the Indians with whom Messrs. Dease and Simpson became acquainted ; on the contrary, their practice of seducing each other's wives proves the most fertile source of their quarrels. When the guilty pair

are detected, the woman generally receives a severe beating, but the husband is for the most part afraid to approach the male culprit, until they get drunk together at the Fort. Then the remembrance of the offence is revived, a struggle ensues, and the affair is terminated by the loss of a few handfuls of hair. Some husbands, however, feel more deeply the injury done to their honour, and seek revenge even in their sober moments. In such cases, it is not uncommon for the offended party to walk with great gravity up to the other, and deliberately seizing his gun, or some other article of value, to break it before his face. The adulterer looks on in silence, afraid to make an attempt to save his property. In this respect, indeed, the Indian character appears to differ from the European; thus an Indian, instead of letting his anger increase with that of his antagonist, assumes the utmost coolness, lest he should push him to extremities.

The Indian women are not in general treated harshly by their husbands, and possess considerable influence over them: they often eat, and even get drunk in consort with the men. A considerable portion of the labour, however, falls to the wife; she makes the hut, cooks, dresses the skins, and for the most part carries the heaviest loads, but when she is unable to perform the task, the husband does not consider it beneath his dignity to assist her.

Both sexes are fond of and excessively indulgent to their children: the father never punishes them, and if the mother, more hasty in her temper, sometimes bestows a blow or two on a troublesome child, her heart is instantly softened by the tear which follows, and she mingles

her tears with those that streak the smoky face of her darling. It may be fairly said that restraint or punishment forms no part of the education of an Indian child, nor are they early trained to that command over their temper which they exhibit in after years.

When a hunter marries his first wife, he usually takes up his abode in the tent of his father-in-law, and of course hunts for the family; but when he becomes a father, the families are at liberty to separate, or remain together as their inclinations prompt them. His second wife is for the most part sister of the first, but not necessarily so, for the Indian of another family often presses his daughter upon a hunter, whom he knows to be capable of maintaining her well. The first wife always remains mistress of the tent, and assumes an authority over the others, which is not in every case quietly submitted to. It may be remarked that whilst an Indian resides with his wife's family, it is extremely improper for his mother-in-law to speak, or even to look at him; and when she has a communication to make, it is the etiquette that she should turn her back upon him, and address him only through the medium of a third person. This singular custom is not very creditable to the Indians, if it really had its origin in the cause which they at present assign for it, namely, that a woman's speaking to her son-in-law is a sure indication of her having conceived a criminal affection for him.

Of the religious opinions of the Indians, with whom Mesr^{rs}. Dease and Simpson became acquainted, it is difficult to give a correct account, not only because they show a disinclination to enter upon the subject, but because their ancient traditions are mingled with

the information they have more recently obtained, by their intercourse with Europeans.

None of them ventured to describe the original formation of the world, but they all spoke of a universal deluge, caused by an attempt of the fish to drown Wæsack-ootchacht, a kind of demi-god, with whom they had quarrelled. Having constructed a raft, he embarked with his family, and all kinds of birds and beasts. After the flood had continued for some time, he ordered several water-fowls to dive to the bottom; they were all drowned, but a musk-rat having been despatched on the same errand was more successful, and returned with a mouthful of mud, out of which Wæsack-ootchacht, imitating the mode in which the rats construct their houses, made a new earth. First, a small conical hill of mud appeared above water; by and by, its base gradually spreading out, it became an extensive bank, which the rays of the sun at length hardened into firm land. Notwithstanding the power that Wæsack-ootchacht here displayed, his person is held in very little reverence by the Indians, and in return, he takes every opportunity of tormenting them. His conduct is far from being moral, and his amours, and the disguises he assumes in the prosecution of them, are more various and extraordinary than those of the Grecian Jupiter himself; he converses with all kinds of birds and beasts in their own languages, constantly addressing them by the title of Brother, but through an inherent suspicion of his intentions, they are seldom willing to admit of his claims of relationship. The Indians make no sacrifices to him, not even to avert his wrath. They pay a

kind of worship, however, and make offerings to a being whom they call Kepoochikawn.

Their deity is represented sometimes by the rude images of the human figure, but more commonly merely by tying the tops of a few willow bushes together, and the offerings to him consist of everything that is valuable to an Indian; yet they treat him with considerable familiarity, interlarding their most solemn speeches with expostulations and threats of neglect, if he fails in complying with their prayers. As most of their petitions are for plenty of food, they do not trust entirely to the favour of Kepoochikawn, but endeavour at the same time to propitiate the *Animal*, an imaginary representation of the whole race of larger quadrupeds that are objects of the chase.

Their ideas of a future state are curious. They say that they have heard from their fathers, that the souls of the departed have to scramble with great labour up the sides of a steep mountain, upon attaining the summit of which, they are rewarded with the prospect of an extensive plain, interspersed here and there with new tents, pitched in pleasant situations, and abounding in all sorts of game. While they are absorbed in the contemplation of this delightful scene, they are descried by the inhabitants of the happy land, who, clothed in new skins, approach and welcome with every demonstration of kindness, those Indians who have led good lives; but the bad Indians, who have imbrued their hands in the blood of their countrymen, are told to return whence they came, and without further ceremony are precipitated down the steep sides of the mountain.

Many of the Indians make vows to abstain from particular kinds of food, either for a specific time, or for the remainder of their life, esteeming such abstinence to be the certain means of acquiring some supernatural power, or at least of entailing upon themselves a succession of good fortune.

Means for the introduction of civilization and Christianity amongst the natives have not been neglected. Catholic priests from Canada, and clergymen of the Church Missionary Society, have several churches and schools at Red River settlement, under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company; the climate here being favourable to agriculture, it has been encouraged; and at other places similarly favoured, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, a chaplain has been sent to establish schools and missions, with prospects of the happiest results.

It is considered by persons of considerable intelligence connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, as by no means an improbable case, that our discoveries on the north-western coast of America will ultimately embroil us with Russia, who are jealous in the extreme of any encroachment on our part on the territories of which they have usurped the possession, and the trade and commerce of which they appear determined by every possible means to keep exclusively to themselves. It was not the expeditions under Parry, Ross, or Back, which excited the jealousy of Russia, but it was our inland researches, and the expedition of Captain Beechey to Behring Straits, with the view of cooperating with Captain Franklin in his survey of the north-western coast of America, that roused the aggressive spirit of that country. The British were here encroaching too fast upon the supposed sovereignty of the Czar, and from the

great advantages which Russia possesses over this country, on account of the facility of communication from her Kamschatka ports with her North American settlements, she knew that those advantages would in a great degree be lost, were the English, by their spirit of enterprise, to be once permitted to establish themselves in a country, which although actually discovered by them, has been gradually wrested from them by the insatiable ambition of the Russian Government. It is by no means a wild conjecture that the discoveries which are now pursuing by Messrs. Dease and Simpson, under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company, may ultimately bring them into collision with the Russian Fur Company, and as it may be difficult to decide which is the aggressing party, a kind of interminable war may be the consequence, and as the numerical power is in favour of Russia, there is very little doubt as to which party will carry off the victory.

These facts are more than enough to satisfy us, that the progress of discovery is also that of civilization. No fears for beneficial results need prevent the reader from joining us in wishing success to the brave men whose past endeavours we have now recorded, and in the perilous enterprise which still engrosses their attention—namely, that of tracing the yet unexplored coast between Point Turnagain and Captain James Ross' Farthest; nor from supporting the hope, which we now express, that the Queen's Government will not overlook any of the meritorious parties engaged in these national expeditions,—above all, the gallant adventurers, who for the love of science and the honour of their country, have encountered and overcome such appalling dangers.

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