

58 Long. West from London.



Map  
of the Rivers  
ESSEQUEBO, DEMERARY,  
(BERBICE,  
&c &c)

9000 Fathoms each containing 12 Rhineland Feet  
500 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 6000 7000 8000  
Geographical Miles 60 to a Degree  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16











A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY  
VOYAGES  
AND  
TRAVELS:

CONTAINING,

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PUBLISHED.

III.  
ANALYSES OF NEW VOYAGES AND TRAVELS  
PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

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VOL. X.

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LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,  
BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS,  
BY B. McMILLAN, BOW STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1809.

[*Price Fifteen Shillings in Boards.*]







A  
VOYAGE  
TO THE  
DEMERARY,  
CONTAINING  
A STATISTICAL ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE SETTLEMENTS THERE,  
AND OF THOSE ON  
THE ESSEQUEBO, THE BERBICE,  
AND OTHER CONTIGUOUS RIVERS  
OF  
GUYANA.

BY HENRY BOLINGBROKE, ESQ.  
OF NORWICH,  
DEPUTY VENDUE MASTER AT SURINAM.

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CHAP. I.

*Preface—Emigration meritorious—Embarkation at Liverpool—Cove of Cork—Pass Madeira and Teneriffe—Proposal to cultivate the Madeira Grape at Trinidad—First View of the Coast of South America off the Mouth of the Courantyne—Anchorage in the River Demerary—Provisions to be made for a West India Voyage—Censure of the Navigation Act.*

THIS sketch of the settlements on the Berbice, the Demerary, the Essequibo, and the Pomaroon, is in great part copied from successive letters written by the author to his family, in the course of a seven years residence at Stabroek, without any view to publication\*. He therefore hopes the reader will be content with a plain statement of what he has seen and thought. The original epistolary form has been dropped, and so much of arrangement aimed at, as was necessary to prevent repetition; but the connection of the topics is not very methodical, and facts oftener occur in the order in which they were acquired, than in which they might best have been grouped.

The only object for attempting this statistical account, is a wish of displaying the importance of the settlements now possessed by the British along the northern coast of South America. They are undervalued; and were abandoned at the peace of Amiens with a levity, which lowered the character of our statesmen for information. If this endeavour to make the district more known, should succeed,

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\* The contents of the letters in question lately appeared in a splendid quarto volume, which, being printed chiefly with a view for distribution in the circle of the Author's connections, has probably never met the notice of the numerous readers of our Collection. The Proprietor of the copy-right having favoured the Editor with permission to reprint it, he is gratified in presenting so useful a work to the public at large. A few copies of the quarto volume may be obtained by the admirers of fine printing.



the author's end is reached. It will be a sufficient gratification for him to have had it in his power to disclose a new field, where British industry and perseverance are so likely to reap an early reward, and so able to sound an immeasurable empire.

Emigration ought to be classed among the merits of a citizen. The little void an absentee leaves is presently filled. By withdrawing from the competition for employment at home, he favours an increase in the recompense of industry. Whether he fails, and dies abroad; or thrives, and returns with a fortune; he has helped to keep in motion the great wheel of commercial circulation. He who quits his country, does not forsake it; he only chooses a different post of activity in its behalf. He assists in extending to a distance the imitation of its manners, the consumption of its handiwork, the advantage of its intercourse, the popularity of its literature and law.

Not that I pretend to have been governed by any such sublime moral motives, when I determined to seek my fortune on a transatlantic shore. Accident determined my destiny. The partner of a house in Stabroek, who was at London in 1798, wished to engage an articulated clerk on terms which my friends thought liberal. Fancy and ambition painted, at the termination of a West Indian voyage, new forms of pleasure and of gain; and I embarked with delight on board the *Comet*, captain Barrow, at Liverpool, on the 25th December, 1798.

For many days after we left the Mersey I was much troubled by sea-sickness. This is a phenomenon which no medical man I ever met with, could satisfactorily explain, and the only advantage I have derived from conversation on the subject, was to collect a few facts. Sea-sickness is most likely to occur, if you stand still upon the deck and watch the motion of the sea. If the eyes be closed, so that the dancing of surrounding objects cannot be perceived, you are less liable to be sick. If you lie in the horizontal posture, the rocking of the ship is almost imperceptible; hence the most effectual way of avoiding sea-sickness, is to lie down on your bed. By these means I have often passed in a few minutes from the most dreadful nausea to a state of perfect ease, and could eat, talk, and read, as well as if I were on shore. This, however, is only an escape from sickness, for as soon as I came upon deck again, I found I was as much affected by the motion of the ship, as at first. The only way to conquer it, is to brave it. Strong exercise is good, such as walking the deck. You are



then not so sensible to the motion of the ship. The eyes and the feet are no longer watchful to the slightest movement of objects. Stimulant mental occupation is good, such as mirthful conversation, which fills the mind with amusing ideas, and excludes those strange sensations which seem to be the chief cause of the malady. Various means of inferior importance may be mentioned, to diminish the effect of the motion of the vessel. To go on board after a light simple meal; to live temperately, and to eat a little food at short intervals, rather than more at longer. Strong drinks taken into the stomach are good, if they do not produce intoxication. A single glass of brandy is often useful, but enough to produce drunkenness would obviously be hurtful. Pure water should never be used, but ought to be mixed with a little wine or lemon-juice. When the stomach is sufficiently strong, a glass of spirituous bitters will increase the appetite and relieve the remaining sickness.

We touched at Cork, and lay in the Cove to await convoy : there we took on board live stock and sea stores. This port promises to become important. If it were made a free port ; if goods could be landed within a certain ring of wall, or other enclosure, and without paying any duty, or giving any bond to the custom-house ; the produce always deposited there for the various inlets of the European market would be very considerable. What West Indian cargoes are carried forwards to Liverpool can no longer be destined to the Mediterranean, to France, to London, without having incurred a needless expence.

We left Cork on the 4th January, 1799, having several horses on board, which were very troublesome. The laws that prohibit carrying out our best breeds of cattle render necessary a costly and inconvenient exportation of single animals, which might be bred in our continental colonies at less cost. The object of Great Britain ought not to be the furnishing of her colonies with what can more cheaply be produced there ; but the raising of a large population, whose demand would busy her stationary manufactories.

There is almost always a north wind off the coast of Portugal : I do not know why, but the sailors rely on it with confidence, and are seldom disappointed. We fell in with it, and were carried by it into the latitude of Madeira. By the bye, why should the sort of grapes which thrive in this island not be capable of culture in some of the British islands ; on the mountains of Trinidad, for instance ? Our people could learn, as well as the Portuguese, to ferment

the must in cellars, and to throw in quick-lime when any tendency to acetous fermentation is perceived. The government ought to lower the duty on wines imported from the Cape and from Trinidad, so as to confer the monopoly of the British market on the wine-makers who might arise in our own colonies. The olive could in like manner probably be cultivated in the hilly parts of Jamaica, and elsewhere.—Our laws have not enough reciprocity: the colonies must buy no where but in Great Britain; while Great Britain gives no corresponding preference to her colonies. Now that the Gallipoli oils grow in French territory, there is some chance, perhaps, that an attempt may be made to supply our woollen manufactories from provinces of our own. Recruiting in the Mediterranean for the garrisons in the West Indies has been suggested; it might indirectly improve their agriculture, by introducing some peasants accustomed to grow oil, wine, rice, and silk.

On the 27th January we saw the snow on the Peak of Teneriffe, the only part of Africa I am ever likely to behold. Three of our horses died in this neighbourhood. On the 7th February we were surrounded by flying-fish. Several of them lit on deck. I ate one for my supper. They are not unlike herrings; and fly, it seems, in order to cool themselves by evaporation; for they do not rise in the night, and always replunge into the water as soon as their wings are dry. The heat was become excessive: the nautilus sailing with his fan; and the cerulean brilliance of the dorado moved by golden fins, were new objects to me.

On the 8th our main-top-gallant mast caught fire from the friction of a rope newly tarred. This accident retarded us; we fell astern of the whole convoy, but recovered our distance a day or two after, though we were all equally assisted by the trade-wind. Some days before we made land, the colour of the sea changed from a deep sky blue to an olive tinge, as if there was mud below; but the water when examined in a glass shewed no sign of turbidness.

After a passage of seven weeks, it may naturally be supposed we were very happy when one of the seamen, from the foretop-gallant mast head, gave us the joyful warning of "Land, a-head!" which was on the 24th of February. The ship *Henry*, with which we were then in company, having parted convoy in the latitude of Barbadoes, made us a signal "for land discovered on the weather bow." Captain Barrow then went aloft with a glass, and saw plainly a long range of coast running off east to west, dis-



tant about five leagues—the land appeared very low, and completely covered with trees even down to the water's edge. The day was clear and serene, to the utmost transparency of a tropical atmosphere. On heaving the lead we were much alarmed, by being in only quarter less five water, and immediately made a signal to speak our consort. She accordingly came up alongside, and understanding our apprehension, captain Hayton assured us there was no danger; that it was low water and neap tides—that there was a necessity for our standing in for the land close hauled, to discover what part of the coast we were on, and to prevent the flood tide, which was then making, from carrying us too far to leeward.

As he was acquainted with the coast, we agreed to follow him and obey his signals. The Comet being the best sailer of the two, we shortened sail, and took a reef in the topsails to keep farther astern of the Henry. About noon we were so close in as to discover a river to windward of us—we were then in three fathom water. The bottom was soft mud, nothing else had adhered to the tallow put into the bottom of the sounding lead. While captain Barrow was in this state of unpleasant suspense, not knowing where he was or what to do, the Henry made a signal for preparing to anchor. We accordingly coach-wheeled three or four coils of the cable on deck, and in the mean time ran alongside to enquire where we were. Captain Hayton told us the river to windward was the Courantine, situate between the Berbice and the Surinam, and that we were about 100 miles to the eastward of Demerary river, but that he thought it advisable to come to during the night, and recommended a sharp look-out to be kept, as the coast was much infested with privateers from the Orinoko.

We altered our course two points to the westward, which accordingly brought us more in a parallel with the coast, which I had now an opportunity of particularly observing: it was low and perfectly flat, and from its appearance quite wild and uncultivated. Large forests of trees extend along the coast, even to the beach, which appeared to consist of mud, with but few intervals of sand. This prospect of a country in which I was to become a resident for five years, certainly was not the most flattering, but it being the end of my journey, and the first land I had seen for several weeks, I beheld it with glad eyes, and really thought it a most delightful place. I looked on the forests of trees as so many verdant groves and pleasant plantations, and compared the

situation of the sea-shore, in my mind's eye, to some of our watering places in England—I hugged myself with the idea of traversing those rural retreats of wood, and hearing the dashing of the waves against the lofty mangroves in my supposed walks of retirement.

Highly gratified by this verdant scenery, and the refreshing breeze having completely recovered me from the remaining qualms of sea-sickness, I retired once more to my state-room, but not to sleep. The watch being set, the careful mariner was pacing the deck, and universal silence reigned, interrupted at intervals with the hollow yet pleasing sound of "All's well!" and the chiming of the half-hour bells. I counted eight when the starboard watch was called, and again visited the deck. The flood tide had made, which having raised the anchor we had drifted a little, and the seamen were employed in veering out more cable—a total stillness seemed to pervade the sky—the breeze which had before been so brisk, had died away and left a perfect calm—the swell and roughness of the sea had subsided—nothing was heard but a rippling against the vessel's side, and the voices of the seamen singing "Yo heave yo,"—the moon was just descending below the horizon—the air was mild, and I found that repose on a hen-coop on deck which my bed denied me.

I was aroused in the morning between five and six by a bustle and confusion on deck: the day was already breaking from the east, and the splendour of the rising sun was surpassingly grand. The seamen were weighing the anchor in compliance with a signal from the *Henry*. This was a more difficult task than we were aware of, and after having attempted the execution of it for two hours, we were absolutely obliged to relinquish it for the present: as, however, we had neighbour's fare, we could not complain—the *Henry* was in the same situation. Captain Hayton hailed and told us that we should not be able to purchase our anchor while the ebb tide was running, as it had taken such hold of the mud, but advised our hauling the cable short at low water; and that when the flood tide made, the anchor would weigh itself. We had no other resource, and it was not until ten o'clock that we were under weigh, with a light breeze from the north-east, which, however, soon brought us off the mouth of Berbice river. Here the scene began to vary: the stream appeared to be about two miles broad, and nearly in the middle of the channel is an island, which from a chart we had on board, I learnt was called Crab Island. It



abounds with land-crabs. With a glass we discovered ships lying at anchor; and the small craft sailing about in shore and coastways were clearly perceptible to the naked eye from the deck. The coast to the eastward of the river was as wild as that we had seen the day before off the Courantine—that to the westward appeared to be cultivated, and we had again the pleasure of beholding habitations on firm ground, interrupted at intervals with clumps of trees, which had been allowed to remain at the sea-side on some of the estates, and made a pleasing variety.

The plantations regularly ranged on the coast, which being a flat strand, shewed them to advantage as on a map, the foliage quite green, clusters of little cottages, some detached buildings, the better sort of houses, of two, three, and four stories high, painted white, and the red boarded roofs, made many an interesting group, and gave to every plantation the air of a separate village. The passing and repassing of schooners and other colony-boats, considerably enlivened the landscape. This character of country continued all the way to Demerary. We went over the bar safely, but night coming on, we were obliged to anchor about two miles from the river's mouth, and did not get in till the next morning, when a pilot came off and took charge of the vessel, which he brought to anchor under the guns of Fort William Frederic. Now that the breeze blew over land we were delighted with its orange-like fragrance. The scenery is much more diversified about this river's mouth, than on the other parts of the coast. A number of wind-mills appeared at work both on the east and west side of the Demerary. Several handsome and spacious mansions, with look-outs on the beach, the principal ones of which, I afterwards understood, belong to the Bel-Air estate and the Chateau-Margot.

The mouth of the Demerary lies in 6, 50 north latitude, and 58 west longitude from London. The province which it waters, bears the same name, but might more conveniently be called Demeraria. Its extent of sea-coast is nearly one hundred miles, running west, and by north and west; it is bounded on the east by Berbice, and to the westward by Essequibo. The river at its entrance is nearly a mile and a half broad, and has a bar four miles without of mud, over which, no vessel drawing more than nine feet, can pass until half flood.

At high water and spring tides, there are eighteen feet on this bar; but great care must be taken by vessels going in,  
 BOLINGEROKE.] c

to keep well up to the east shore. When the mariner is close enough to perceive the shipping, fort, &c. he should keep bearing E. S. E. until he gets within a mile and a half of it. Then keep the river a little more open, which brings him into a channel where there are three or four fathoms of water, by which means he clears the weather-bank of sand, which runs out from the point; just round which is a battery called Fort William Frederic, mounting eighteen heavy pieces of cannon. Half a mile east from it, is a block-house, which has a commanding view of the sea, and a communication by signal with Berbice, which gives immediate notice of any vessels being off the coast.

Captain Barrow went on shore to report the vessel to the commandant, when he got a passport for going up the river. We were then visited by a surgeon of health and the harbour-master, who left their respective instructions: we were not troubled by any custom-house officer. A clerk of the merchant to whom I was to be attached, came on board in the afternoon with captain Barrow, in a handsome tent-boat, rowed by six negroes, and the ship's yawl followed with a load of grass for the horses, which was no doubt very acceptable to them.

Let him who is about to set sail for the West Indies, be thoroughly aware that his voyage may endure three months, that he is likely to incur every variety of climate, that the fresh water on board is too precious to be squandered on the washing of linen, and that stores, which a captain thinks luxurious, pass with the passenger for hard fare. Let him therefore be provided with half a dozen checked shirts, and as many black silk cravats, both which may be worn long without looking dirty. If the north-east wind blows in the channel, he will be glad of cloth pantaloons and a warm jacket, thick boots and a stout great coat; and with all this wrapping, when he sits still in the long-boat, his teeth will chatter and his thighs shiver. On the contrary, when he approaches the tropics, he will want nankeen trowsers, fine cotton shirts, silk stockings, clothes light, airy, large, a chip hat, and loose yellow slippers. In the shade of the sail he will complain of the heat of the wind, and were it not for the sharks below, would ask to be towed through the water at a rope's end. The passenger who aspires to be comfortable at the latter part of the voyage, does well to take out two or three dozen fine shirts of cotton twist, as it absorbs the perspiration better than linen, as many muslin cravats, plenty of pocket handkerchiefs, six or eight pair

of gingham trowsers, three or four dimity, or jean, or thinner waistcoats with sleeves, and two dozen pair of those cotton stockings, called gauze stockings, which are made for the foreign market to be worn under the silk. It is good economy to take out these things in profusion; they will be useful on shore, where they cost far more than in England. Few English dress clothes are wanted; one coat is sufficient; an umbrella and a travelling cloak may be welcome.

To fit up a bed, a small mattress, blanket, and cotton sheets, must be procured at the shop-seller's. Napkins, a square or two of soap, a few needles, and some thread and tape, will also be found very useful articles. Every traveller should learn to sew, as there is no opportunity on the road or on ship-board, of sending to a tailor or a female, to fasten on a button or stop a seam, and the old adage of "A stitch in time saves nine," is frequently found very applicable; the worst of clothes are always good enough to wear on ship-board. A passenger should provide himself with a few dozen bottles of wine and porter, and half a dozen of spirits; but the less he drinks of these the better for his health; also four or five dozen fowls, a few ducks, two or three hams, and as many smoked tongues, a few bottles of pickled cabbage or gherkins, a couple of pounds of tea, and a loaf of sugar. He will have ship's allowance of salt beef, pork, biscuit, and flour. Two or three young pigs and a lamb make a welcome change of diet, and can be easily enough conveyed out; the captain, if he had no other inducement than the expectancy of a share, would put them into one of his boats on deck, and take good care of them. Provisions must be laid in for the live stock, such as barley, bran, &c. A West Indiaman has generally only one large cabin, in which the passengers, captain, and mate dine (unless the former engage the cabin themselves, in which case it is held sacred), and three or four state-rooms, sufficiently large for placing a crib on one side and a trunk on the other. Steerage passengers have their birth in the steerage, and mess with the crew.

In the hot latitudes, the British shipping suffers considerable injury from the heat of the sun. The boards of the deck must be continually wetted to prevent their splitting quite asunder. The tar of the caulking liquefies, and the seams open formidably. Unless the vessels are copper-bottomed, the adherence of barnacles and other very little shell fish, and of long sea-grass, is so considerable as to retard the sailing; and the water worm perforates the timber in so



many places, as often to occasion a fatal leakiness. Our colony-craft is always bottomed with *sieurbally*, a very hard wood, but not absolutely worm-proof. Still these hard woods make far fitter vessels for the tropical seas than the European timber. And if the teak-tree was cultivated in our districts, as in the East Indies, we should no doubt be still better off.

The perverseness of the English navigation-laws provides for the West Indian trade a most perishable sort of shipping; when, by suffering ships to be built on the coast of South America, a much cheaper and more durable commodity could be had. If British-built ships had no peculiar privileges, little colonies of ship-carpenters would go and station themselves in all the woody parts of South America, which are within reach of water-carriage; would there build, at a venture, vessels innumerable on the spot, and bring them for sale to the chief sea-ports. With the refuse timber they would construct their own huts, and would found a number of villages, the seats of future commerce and consumption. The lumber and shingle now got from North America, both here and in the West Indies, could in great part be derived from the southern continent, and a set of wood-clearers would originate there also, to prepare the extension of agriculture inland. Lord Blaquiere, and the other parliamentary advocates of the old navigation-laws, do not seem aware of the positive mischief and hourly loss resulting from the use of British-built shipping; nor of delay of the colonial improvement resulting from refusing to their vast forests the natural market. Provinces of woods now valueless would acquire an instantaneous importance, a transferable marketable worth, if ships built in the Essequibo, or the Orinoko, had all the privileges of British shipping; and vessels could be built in future much cheaper at home, if the competition of the tropical trade, for which fir and oak shipping are ill adapted, were in some measure withdrawn. The navigation laws have done nothing but mischief; they delayed, by half a century, the natural progress of North America, and therefore in a great degree, occasioned her rebellion; and if they are not repealed with respect to the West Indies, they threaten to occasion there a practical anarchy, in which the sovereignty of Britain will be nominally respected in her colonies, but her laws every where disobeyed by a general connivance. The several governors are obliged to exert perpetually a dispensing power, and thus, in fact, to abrogate a system of legisla-

tion, which accumulated experience has shown to be pernicious.

There are some convincing observations on this subject in the Annual Review for 1804, which I hold it useful to repeat.

“The fundamental principle of our navigation-laws, presents itself already in a statute of the fifth year of Richard II. which enacts, that none bring in or carry out merchandize but in English ships. This regulation was somewhat relaxed in favour of the French provinces belonging to England; for under Henry VII. additional provisions were made in the fourth year of his reign, for importing the claret of Guienne in English vessels. Selden drew the attention of the long parliament to this subject; and, by his speeches and controversial pamphlets, prepared that systematic attention of the legislature to secure a monopoly of the shipping-trade employed about our own importations and exportations, which is so efficiently pursued in the 12th Charles II. This bill, known by the name of the navigation-act, by its severe and precise definition of English vessels, completely realized what the statute of Richard II. had in view. It is a law which appears singularly wise to lord Sheffield, which he considers as the trident of the British Neptune, and which he holds up as the principal and perpetual cause of our maritime prosperity and superiority.”

“We doubt the utility of this vaunted navigation-act.

“I. If English-built ships had no peculiar privileges, vessels would be built where timber is cheapest: in Canada, in the Surinam, and elsewhere. This would occasion some exportation of shipwrights to the woodier regions of the earth, a more rapid colonization of them, and the consequent extension of the British market for produce and manufacture. It would occasion some diminution of the value of timber at home, thus cheapening the expence of naval defence and territorial architecture, and favouring the conversion of forest into pasture. The sorts of timber too could then be suited to the probable voyage; and teak shipping could be constructed for the tropical seas, which so rapidly destroy fir and oak shipping. It would occasion the frequent purchase of foreign vessels, whenever war or similar causes interrupt the trade of the continent, and thus be continually adding the very implements of foreign commerce to our own. Our wealth would long ago have obtained a much larger share of the shipping, and of

the attached commerce of the world, but for this restriction of the navigation-law. Besides, if the ships of each country are transferable to every other, a smaller number of ships can accomplish the business of the world. While the trade of the Baltic becomes inactive from frost, or of the Mediterranean from indolence, the appropriate shipping might be employed in the Atlantic; but if the proprietors of the Atlantic islands may not employ foreign vessels, they must create native ones; which in their turn will have to repose, while they might have been sold or let, beyond the Sound or the Straights. The built, wear and tear of all this needless shipping, must be levied on the consumer of removed wares in the price of freight; and thus, in some degree, discourage both the production and removal of such ware.

“II. If *English-manned* ships had no peculiar privileges, sailors would be hired where they can be hired cheapest. For tropical voyages, lascars; for arctic voyages, norsemen, would mostly be engaged, and thus the drains of war and climate on our population would imperceptibly be replaced; and the supply of natives requisite for the navy would far more easily be obtained. The expence of sailors’ wages too, being in that case as low in Great Britain as in any other country, would not be peculiarly burdensome to our resident ship-owners. That depreciation of freight, which the successful competition of foreign shipping has often occasioned, and which, at times, threatens to oust us of the carrying trade, would never result from the relative state of wages, and, therefore, less frequently occur. If, in consequence of the alertness of our masters of vessels, and of their economy of time, our ship-owners can successfully compete with foreigners, who pay lower wages for their crews, how much vaster would be our shipping interest, but for this restriction of the navigation law!

“III. If *English-owner’d* ships had no peculiar privileges, almost all vessels, not employed in the coasting-trade, would be owned conjointly by Englishmen and foreigners. The vessels trading to Hamburgh or the Baltic, would belong in part to the English houses, to whom they would be consigned here; and belong in part to the Hamburghers, or Anseatic citizens, to whom they would be consigned in the North Seas. The vessels trading to America, would have their proprietors resident there. In those trading to the Mediterranean, merchants of Livorno and Smyrna would purchase small shares, in order to secure a pre-



ference of consignment. The consequence of interesting a consignee in the profits of a ship is, that the expence of demurrage, or stay in a foreign port, is thereby greatly lessened. He has to gain by delaying a ship wholly British; he has to gain by expediting a ship partly his own. In the one case, the hulk yawns for a cargo, during months, beside the mole; in the other case, it is discharged and re-charged, like a Scotch still. Immense is the labour lost to the country, and to the world, in consequence of the impediment to foreign partnerships, imposed by this restriction of the navigation act. But it has still another mischievous operation: in time of war, vessels jointly owned are easily transferred to the neutral party; and thus commerce would be very exempt from the troubles of war; but vessels, all whose owners are English, cannot suddenly, or in large numbers be transferred, so as to reap the advantages of neutrality. Hence the necessity of permitting merchants to turn their vessels into privateers. This barbarous practice increases during war the quantity of positive destruction and of unproductive labour; and it supersedes the navy in a sort of piratical vigilance, which ought rather to be the occupation and the reward of valour than of industry.

“These three points are the principal provisions of the navigation act. It requires vessels to be *built* at home, *manned* from home, *owned* at home. Lord Sheffield will not find it easy to prove any one of these regulations beneficial. They existed without creating a marine, from Richard the Second to Henry the Eighth. As soon as the colonies, or plantations, began to thrive, a marine grew up; which, in the Dutch war of Cromwell, and in that at the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second (both before the navigation act), was equal or superior to the united navies of France and Holland. Our naval strength has grown with our colonial intercourse, not by means of, but in spite of the act of navigation. It was found absolutely necessary to break in upon this act in the 35th of Geo. III. by what was called the Dutch Property Act, without which Britain could not have profited from the migration of Dutch capital, rendered natural by the French conquest of Holland. A further inroad of a more equivocal kind was made the year following, by conferring a dispensing power on the privy council; a measure the resource of laziness, which cared not to discuss, and dared not to abandon decidedly, the old system.”

## CHAP. II.

*Landing at Stabroek—First Impression of the Place and People—Visit to the Reynestein Estate—River Demerary ascended to the Sand-hills and Rapids.*

WE landed about noon at the American wharf. It spread like wild-fire that we were from one of the vessels just arrived; and our captain was soon surrounded by the whole band of hucksters and pedlars belonging to the town. Here were blacks, yellows, and tawnies, bawling and vociferating in a wretched jargon, half Dutch and half English, whether he had any thing to sell—each trying to hitch himself closer than his neighbour. Not liking to be enclosed within this stifling ring of people, I took an opportunity of slipping between a stout mulatto woman and a negro butcher six feet high, leaving captain Barrow in the midst of his assurances that he had plenty of goods for sale. Seeing some fine oranges I asked for sixpenny-worth; the negress gave me thirty. I was obliged to call in the aid of my handkerchief and pockets to contain them. This was a scene which stamped me as a new-comer. Several negroes standing by offered to carry the oranges for me: others greeted me on my arrival with “How d’ye, massa? You come from Buchra country no? Buchra country good!”

Stabroek was to me quite a new sight. I recollected no English town which bore the least resemblance. It stands on the flat strand; and canals, where black and tawny children were plunging about like didappers, enclose the main street; while wooden houses, with colonnaded porticoes, and balconies shaded by a projecting roof, are orderly arranged between spacious intervals in three parallel lines. They are seldom above two story high: they stand on low brick foundations, and are roofed with a red wood, which I took for mahogany. No where the glitter of a glass casement: Venetian blinds, or *jealousees*, as they are called by the inhabitants, close every window; and the rooms project in all directions, to catch the luxury of a thorough draught of air, so that the ground-plan of a dwelling is mostly in the shape of a cross. There are no trees in the streets, as in Holland: the town would have been pleasanter with this imitation of the old country; but casks and bales lie about, as if every road was a wharf, and numerous warehouses are intermingled

with the dwellings. Even the public buildings are of wood. Blacks, clad only with a blue pantaloon, or with a mere towel of checking supported by a string about the loins, come to perform every office. Here and there a white man, in a muslin shirt and gingham trousers, is seen smoking his segar, and giving directions from under an umbrella to his sable messengers; or is led about in a phaeton drawn by ponies, to superintend the shipping of his goods. A noon-day sultriness and silence prevail: every motion is performed with such tranquillity, for fear of kicking up a dust, that one would suppose the very labourers at work in a church during service.

Being now overtaken by captain Barrow, who came blowing and puffing from the fatiguingly warm reception he met with on his landing, we were conducted to the merchant with whom I was destined to reside. The first refreshment offered me was Madeira wine and water. The water was clear and cool, and a great luxury—I had not tasted such all the voyage—I had not cared for such all my life before. It was rain-water, I found, preserved in a wooden cistern, and purified by dropping through a filtering-stone. The river-water is brackish, and there are no good springs near Stabroek.

I next retired, to cleanse myself from the make-shift habits of the voyage. A shower-bath was offered me, which I accepted. I got into an upright square tub, or cistern; and a negress watered me like a transplanted cucumber. The accommodations for bathing are unworthy of the climate. In all fevers, and especially in that which Europeans call *the seasoning*, bathing is the most essential remedy: for luxury, for neatness, it is a most valuable pastime. By the time I had unpacked, washed, and dressed, dinner was ready, namely, at five.

A dinner at Stabroek is a sort of mercantile medley of the imitable parts of the manners of remote nations. There was soup to begin with, as in France; and salted ling to begin with, as in Holland: there was an English huge joint of beef, and a couple of Muscovy ducks; there was an Italian dessert of Bologna sausages and salad, anchovies and olives; there was fruit of all kinds, pine-apples, guavas, oranges, shaddocks, and avoiras. Wine was taken during the repast, and porter between the courses, for a *bonne-bouche*.

At dusk, spermaceti candles were lighted, and placed within large cones of glass, to prevent the wind from blowing them aside. Segars were offered to us at the whist-

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table, and most of the party smoked, and drank coffee. A hammock, protected by a gauze curtain against the mosquitoes, was allotted me to sleep in, until beds could be put up.

The household establishment I found to consist of eight male and two female negro servants—a strange disproportion. The house was spacious, airy, and open, with pervious shutters, to admit every where a free circulation of air.

A few days after my arrival, I accompanied my friend up the river, on a visit to the Reynestein estate. Our conveyance was a tent-boat. They are generally from twenty to thirty feet long, and wide in proportion: they are built very sharp, for the purpose of sailing or rowing fast. About six or eight feet of the stern are occupied by the tent, in the inside of which are blinds, to let down as occasion requires. A cockpit is behind, for the cockswain to steer in: he is styled captain, and has entire command of the boat. The negroes, while pulling, took off their hats and jackets: they appeared quite merry, and sung all the way: the chorus of their principal and most favourite song was, “Good neger make good massa;” and was repeated at intervals by one whose sole part that was.

They appeared to have a great pride and emulation about their boat, and an opportunity offered of shewing it. Another boat being considerably a-head of us, they exerted themselves of their own accord, and soon passed her. With this they were highly delighted; and, when a-breast of their competitors, laid on their oars, and insultingly asked them, if they wanted a tow-rope.

The Demerary is, as I before said, two miles broad at its mouth; but inland, it does not exceed one mile and a half. Its bed runs up this width perfectly straight to Diamond Point, which is about ten miles from Stabroek, where it takes a course more westward. The river affords an excellent harbour, and would, in fact, hold all the navy of Great Britain; but, unfortunately, the bar will not admit vessels that draw more than eighteen feet. Ships lying here are completely sheltered from all squalls and tempestuous weather, nor do hurricanes ever occur. The water in the mid-channel deepened, as we proceeded, from four to six fathoms.

The cultivation along the river is confined to sugar, coffee, and plantains, with a small quantity of cocoa and rice. The latter was but recently introduced; however, little



doubt was entertained of its being made perfectly to answer the purpose of the colony; and if the cultivation was encouraged by government, it would soon rival that of South Carolina, being aided by a great similarity of climate. The river affords picturesque, but uniform, scenery. Plantations regularly ranged on either side—dwelling-houses built on the banks close to the water—other buildings scattered about in different directions, without respect to order—the wind, water, and cattle mills, on the sugar estates, with the *logies*, or barns, of three stories high, on the coffee ones—made a pretty contrast. Every plantation has a wharf, or landing-place, opposite the dwelling-house; and a canal, or trench, with sluices, which answer two purposes—to drain off the superfluous water on the estate, and to harbour boats, &c. while they are loading or discharging.

The plantations along the river, as well as in the other parts of the colonies, were surveyed, and laid out in grants, or allotments, of five hundred acres, by the Dutch West India company. They are of an oblong form, the frontage being one hundred roods, and the depth seven hundred and fifty; with a conditional grant of as much more behind the first, when two-thirds of that should be cultivated. All the estates on the river are now entitled to this, and many of them have already carried their cultivation thirteen or fourteen hundred roods from the banks of the river, in a straight line with the extended sides of the front dam, or ditch, thrown up to prevent the water in spring-tides from inundating the land. Two side dams are likewise thrown up, and extend as far as the cultivation, where they join a back dam; so that an estate is a complete island within itself, and *dammed* on all sides. Every plantation is therefore obliged to have a bridge on each side, to permit the traveller to cross these trenches and canals, in prosecution of his journey. Like public roads, these bridges are obliged to be kept in repair, and, according to an act of the court of police, to be painted white, that they may be seen with more facility in a dark night.

The cultivation of sugar and coffee on the banks of the river, has a pretty effect. Boats sailing up and down, and windmills at work, gave me a favourable idea of the industry of the inhabitants. The principal craft used in the river are punts, or flat-bottomed boats, about thirty feet long and eight wide, nearly square at both ends, which, from drawing little water, are well calculated for the trenches or canals of an estate: they are generally large enough to stow twenty

hogsheads of sugar with facility, and may be compared to the lighters on the Thames. In Stabroek there are people who lett them out to discharge or load ships, at the moderate price of from 20s. to 50s. per day.

The estates on the river, I was informed, had greatly increased and extended themselves since 1796, as well as those on the coast; and where there was one sugar-plantation then, there were five now\*. Three fine new canals are already dug, and carried twenty miles into the interior; and, as the water-carriage extends, fresh lands are getting into cultivation, in coffee, sugar, and plantains.

The head of one of these canals, which I visited, reposed in a fine savannah country, of several miles extent, presenting the same flat scenery which characterizes the other parts of the colony. Not a mountain, a hill, or a mole-heap was perceptible. No wonder the Dutch fixed here: a Lincolnshire man would fancy himself at home. The navigation is good a few miles up for schooners; but the principal craft used are punts covered in, like the tent-boats.

After passing Diamond Point we came in sight of a small island, where was formerly the fort and seat of government. It may be about two miles in circumference, and is possessed by a wood-cutter, who has a plantain walk here. A considerable quantity of swine and poultry are raised for sale, which answers uncommonly well, from its vicinity to Stabroek.

Nearly opposite to the lower point of Fort Island, and on the west side of the river, is situated the plantation Reynestem, about two hours and a half from Stabroek. This was the answer I got when inquiring the distance between one place and the other. I smiled at the laconism, and repeated my question in a different form. I was then given to understand it was about fifteen or sixteen miles, but that the distances had never been measured; for which reason they always calculated by the length of time they were in performing a journey.

We were received in a handsome, kind, hospitable manner, at the landing-place, by the proprietor, who welcomed me to the country, and wished me my health. He himself had been an inhabitant of this clime for fifteen years, and left his native land at the same age I did. A party of

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\* Pinckard has given an erroneous idea to the public, about these estates being abandoned. On the contrary, they are improved and increased, as is also the number of negroes. The land on the sea-coast is unfit for the production of sugar, coffee, and plantains, from the soil being too saline.

friends was assembled in the house, to whom I was introduced; we afterwards partook of a cold collation, and drank sangaree, a composition resembling negus, and pine-apple punch.

The Reynestein is a sugar estate, and in my walks about it I had an opportunity of making several remarks. There are navigable canals all over the estate, which fall into one grand stream that turns the water-mill. By these canals the sugar-cane is brought to the mills in punts. In the West India islands, I was informed, the planters are obliged to convey the produce from the fields by mules; herein certainly the Demerary planter possesses an evident advantage, both with regard to labour and expence. The sugar-reed is naturally a marsh-plant, and succeeds best in wet soils.

During my perambulation, I was astonished at seeing the quantity of pine-apples, growing apparently in a wild state, on the banks of the canals. I got one, which not proving very good, my friend pulled four or five, and threw them away like so many turnips, until he procured me one that was ripe. It is a common thing to feed swine with them. My astonishment was increased when our conductor took us to a large trench, fifty rood long and twelve feet wide, which was absolutely filled up with pine-apples: they so completely overran the estate at one time, that he was obliged to root them up for the purpose of preventing their further extension. On this estate there is a walk of fruit-trees nearly a mile long, consisting of orange, lime, lemon, mammy-apple, sour sop, cocoa-nut, and wild cherry trees.

Dinner was served up at five in the greatest elegance of style; it consisted of two courses, and included every rarity the colony produced, aided by European productions. There was excellent wine, London porter in its prime, and bottled table beer. The negro attendants displayed great dexterity in laying the cloth and waiting at table. Every thing appeared like clock-work: not the least confusion was perceptible, though there were more than half a dozen servants in the room.

All the party had, by the persuasion of our kind host, determined on remaining all night. I was surprised about nine o'clock by seeing the tables cleared away, and half a dozen hammocks brought in and hung up to rings placed for that purpose on the beams, two mattresses were made up on the floor, and a third on the sofa. This manner of accommodation I understood was practised throughout the colonies. As I was a stranger, and unused to hammock

sleeping, I was shewn into a separate room, where a good bed, hung with gauze nettings or curtains, to keep out the mosquitoes, was prepared for me.

In the morning, after taking a good cup of coffee immediately upon leaving my bed, and next a breakfast, which consisted of animal food, friccaseed fowls, and fruit, I was informed, that a farther jaunt up the river, as far as the sand-hills, was agreed on. The boats were accordingly prepared, and refreshments put on board each.

The distance is about twenty miles, and the flood tide was then running up. After passing the first or Fort Island, the width of the river began visibly to decrease. The estates and cultivation did not wear that drest and pleasant appearance which that part of the river did below Point Diamond. In particular places the banks, to the water's edge, were covered with thick and almost impenetrable underwood, and heavy trees. Only the centre of the estates seemed cleared, so as to leave a circulation of air, or a view of the river from the dwelling house.

We passed three islands before we arrived at these sand-hills, or rather mountains. They are situated on the west side of the river, and appeared to be from one hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high, nearly perpendicular. On the summit of one, stood a dwelling belonging to Mr. Brotherson, a wood-cutter, whom Pinckard properly represents, as inhospitable as the appearance of the hills themselves. The party knew this propensity, and therefore avoided throwing themselves on him for refreshment. We took our repast under a tree, and the cool water bubbling from the springs, enabled us to make our sangaree, or negus. These springs are of great use to shipping. In watering, a boat may come up and lie alongside the hills, while a leather pipe conducted from the springs, fills the puncheons without further trouble. For each boat, the king of the sand-hills, Mr. Brotherson, demands two dollars, and the same for a load of sand. After strolling about until we were quite fatigued, we re-embarked with the turning of the tide, and arrived again at the Reynestein about the appointed hour. Next morning we left our hospitable entertainer, breakfasted at the Hope, opposite Diamond Point, and arrived in Stabroek by twelve o'clock.

The different estates on this river bear a strong resemblance to each other, both for extent and distribution: yet one may often distinguish the country of the owner by the appearance of the property. The general neatness and formal regularity



of a Dutch estate has a peculiar mien. The houses, buildings, bridges, gates, are carefully painted white, which is the favourite colour of the Hollanders. Roads regularly serpentine lead to their dwellings: and little square clusters, or straight alleys, of cocoa-nuts and limes, indicate the measuring methodical taste of the continental gardeners.

What does honour to them, both as individuals and as a nation, is their indiscriminate hospitality. There are no road-houses, inns, or places of public entertainment; but, in all my subsequent trips by land to the neighbouring settlements, as well as on this occasion, I every where received eager attentions from utter strangers. They accept visitors with all the warmth of friendship; and give a welcome, which includes the command of whatever the house affords. They keep good tables; and willingly purchase what the country does not supply. For potatoes (*ardappels*) such is their relish, that I have known three pounds sterling given for a hamper from Ireland, which contained about two bushels.

The Dutch planters are clear and strict accountants, very regular in all their mercantile transactions. They deserve credit for their industry and perseverance, and according to the old adage, they are slow but sure. They would be better planters than the English, were they to make an equal point of increasing progressively their cultivation; but they cling to the maxims of their native land; they aspire only to a competency not to a fortune; and they waste labour, under an idea of having their estates look like gardens. The Englishman makes more of his property; but the Dutchman leaves it a better inheritance. All the land is so rich, that it requires little or no attention after being planted, except weeding three or four times within the year. Naturally, therefore, the more ground is planted, the greater the produce. With the same number of negroes a Dutchman has less land under cultivation than an Englishman.

The Dutch were formerly severe masters, and used to inflict odious cruelties on their negroes. I am happy to have observed that this cannot now be laid to their charge. The milder habits of the English planter have gradually taught a better system. The indignation systematically shown by the English authorities, and the fines occasionally levied, by formal representation to the fiscal of the division, have also been conducive to bettering the situation of the Dutch negroes. Yet even now it is felt as a terror to menace a negro with selling him to a Dutchman. The Dutchman, however,

has a like terror in reserve, and threatens to sell his slave to a free negro. The Africans are of all masters the worst to one another. They were accustomed on their native coast to a harsher and more abject slavery than they incur in Guyana.

The English planters were frequently told, that by following up their mild measures, and discountenancing all severity toward the labourer, they would in a short time bring the colonies into a state of insurrection. This comparative gentleness has, however, been practised for ten years with success; and I am confident, that besides discharging a debt due to humanity, the planters are the richer for it.

The river Demerary is navigable for large vessels about one hundred miles above its mouth: it is settled for nearly another hundred miles farther inland. At that distance are cataracts, or rapids, which obstruct navigation; but which, on account of the romantic mountainous scenery around, are occasionally visited by parties of pleasure. Arrowauk Indians dwell near them, and are very accommodating to white visitors.

A few miles above the falls two streams unite to form the Demerary: the one comes from the south-west and the other from the south-east; but whence they descend is unknown to the Europeans. It is supposed to have sources less remote than the Essequibo, as the quantity of water collected, though more rapid, is not so considerable.

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### CHAP. III.

*Stabroek—Its Configuration—Population—Manners—Amusements—Classes of Inhabitants—Public Places, Buildings, Offices—Police—Monies of Exchange—Military Regulations.*

STABROEK, the political metropolis, and principal seat of exchange for produce of all the countries adjacent to the Demerary and Essequibo, is situated on the east side of the river Demerary: its site is low and level. It has an oblong form, being about one-fourth of a mile broad and one mile long. The principal streets are quite straight, with carriage roads. The middle street, leading from the King's stelling, is paved with bricks, and has lamps on each side:

another public stelling, or wharf (besides several that are private), is kept purposely in order for landing and shipping goods. A navigable canal on each side of the town, which fills and empties with the tide, affords the same convenience to those houses which are not situated near the water side. The population in Stabroek consists of about fifteen hundred whites, two thousand free people of colour, and five thousand negroes.

There are no taverns, or lodging-houses, wherefore a merchant's house is more like an inn than any thing else.—People coming from England generally bring letters of introduction, which are always attended to, and secure to the bearers a hospitable reception—a knife and a fork is laid for them, and a hammock prepared, which they occupy as long as suits their convenience. Planters residing in the country, always put up at the merchant's house with whom they do business.

The way of living differs materially from that of England. The general hour for rising is six, far the pleasantest part of the day, in which time coffee, and often chocolate, is prepared. Breakfast is delayed until ten, which is in fact more like a dinner, from the introduction of animal food, wine and water, and sometimes fruit. By four in the afternoon all business is over for the day. Five is the hour of the principal meal, which is served up by a profusion of attendants: Madeira and claret are the wines most in request. In the houses there are no bells; every gentleman carries in his pocket an ivory whistle, which when used assembles the servants. The evening is generally passed at the coffee-house, which is situated near the American stelling, and denominated the Exchange, from its being so much frequented by the young merchants as a lounge. Here the news of the day, the list of arrivals and importations, the prices of produce, and the departure of vessels, are always to be known. Draughts, backgammon, chess, whist, and billiards, share the attention of the guests. A walk to the camp is usual and pleasant, where the band plays after the troops are marched to the barracks. Few weeks pass without a ball or a concert, the attending of which is, however, very expensive. A ball and supper cost to each of the gentlemen subscribers eight dollars, a concert and ball twelve dollars. His ticket also introduces two ladies of colour.

Strolling players from North America occasionally visit the West Indies. Twice during my six years stay they came to Stabroek, having previously made a tour among  
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the islands. The company consisted but of four or five persons; they had chartered a vessel at New York; they had embarked a cargo of canvass palaces and painted forests, of crowns and daggers, sceptres and chains, of the purple attire of majesty, and the motley foppery of folly. At Grenada and Barbadoes, they had unpacked their portable theatre, and had been received with an applause, which was re-echoed from the continent. The admission was two dollars for each representation, and public curiosity detained them nearly three months. The plays of Shakspeare require so much show and so many actors, that we had often to be content with select scenes. The simplicity of the ancient drama was restored by the economical criticism of the manager. It might be wished that plays, like those of the Greeks and French, were written for the service of these cruising players: such simple compositions would better suit the rude state of their dramatic system, than the complex works of English art and refinement. In the French islands, negro performers have been enlisted to take parts in the maritime companies; but there are few Moorish characters on our stage, except Othello, Juba, and Oroonoko, which they could personate with propriety. In an illiterate community, which can only learn through the ear, the drama is an important engine of instruction, and might be rendered essentially conducive to historic and moral information, and even to the civilization of the vulgar and undisciplined.

When an European arrives in the West Indies, and gets settled or set down for any length of time, he finds it necessary to provide himself with a housekeeper, or mistress. The choice he has an opportunity of making is various, a black, a tawney, a mulatto, or a mestee; one of which can be purchased for 100*l.* or 150*l.* sterling, fully competent to fulfil all the duties of her station: some of them are so much educated as to be able to read and write. They are tasty and extravagant in their dress; but when once an attachment takes place it is inviolable. The strictest scrutiny of their conduct in general cannot glean one particle of impropriety, by which their fidelity or constancy can be brought into question. They embrace all the duties of a wife, except presiding at table; so far decorum is maintained, and a distinction made. They employ themselves in needle work, and other domestic affairs. Their usefulness in preserving the arts and diffusing the habits of cleanliness is felt and allowed by all, there being a lack of civilized European wo-

men. If a young progeny of coloured children is brought forth, these are emancipated, and mostly sent by those fathers who can afford it, at the age of three or four years, to be educated in England. Some remain in the country as free subjects, and preserve the stock for a future generation. In these colonies, where the population of females of this description is so small, and the demand for them so great, the common method of supplying the deficiency, or the wants of individuals, is to send orders to Barbadoes, and other fully peopled islands, for ladies, who are always to be procured either by purchase, or by inducing those that are free to come and settle among the Demerarians. Indeed, there are coloured women residing in Stabroek, who have of late years made a traffic of feminine importation, and receive a premium for whatever ladies they introduce, beside the expences, from the gentlemen with whom they afterwards cohabit. The French islands of Martinique and Grenada have not contributed a little towards populating these infant colonies with free women of colour. Perhaps it would be a more useful fashion to make these purchases, which is not impracticable, among the indigenous Americans: the mestees are a more beautiful race than the mulattoes, and the continental savages would gradually be attracted by their kinswomen into habits of intercourse and civilization. Young men, who have not regular establishments, hire small houses in the suburbs of Stabroek and Cumingsburgh, where they invite their friends in an evening to smoke segars, and are enabled to indulge in the customs of the colony.

As Dutchmen and other foreigners in the colonies differ in some points of their living and household economy from the English, a short sketch of them may not prove unacceptable.

Their general hour of rising is with the sun, about a quarter before six, when they make their appearance in a morning gown and slippers, in the portico or piazza of the house, where a female negro is in waiting with the coffee equipage. After a Dutch planter has taken a dish or two of strong coffee, with little or no sugar in it, the yonge, or boy, brings him his pipe, tobacco, and flask of gin: with these he enjoys himself till between nine and ten o'clock, when he is visited by the baas, or overseer of the estate, who reports progress, and receives orders as to preparing produce for sale or shipment, and any thing else which is needful to be done on the estate. He then dresses himself, and calls for a glass of water and a napkin to wash his face and hands with. 1



scarcely ever saw a hand-bason in any of their houses, even where there are white females. This is a strange inconsistency, when compared to the cleanliness of the interior of their houses, in which they are nicer than about their persons. Their rooms generally undergo a thorough scrubbing with lemons every morning, which diffuses a beautiful odour, in opposition to the no less regular fumes of tobacco. The excuse which is given for their attachment to smoking is, that it has a sedative quality, which corrects the effect of strong drink, and preserves them from the colds and damps, that so often prove fatal in this moist atmosphere. If a Dutchman gets wet, the antidote he takes against cold is two or three glasses of gin and a pipe; he allows his clothes to dry on him. This idea, perhaps, constitutes an apology for the use of tobacco in Holland, though I cannot but think the stupifying or intoxicating effects it produces, have more share in it. Of its efficacy as a remedy I cannot pretend to say much, but I know many of the English colonists, who adopted the usage, were always ready to shelter themselves with their neighbour's excuse. A luxurious calm of mind, a mild gaiety and pleasing cheerfulness, unlike the boisterous hilarity of wine, but fitter for a climate which compels to sedentary habits, really accompanies the absorption of tobacco fumes. The smoker appears only tranquil, but he feels happy. Nor is our tobacco deprived, like the Virginian, of its native fragrance, by aspersions of urine, by fermentation and pressure; it has an odour as of incense, and is used in token of reverence. It is a rarity in Stabroek to meet a person in the streets at evening without his pipe or segar, and it is always considered a mark of attention, when two people meet smoking, to discharge a mouthful of smoke at each other.

But to return—we are leaving my Dutchman without his breakfast, which, from its substantiality, will prove to be the best meal he makes in the day. About eleven o'clock he sits down to a table covered with various kinds of animal food, vegetable soups, and fruit. Pepper-pot, a soup flavoured with the juice of the bitter cassada, and made pungent with red and green pepper, is a constant concomitant. Madeira wine and water, and malt liquor, are substituted for tea: they are considered more strengthening, and better adapted for the heat of the climate than the other, which generally overheats, and is productive of bile. An hour is appropriated for the gentleman to break his fast, after which he orders his horse and pays a visit to some of his neigh-

hours, or rides round the estate to see the negroes at work, in either of which cases a negro boy follows him on foot, with a pouch of segars and a stick of fire. It is his constant practice whether on horseback, walking, or riding in a carriage, to smoke, and be supplied through the medium of a servant. He dines about three or four o'clock, and after taking a portion of claret, retires for his afternoon's nap, where he sleeps away the fatigues of the day. He grows tired of the hammock towards evening, when he comes down and takes his coffee, after which, a walk round the buildings, to inquire into the state of the negroes and their work, concludes the day. Dutch overseers treat their principals with the utmost respect: as they approach Mynheer within half a dozen yards, the hat is immediately doffed as a token of their inferiority, and is placed under the arm while receiving his orders, to all of which the answer is, "*Ja, weedele gestreenge-Heer*"—"Yes, great and honoured Sir." Such insignificant and unrestrained flattery as this from one European to another, is truly disgusting, and ought, I think, to be totally laid aside; but such are the failings of human nature, that I have seen sensible well informed men in other respects, while surrounded by their friends, call up their overseers to give orders and ask questions, merely to display their greatness, and the respect they are held in, by a public repetition of such flattery. The negroes belonging to Dutch estates, copy the overseers' humble politeness, and are considerably more respectful to whites than those belonging to English plantations. A certain erect carriage in John Bull imperceptibly introduces itself into the incult address of the English negroes. Or it may arise from their not being kept so strictly, nor considered in so degraded a situation as other negroes are. I am convinced, was it made a general rule among European planters, to inculcate into the minds of the negroes proper ideas of their situation, as the English do, it would inspire them with a certain degree of emulation and pride: seeing themselves respected and held in estimation would answer much better than the fear of punishment, in keeping them to their regular employments. This hint, if properly attended to, may in the course of time bring the slaves in the West Indies on a level with the English peasantry of this day: their present situation may be compared to that vassalage in which nobles formerly held the lower order of people throughout Europe.

The general hour for retiring to rest in the country, is about eight or nine o'clock, the intermediate time between

this and sun-set, is occupied by smoking and drinking gin. Should no neighbour, or traveller, call to spend the evening with the great man, he is sometimes induced to select for the convenient overseer to play cards or draughts with him, which is considered as a mark of great favour. I should have observed, that sometimes it is the wish of the proprietor, that the negroes, after leaving work, should come and receive their daily allowance of rum before his door, where he sits in state smoking his pipe, sullenly receiving the reiterated thanks of the negroes in broken English and Dutch—" *Dankee Meester*." The Dutch planters are vain of a large house and a number of servants, which are mostly female; their garden, curricie, and pleasure boat, engage another part of their attention; they are particularly fond of good horses, and certainly deserve them, from their attention and care for those animals.

I have often considered with astonishment, the mixture of European inhabitants which destiny has heaped together in this community. Dutch, Germans, Prussians, Russians, Swedes, Danes, Spaniards, French, and Americans, may be incorporated as one-third of the white population, and Great Britain claims the other two. All national enmity seems to be forgotten, while the pursuits of the motley group are directed unanimously to climbing the ladder of fortune. Men are seen on all its stages, looking forward with anxious solicitude for the time of reaching the height of their ambition. Happily, commercial competition has in it little of envy; for each finds his own account in the success of his rival. The rich man is a better customer, a more liberal creditor, a safer debtor, than the necessitous: every one thrives the faster, because his neighbour has already thriven.

There is a market-place where the negroes assemble to sell their truck, such as fruit, vegetables, fowls, eggs, and where the hucksters expose for sale articles of European manufacture (much in the same manner as the pedlars do in England) in addition to salt beef, pork, and fish, bread, cheese, pipes, tobacco, and other articles, in small quantities, to enable the negroes to supply themselves agreeably to the length of their purses. Hucksters are free women of colour, who purchase their commodities of merchants at two or three months credit, and retail them out in the manner described. Many of them are, indeed, wealthy, and possess ten, fifteen, and twenty negroes, all of whom they employ in this traffic. It is by no means an uncommon thing for negroes in this line to be travelling about the country for

several weeks together, sometimes with an attendant, having trunks of goods to a considerable amount, say 200*l.* and when a good opportunity offers, they remit to their mistresses what money they have taken. It is really surprizing what a large sum is thus returned by these people going from one estate to another. The permission of the manager on every plantation is always necessary, before the huckster ventures to the negro houses, where the bargains are made. Those that have not money barter their fowls, pigs, segars, for what they stand in need of. The hucksters are provided with such an assortment as to be able to supply the negro with a coarse check, or the manager with a fine cambric, for his shirts. Coloured women of all descriptions are extravagantly fond of dress: but those resident in the country, not having such an opportunity as the Stabroek ladies of seeing every thing new as it arrives, feel a lively sensation of joy and pleasure at the sight of a huckster, and anticipate the pleasure of tumbling over the contents of her trunk; and if it contains any new articles of fashion, their hearts beat high with wishes to obtain them. If a joe or a dollar be still remaining, it is sure to go: should their purse be empty, they make no hesitation in asking for credit: such is the general character and conduct of coloured women.

There is a certain stage in the progress of civilization, in which a country is most conveniently supplied by pedlars. The inhabitants live too far asunder, and are not numerous enough to support stationary shops; yet the probable consumption of each estate is sufficient to reward the journey of a hawker of wares. The European Jews still exercise this division of labour, which Europe has outgrown: they are consequently sinking in utility: their trade is less profitable and less popular than it was some centuries ago. They would do well to come over in large numbers to South America, where they might become efficient agents for the distribution of European commodities throughout the interior. The dialect of the European Jews is admirably adapted for the coast of Guyana, which speaks a medley of Dutch and English, softened by negro pronunciation into a *lingua franca*, the very counterfeit of their speech in Europe. It may be added, that at Paramaribo, a large Jew population has been found to thrive.

Adjoining the market-place are the butchers' shambles. The butchers are mostly free men of colour, who have purchased their emancipation, and have acquired a little capi-

tal and credit. They commence their career by the slaughter of pigs, after that of sheep; oxen soon follow. They supply themselves from the importations of the Americans, and from those few planters who rear cattle for sale. Unless a butcher clears ten or fifteen pounds sterling by an ox, he thinks it a bad bargain. He is at no expence whatever, as, on the arrival of an ox in town, it is immediately conveyed to the slaughter-house.

The market is copiously supplied with butchers' meat, but at a most extravagant rate: mutton, 3s.; veal, 2s. 6d.; beef, 2s. 1d.; pork, 10d. per pound. With fish, the town is not so well provided as the country; no fishmonger has ever yet engaged in the business upon a scale sufficiently extensive to supply the population. The utmost endeavour yet made is that of some negroes, who hire themselves of their masters, at so much a day or month, and go a little beyond the mouth of the river in canoes, returning by one or two o'clock, and selling what they may have caught. A very glutinous fish, called a paukama, which is esteemed a dainty, is taken in a curious manner. It feeds a principal part of its sustenance in hollow trees, logs of wood, and in the skeletons of old ships, which from laying in mud by the water-side, soon decay. These they visit for food during flood-tide, but at ebb are left in the cavities of the wood, out of which the negroes draw them by a hook fastened to the end of a stick.

Houses for fire-engines are contiguous to the market-place, and a company of firemen are formed out of the coloured free people, for doing which duty they are exempted from serving in the Burgher militia. There are two engines, but from the negligence of those who have the care of them, it is feared they are not in repair fit for use.

At the king's stelling, ferry-boats are always in waiting to carry passengers, horses, chaises, to the other side of the river, where there are two high roads, one leading up the river, the other across to the Essequibo.

The public buildings in the town are the governor's house, and a range of offices for conducting public business.—The secretary's office is so large as to comprise the courts of police and justice, and a place of worship, in which the Dutch service is first performed, on a Sunday, by an ecclesiastic of that country, after which the garrison chaplain reads the prayers appointed by the church of England. Next comes the receiver general's office for the king's colonial duties; the commissary's or king's stores; the town



guard-house : and the *exploiteur*, or marshal's office ; after which the public gaol, for the confinement of criminals, debtors, runaway, or arrested negroes. In the adjoining town, to the south-east, is the burial-ground, comprising ten acres of land. In the new town, or Cumingsburgh, is the fiscal's office, custom-house, post-office, and a colonial hospital, for the reception of those who are unable to defray medical expences, or being reduced by illness, are out of employ. When the writer was about leaving the colonies, the merchants and principal inhabitants were entering into large contributions, for the purpose of building a marine hospital, or lazaretto, capable of containing five hundred patients. Should this arrangement be carried into effect, it will be the means of adding greatly to the comforts of the seamen employed in this trade, who for want of such an extensive establishment as this is intended to be, are obliged to linger with the most dreadful distempers in the hold or steerage of a vessel engaged in the hurry and confusion of taking in, or discharging a cargo, without that attendance and rest, which are so requisite to people in their situation.

The houses are built of wood, two and three stories high, raised on brick foundations, which include excellent cellars. The frames and shingles (which are laths of twelve inches long and four wide, laid on the tops of houses like tiles) are the produce of the adjacent forests. Boards, planks, clapboards, for closing in, are imported from America. No fires, nor even stoves, are in the dwelling houses, the kitchen being always separate ; but for their cleanliness little indeed can be said, when compared to those in England. The principal fuel used is wood, and the meat, instead of being roasted, is baked. The generality of the cooks are men, and a good one sells for almost any money. Good houses well situated for mercantile concerns, either in Stabroek, or the new town, let with avidity for three, four, and five hundred pounds yearly. This sort of building, if undertaken by a merchant settler, lays a great deal of money fast, which could be much better employed. The gross rents do not pay more than twelve or fourteen per cent. : certainly, there are no taxes, but wooden houses are continually wanting repairs, and require a coat of paint every twelve months.

The premium for insuring this sort of buildings, which is done in England, is also very high. At the end of the year, when the landlord receives his rent, and reckons up

his outgoings, I am convinced he will not have cleared six per cent. on his money, which if properly employed in other pursuits, where he has the opportunity of returning it two or three times within that period, he would have made cent. per cent. of it. Again, a certain loss attends all buildings when resold, especially those built of so perishable a material. I am so far satisfied on this point, that I would recommend any merchant going out, to hire—not to build; and thereby profit by other men's experience.

The labour of mechanics is with us extravagantly dear. A negro carpenter, or mason, earns from five to ten shillings a day, according to his skill. Perhaps it would answer to send out from Europe a company of practised builders, under the command of an able architect, who might undertake, first at Stabroek, then at New Amsterdam, the constructions requisite. Houses could be built by them for half price, and usually yield so high a rent in new countries, that it might be worth the while of European merchants to advance the capital requisite for their structure: it would supply in the form of rent, a secure and a liberal interest. The principal material used is North-American lumber, of which the market-value fluctuates much: it is thought that down the river Orinoko this material might be fetched at a cheaper rate. I have known the price of lumber vary from six to twenty pounds per thousand feet; the demand indeed exceeds the quantity imported, for which reason the latter price is nearer the standard. Lime is a vast expence, being brought to us from Europe: surely a little search in the interior would discover lime-stone rocks among the mountains. Dutch terras sells for twenty pounds sterling the hogshead. A house of 40 feet long and 28 wide, to be well finished, with outbuildings, two stories high with an attic, and raised on a brick foundation eight feet high, costs here at a moderate calculation two thousand five hundred pounds, besides the lot of land, which, if conveniently situated, could not be had for less than two hundred pounds. The town was originally laid out in lots of one hundred by two hundred feet, many of which, small as they appear, have been divided into quarter and half lots. These lots are continually increasing in value, but they do not form, as in the North-American cities, habitual objects of stock-jobbing and of mercantile speculation. This art of selling the ground on which a house stands, without selling the house

or the right of living in it, has the merit of rendering circulable a greater portion of the fixed property of a country, and thus facilitates the obtainal of capital for every sort of enterprise.

The police is very strict, and as the laws are Dutch, so are the names of the officers of justice. The fiscal is the chief magistrate, who has under him the drossart (sheriff or jailer) and twenty dienaars (constables or servants of justice): Negroes guilty of improper conduct in the streets, or of being out after eight o'clock of the night without a passport, are committed to the jail, where they remain until liberated by their owners, when they receive such a punishment as their fault deserves. Very exorbitant fees are attached to the jail and jailer. The following is a correct list of the charges :

	£.	s.	d.
Arresting a negro f. 5 : 10 or ....	0	9	6
Admission ..... 5 : 10 or ....	0	9	6
Seven days maintenance at 10 <i>d.</i> per day	0	5	10
Flogging .....	0	9	6
Discharge .....	0	9	6
	<hr/>		
	£.2	3	10
	<hr/>		

The law permits only thirty-nine lashes at a time, unless for a capital offence, when the culprit is tried openly by the court, which adjudges and passes sentence if he is proved guilty.

There are about fifty negroes belonging to the colony, whose houses are at the back of Stabroek. These negroes are for the common good, and their employment is to keep the town, streets, sewers, and canals, in good repair. Several of them are convicted criminals, and instead of being transported to Botany Bay, or any other place, are sentenced to work in chains about Stabroek ; while the owners receive a stipulated sum from the colony funds for them. This is certainly a disgrace to the court of police. To see these poor miserable objects, our fellow creatures, working from morning till night in heavy chains, without regard to weather, destitute of clothes, with only a coarse rag round their middle, and, as I am told, frequently with nothing but dry plantains to eat. About half a dozen pipes are attached to the gang ; when one poor fellow has taken a few whiffs, he passes it to another, and so on. I am not going

to object to the punishment of criminals, on the contrary, let them meet their deserts. There is moderation in every thing, and when the court of justice condemned these poor people to labour in chains, it was not intended to deprive them of all the comforts of human life. Therefore I blame the court of police for not making their servant, the scavenger, do his duty in providing for the wants of these negroes, at least suitably to their situations. At all events, suffering chained negroes to work in Stabroek, I consider as improper. It is a common saying, that custom familiarizes every thing. Here however I must differ, for notwithstanding I was in the habit of seeing them every day for almost seven years, I never could be reconciled to such proceedings; my heart and feelings recoiled against them, as inhuman. I now suggest the idea to his excellency governor Bentinck, to have these negroes, with fifty or sixty more who are employed at the fortification, taken farther into the interior; let them be well fed and clothed, and made more comfortable than they are at present. There they may clear the country, cultivate a tract of land for the colony, and the proceeds of their industry would not only keep in repair the town, but improve it.

The only charitable institution supported by the colony is the hospital in Labourgade, which takes in a certain number of patients through the medium of directors. They are people unable to defray medical expences, and principally consist of seamen, and free people of colour from other parts of the West Indies, and only transient residents.

The whole face of the country presented a gratifying view of hospitality and munificence on my arrival, and when acts of bounty were necessary, the inhabitants seem to vie with each other in their liberality. I could bring forward many instances of their charitable acts; however a few will suffice. A widow and two children were left destitute by the death of the husband and father, whose only means of supporting them depended on his exertions, while alive; a private subscription was entered into for their relief, and nearly five hundred pounds were raised, which enabled them to return to their mother country. An artillery-man belonging to his majesty's forces, while bringing a vessel to, at Fort William Frederic, by some mismanagement had his arm broken, and so much shattered as to cause immediate amputation; a purse of two hundred and forty or fifty pounds was made up for him just before

his leaving the colony. Some Spanish prisoners, taken in one of the piccaroon boats from the Orinoko, were brought into the Demerary last war in a most dreadful situation, being in want of shoes and stockings and clothes of every description. Previously to their being exchanged, a subscription was made among some of the merchants, and fifty joes, nearly one hundred pounds, were collected and laid out for them. Various other acts of benevolence might be adduced.

A fund which is daily increasing, called the "*Kirk en arm geldt*," or church and poor money, is derived from a per centage duty on sales by auction. As it has been accumulating for a number of years, there are no means of judging of the probable amount, except by an investigation of the accounts of those persons who are the receivers of it. This ought immediately to be done by the court of police, and that amount, joined to the overplus of any other colonial fund, would form a considerable capital, which might be lent to new settlers at six per cent. interest per annum, for the express purpose of commencing cultivation in the interior of this vast tract of valuable territory. It would evidently be the means of forwarding three objects—*that of increasing the fund; that of serving individuals; and that of encouraging agriculture, by enabling planters with small capitals, to extend their pursuits beyond the sea coast, and banks of the rivers and creeks.*

This point merits consideration; and I strongly recommend it to the notice of the governor and council. Should they not attend to it, our present judicious ministers will, I hope, when the colonies are permanently attached to Great Britain, take such measures as to carry so desirable a plan into execution. The sum expended for support of the poor is nothing. *We have none!* at least that are dependent on the colony. The church establishment is very trivial; there is only one English and one Dutch clergyman, and to prove how very tolerant the inhabitants are, they all use the same church. The Dutch service is read from ten till eleven on a Sunday morning, when the Dutch congregation retires, and makes room for the English one.

The high duty on glass bottles in Great Britain is taken off when exported, and from the immense number of them which are imported with malt liquor into these colonies, they become valueless; indeed they accumulate so fast, that people are often glad to get rid of them by throwing them into the ditches and trenches about town. The canals

abound with bottles, as if natural to the soil, and the free negroes, who make spruce beer, go round the towns with baskets to pick them up. Any gentleman who wishes to bottle off a pipe of grey beard Madeira, has nothing to do but send his servants round the town, or a boat alongside any of the shipping, where they may be supplied with bottles in abundance, and have thanks for taking them away, which saves the steward and cabin boy the trouble of throwing them into the river, which they would rather do than land them in England, where the duty would be more than they are worth. On my return to England, the other passengers and myself threw into the sea between forty and fifty dozen bottles, emptied in the course of the passage; it was a fund of amusement on a calm day, after throwing in a bottle as a mark, to see who could break it first with others.

The packets are calculated to arrive at Barbadoes twice a month, whence the mails are conveyed to the different islands and colonies in mail boats engaged for that purpose. How anxiously the arrival of them is expected, is better experienced than described: the merchant and planter desirous of obtaining information of their shipments; the politician wishing to know the state of affairs in Europe; and those of a more domestic turn, solicitous about their families, are all gratified by their arrival, and are alike impatient till the hour is come, which the tardy post-master has appointed for the delivery of letters and newspapers.

A weekly paper is published here, entitled the *Essequibo and Demerary Gazette*. The proclamations of government are inserted both in the Dutch and in the English language. Some diverting mixtures of dialect occur in the advertisements: but the English language is constantly gaining ground, as the new settlers all bring that dialect. The European and other news is given in English, and is extracted, as may happen, from the Barbadoes, the Liverpool, the London, or the Baltimore papers. The mass of advertisements respects sales of slaves, of stores, and of estates.

The state or court house is a large white building, about one hundred feet long and thirty-five feet wide, and two stories and a half high. It is situated on the side of the river in front of Stabrock, one end facing the river to the westward, and the other one east. On the second floor is the council chamber, court of justice, and secretary's office, where the colonial business is transacted. The business of the secretary's office is done by the colonial secretary and six or eight clerks. All deeds, contracts, wills, letters of at-



torney, transfers of estates, mortgages, the proceedings of the courts of police and justice, are recorded here. The secretary is also a notary public, and a sworn translator.

The public offices in Stabroek are numerous; but, as buildings, they present nothing very striking in archæological character or beauty; a sameness of wooden houses pervades the whole town. The best is the governor's office, where there are two clerks and a private secretary employed. As is customary, the captain and myself waited on his excellency, accompanied by the gentleman to whom I was addressed, and presented him with a copy of the manifest, after signing which, he issued a permission, which was to be given in at the custom-house, authorizing the captain to break bulk. On my being introduced to him, he received me very politely, asked me jocosely if I was a descendant of the famous lord Bolingbroke, and expressed himself highly pleased with that nobleman's literary works, saying that he had them in his library.

All official documents and colonial papers pass through the governor's office, and for every time he signs his name, his *private* secretary receives two dollars, for which he no doubt accounts to the principal. Evidences given before the courts of justice are in the form of affidavits, which must be made before his excellency. Passports for people leaving the country, permissions for ships to load or discharge, powers of attorney, and various other papers of a similar tendency, must undergo his signature: thus, beside suffering a previous tax from the office out of which they are first granted, they are burthened by paying for the governor's signature. No wonder our West Indian governors grow rich, when they have such opportunities.

The office next in importance is the secretary's, where eight clerks are employed in recording deeds, contracts, wills, mortgages, transports, powers of attorney, and notarial protests, in issuing passports and advertising departures. The proceedings of the different courts are also registered here, and translations made from the Dutch to the English language; all the proceedings of the court being Dutch, an Englishman is frequently obliged to have their decrees and sentences translated for him. This is a mortifying, and, under the present distribution of property, an inconvenient regulation for the colony. Surely it would be wise to appoint a recorder, graduated in the English inns of law, for the avowed purpose of preparing in these courts of justice, the reception of the language and forms of proceeding of the

metropolitan country. He would know how to select for the especial sanction of his majesty's privy council, those few Dutch regulations which are interwoven with the subsisting constitution of property, and may therefore require to be retained. There are two receivers, whose department it is to receive the colonial taxes and sovereign's fees, duties, and imposts. Our chief magistrate, the fiscal, has his office in Labourgade. He is empowered by the laws to see them put in force and strictly adhered to, with the power of levying fines and committing to prison; he is similar in one point of view to the attorney-general of England, as being advocate for the crown. Appeals can of course be made from his award, to the court, and from the court (if a cause of sufficient consequence) to the king in council. The fiscal has under him, as officers of justice, the drossart and die-naars; the former, as we before observed, acts as sheriff or head jailer, and the latter as constables or watchmen, who have charge of the jail and police.

We had the honour of paying our respects to the fiscal, with whom we left a list of the crew and passengers, with an account of their age and place of nativity. A fine of one thousand guilders being inflicted on the captains of vessels for every person they land without giving in his name and description, and the like fine being levied for every such person who is taken from the colony in any ship or vessel without a passport, this law is very necessary to be known. The consignee of every vessel is obliged to enter into a bond at the secretary's office, for the full performance of these stipulations on the part of the captain.

I cannot leave the fiscal's office without relating a ridiculous anecdote of Mynbeer Van den V—, when that gentleman filled the employment. A planter one day meeting him on the public road between Stabroek and Mahaica, who had a private pique against him, accosted and requested to know what the amount of the fine would be, to give a man who had treated him ill, a good beating. The fiscal replied, it would be one hundred and fifty guilders, for which sum he would insure him against all law proceedings. The planter immediately paid him the stipulated amount, and requested the astonished fiscal to alight, that he might take his revenge; which he refusing to do, the planter held the horse's bridle with one hand, while he horse-whipped the fiscal with the other. Mynbeer Van den V— was so completely ashamed of his disgrace, that he pocketed the affront with the fine, without taking any steps to gain redress. It happened in

1798, and the planter who performed the achievement was a creole of Barbadoes.

The business of the *exploiteur's*, or what I believe is termed in English, the marshal's or bailiff's office, is to serve citations or summonses, execute arrests, levy executions, and put in force all sentences adjudged by the courts. There are offices for the colonial book-keeper, harbour-master, colonial surgeons and branch pilots, as established by the police.

The post-office is both badly and extravagantly conducted as to charges, and deserves the immediate notice of the court of police, to fix and arrange a proper tariff to guide the post-master for the future.

As to the custom-house, I despair of reducing its exorbitant charges, as the officers who have the conducting of it, reign lords paramount there, uncontroled by either governor or council. The charges of clearing a vessel are enormous; for British ships loaded and bound to England, from sixty to seventy pounds, in proportion to their tonnage and cargo. To Americans and neutrals the charges are in the same proportions doubled; independently of the duty, they pay on their inward and outward bound cargo, two and a half per cent. on one, and five per cent. on the other. The comptrollers and collectors of his majesty's customs in these colonies are in very lucrative situations, capable of making large fortunes in a short time. But the burden on commerce greatly transcends, I fear, the profits of the revenue; so that a commutation of all custom-duties for a tax on the estimated rent of the cultivated land, would probably be found, both to the state and the subject, a profitable change.

The *vendue-master's* appointment is also very lucrative. This is an office under government, similar to an auctioneer: there being but one allowed, and authorized, which makes the place so very valuable. The per centage on sales, according to law, is not more than 5 per cent. but the additional or incidental expences make it ten. The principal people who attend these sales are Dutchmen, and the bottle of gin and glass are handed about so briskly, that the fumes mount into their heads, and give their tongues such volubility, that they scarcely know, or care, or hear, what they buy. A drunken man, it is said, sees double; and I believe it is frequently the case with them, after too great an indulgence in gin, and smoking, which is quite common at all these sales, that they often purchase bargains for twice as much as they are

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worth. Therefore it answers at all times, and especially at the evening auctions, to provide plenty of drams and segars. The vendue-masters of Demerary are only deputies themselves, yet they employ another deputy to transact their business in the neighbouring colony of Essequibo, who pays them one thousand pounds per annum as a fee-rent of the office.

The paper money which is in circulation in Essequibo and Demerary, amounts to about one hundred thousand guilders. The smallest amount is 5*d.* sterling, or one bit, and the largest 5*s.* viz. three guilders. The notes are curiously denominated with little figures, that the negroes may know the amount, without being subjected to impositions from not being able to read. They are current all over the colonies, and were made to obviate the difficulty of obtaining small change; when a person has got a quantity of them, he may turn them into gold by applying at the receiver's office for colonial taxes, whence they are issued again. The colonial currency is like that of Holland, and consists of pennings, stivers, and guilders, though the coin in circulation is various. Guineas are worth twenty-five per cent. more here than in England.

16 pennings	make	1 stiver, viz.	1 <i>d.</i> sterling.
5 stivers	—	1 bit,	— 5 <i>d.</i>
20 do. or 4 bits	—	1 guilder	— 20 <i>d.</i>
12 guilders,	which is the par of exchange, make 20 <i>s.</i>		

The coins, beside those enumerated above, are dollars 5*s.* each; gold Portugal coins, called ducats, 9*s.* each; moidores, 18*s.* and johannes, or joes, which are 36*s.*

Although the par of exchange is twelve guilders to the pound sterling, it frequently varies according to the demand for bills on Great Britain, or the quantity of specie which is in request. In the former instance, I have known government bills on his majesty's treasury to sell for fourteen guilders the pound, which is equal to 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and even good private bills have sold at the same rate. In the latter case, when a want of specie obliges the planters to value on their correspondents, their bills have only sold for eleven guilders and eleven guilders and a half.

Merchants wanting to remit, always prefer shipping produce, in preference to buying bills at the high exchange of 14 guilders, as there is some chance of that getting to a good market, and probably giving a profit, while the bill trans-

action incurs a certain loss of sixteen and two-thirds per cent. at the first outset.

The laws oblige every man from the age of sixteen to fifty, to enrol himself in the burgher militia: they are liable to be called out when the governor thinks proper; the officers are appointed by the court of police; they are commanded by a lieutenant-colonel: their service extends no farther than preserving the internal tranquillity of the country, but in the last war, a number of British subjects volunteered their services, and were enrolled to act under the military commandant. On the British taking possession of the colonies this present war, a company of volunteer riflemen were formed, and on the arrival in 1805, of the combined fleets in the West Indies, between three and four hundred of the burgher militia stepped forward, and offered their services to defend the colony against any attacks of the enemy. Every body now in town and country armed; every estate on the sea coast provided a trusty negro, who was armed with a pike and cutlas; a troop of cavalry was formed, and a company of volunteer artillery was also added to the military force. The garrison is generally one thousand or twelve hundred strong. Four hundred seamen can always be had from the merchant ships in the river, by whom, with about six hundred volunteers, and one hundred pioneers, a good defence might be sustained. But the greatest bulwark lies in the shallowness of the entrances into the river, and the numerous mud banks and flats which run along the coast; and as there are signal staffs from the Berbice to the Demerary (which ought to be continued across the Essequibo to the Pomaroon) the garrison is soon apprized of an enemy being off the coast. It may be fairly asserted, that with the natural and acquired strength of the country, and while the colonists are so favourable to Great Britain, an effectual defence may be made against six or eight thousand men. Such is the advantage possessed by the inhabitants, when they wish to preserve the colony to its possessors.

In the country, every officer of militia is a justice of the peace, and has under his jurisdiction a certain division of the country to which he is attached; these divisions are known and distinguished by different coloured banners under which they are arranged. They are termed burgher officers, issue proclamations, receive depositions on tax schedules, and are the active men in quelling disturbances, for which purpose they have a disposable force in the embodied militia of inhabitants.

Since the introduction of volunteering, military funerals have usually been allotted to the whites : but the respect and attention paid at funerals of free people, and even of negroes, is very considerable. Not only all their relatives, but strangers feel it an incumbent duty to go. If a coloured free person dies in Stabroek, the remains are followed to the grave by every one in town. I have seen upwards of two hundred people of colour followers. They are either in white muslin dresses, or deep black mourning, according to whether the deceased is female, or male. Before the solemn procession takes place, the company refresh themselves with scall wine and cake. The coffin, which though merely covered with black cloth and lined with linen, costs twenty-five pounds sterling, is conveyed in a hearse, attended by twelve bearers, then the clergyman, mourners, and followers.

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#### CHAP. IV.

*Stabroek continued—Form of the Administrative Government—Vicious Constitution of the Courts of Justice—Ecclesiastic Jurisdiction—Orphan-Chamber—Salaries of Office—Custom-house Returns—Contiguous Villages—Climate.*

THE laws in force in the Dutch colonies were moulded on the Roman or civil code, tempered and revised as the respective governors and council thought fit, guided by local circumstances and experience. The burghers, or inhabitants, have the chief appointment of the administrators of justice, through the body of keizers, who are their representatives, and are regularly elected for that purpose, by the planters and merchants. All those possessing twenty-five negroes are entitled to a vote. There is no dissolution whatever of this body, but as fast as the members drop off, either by death or absence, notice is issued by the governor for electing others in their stead. This is done by sealed notes containing the votes, which are left at one of the public offices. The whole number of keizers consists of six only for each colony; and when any vacancy takes place, the English party being the strongest, use their influence in electing one of themselves, to maintain their majority in the college, as it



is termed. A knowledge of the Dutch language is not necessary to obtain a seat in it. The governor is president of this body, with the privilege of a casting vote. The province of the college not only extends to the appointment of members for the courts of police and justice; but to the financial department of the colony, so far as regards the proper distribution of taxes raised for the internal improvements. It is similar in some degree, to the British house of commons. The appointments in this college of keizers are not enough rotatory. So many proprietors speculate on returning eventually to Europe, that seats for life are neither coveted, nor natural. The number of keizers is too limited: they should bear some proportion to the number of estates under cultivation, and increase with the increase of voters. No doubt when peace returns, some uniform system of electing the administrative bodies will be applied to the whole coast of Guyana; in which the commercial interest, as well as the landed, will be allowed to take a due representative share.

A court of justice, which consists of six members and the governor, sits every other month at the court house, and decides on all causes laid before them, according to the evidence produced. The ability of counsel on either side, has too frequently an opportunity of biassing the opinion of the court: from the members not having received a regular judicial course of education, they are sometimes fatally deceived by designing artifices and quibbles in law, which, by litigious characters, are considered as good posts of defence, or a fair channel for offensive operations. From the sentence of this court, there is, however, fortunately, an appeal to the mother country, either to their high mightinesses in Holland, or to the king in council in England, to whichever sovereignty the colony happens to owe its obedience.

The commissary court has only three members, who meet every month to decide on small causes, for debts not exceeding six hundred guilders, or fifty pounds sterling, and for granting licenses to parties intending to marry. Those who approach the altar of hymen are principally people of colour, who, in conformity with the laws, are obliged to receive permission from this ecclesiastical court, for which they pay the extravagant fee of one hundred and ten guilders. They are also obliged to have the intended marriage advertised in the colonial gazette. This form of marriage, though strictly binding under the colonial law, seldom or ever satisfies without having recourse to a clergy-

man. An English gentleman, who was on the eve of marrying a Dutch lady, attempted to break through this law, and intended to be married according to the established form of the church of England; when the vice-president of the court, fearing he should lose his fees, very charitably informed him, that, if he deviated in the least from the established rule, he would publish throughout the colony, their living in a state of incontinency, and the illegality of the marriage.

No persons are of age, or considered capable of acting for themselves, until they have attained the age of twenty-five; at which time they are authorized to take possession of any estate, or legacy, left them. The laws do not admit of a partial division of property from parents to children, but an equal distribution is made among the whole—the younger claims with the elder an equal portion. The weeskamer's office, or orphan-chamber, administers the affairs of orphans, and of those persons who die intestate. The appointment to this office is a valuable one, and seems to be entirely overlooked by our ministers.

The fiscal is the chief magistrate, public accuser, and attorney-general, to prosecute in all cases for the sovereign. He has, beside a stipulated salary, a proportion of all fines he levies on the inhabitants, which is a discretionary power confided to him, whence there is no other appeal than to the court of justice, the expences of which are so enormous as to induce appellants to forego this method of redress in favour of making a composition with the fiscal, who is generally inclined to receive one-third in ready money, rather than throw it into the court, where the seeds of litigation are so completely sown, as to make it dubious when the whole would be recovered. From the preceding statement it will necessarily occur, that the fiscal must be well versed in the Dutch laws; he fills up that sort of place in our municipal constitution, which is occupied by the recorder of an English corporation. This appointment, exclusive of perquisites, is estimated at three thousand pounds yearly.

The governor's salary is supposed to }	
amount to .....	£. 6000 or £. 8000
That of the secretary, farmed to a de- }	
puty for .....	1000 worth 3000
Receiver of colonial taxes .....	800 ditto 2000
Receiver of king's dues .....	500 ditto 1500
Vendue-master .....	1000 ditto 3000

Exploiteur .....	£.1000 worth	£.3000
Post-master and naval officer, each .....	800 ditto	2000
Harbour-master .....	500 ditto	1500
Collector and comptroller of customs, each	1000 ditto	4000

Beside these, are many subordinate offices in the customs and other departments. The salaries of the custom-house officers vary somewhat according to the exports and imports.

The produce\* cleared from the port of Demerary since the last establishment of the British custom-house, is thus recorded :

From the 1st of October, 1803, to the 10th of September, 1804, in 394 vessels—19,638 hogsheads, 213 tierces, and 151 barrels of sugar; 4887 puncheons of rum; 46,435 bales of cotton; 9,954,610 pounds of coffee; and 530 casks of melasses.

From the 10th of September, 1804, to the 5th of January, 1805, in 71 vessels—2161 hogsheads, 78 tierces, and 19 barrels of sugar; 504 puncheons of rum; 6318 bales of cotton; 439,520 pounds of coffee; and 311 casks of melasses.

From the 5th of January, 1805, to the 5th of January, 1806, in 200 vessels—15,839 hogsheads, 213 tierces, and 129 barrels of sugar; 3611 puncheons and 17 hogsheads of rum; 21,202 bales and five bags of cotton; 2,295,701 pounds of coffee; 1687 casks of melasses.

From the 5th of January, 1806, to the 5th of January, 1807, in 221 vessels—19,337 hogsheads, 474 tierces, and 801 barrels of sugar; 4722 puncheons and 17 hogsheads of rum; 23,604 bales and two bags of cotton; 12,390,102 pounds of coffee; and 1694 casks of melasses.

The conduct of the British government with regard to conquered territory, is so strictly praiseworthy, as to require no other commendation from me, than to be held out as a contrast with that of our enemies. In the repeated instances in which the English have made themselves masters of these colonies, they have always respected the existing laws and private property. The persons of individuals have been held sacred, and colonial vessels, amounting at the last capture to between five and six hundred, were se-

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\* In the appendix will be found a similar statement from the year 1745 to 1785.

cured to their possessors ; although, as floating property, they might in justice have been claimed by the captors.

Kingston is an English village, contiguous to the fort and camp, consisting of very neat and good houses, painted white, raised on brick foundations, and covered with wallaba shingles instead of tiles. Each house has an allotment of garden ground. This pretty little village first reared its head in April 1796. The officers of the garrison commenced it, since which it has been greatly increased in size and fame, and is become the residence of a number of professional men, and of merchants, who keep their counting-house in the metropolis, Stabroek, and retire here to enjoy the pleasures of relaxation, after the fatigue of business. Situated immediately at the mouth of the Demerary, it has a commanding view, and is quite open to the sea, whence the trade wind, here a regular north-east breeze, pours its refreshing coolness. The society is good of itself, and is enlarged from its adjacency to the camp, as officers with families prefer residing here to the barracks. The garrison hospital is in this village. It is also noted for the residence of the only English clergyman in the colonies.

Kingston, so called after the capital of Jamaica, is about a mile from Stabroek, and is approached on an excellent carriage road, equal to the turnpikes in England ; so indeed are all the public roads throughout these colonies. The rent of houses in this village is from five to twenty pounds sterling per month. Since it has been built, the changes of its name have been as frequent as the sovereignty of the country. The Dutch, in the short time they reigned, having a perfect detestation against English names, and English things, called it *Eveleary*. On the British taking the country in 1803, it resumed its other name, which I hope will never be changed by any foreign power.

The adjoining towns to this, are Labourgade and Cummingsburgh ; the former are a range of warehouses, or a street, on the bank of the river, eminently situated for shipping produce and landing goods. Several very valuable edifices have been raised here by British merchants, for transacting their business with greater celerity. The stores are of considerable size, and mostly serve for the reception of a vessel's homeward bound cargo. I was engaged in one instance which will prove their utility. The brig *Convert*, of 150 tons, and cargo, were insured to sail with the October 1800 convoy, and only arriving about a week before it sailed, there was danger of forfeiting the insurance.

However, with the greatest exertions, we got her inward bound cargo out, and completely loaded her again with coffee and cotton, in sixty hours. This unprecedented exertion, however, would have proved fruitless, had not the produce been so conveniently stored on shore. The most extensive of those warehouses belonging to a mercantile house of great celebrity, cost in building, between ten and fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and, when the colonies were ceded to the Dutch, were offered for sale at one-half the original cost, and that in vain; such was the decrease in value of property. In the same street are two ship builder's yards, but the vessels built there do not exceed fifty tons.

Cumingsburgh is situated directly at the back of Labour-gade, separated from it by the public road and the Cumingsburgh navigable canal, which is brought from the river, and serves as the means for the merchants to land their goods. This town is two miles in circumference, and the most regularly arranged one of any. Its allotments are large and convenient, and sold on long building leases. There are six principal streets, and as many canals, with others of a smaller denomination thwarting the town. Over each canal are two large bridges for the passing and repassing of horses and carriages. New buildings are erecting every day, and I am really at a loss to know where the inhabitants come from to fill them; as most of the planters reside on their estates. Indeed they all did until very lately, when some of the richer introduced the refinement of requiring town houses. A planter has a great facility in building; after having made choice of a lot of land for his house; his plantation affords him all the necessary tradesmen; his bricklayer lays the foundation of the house, and builds the kitchen; his carpenters are employed in the woods in making the frame, which they put up, board in, and complete; he then purchases a few kegs of white lead and jugs of lintseed oil, and sets his carpenters about painting it. Therefore, a planter, with all these advantages, knocks up a snug little box in three or four weeks, without feeling the expence of it; while a merchant is obliged to go cap in hand to a master carpenter residing in Stabroek, "to know when it will be convenient for him to set about his house, and that he shall feel himself much obliged if he will do it immediately." These master carpenters are very high fellows, make exorbitant bills, and sometimes will not work without being paid before-hand. On the whole, I cannot blame them; public carpenters are scarce; they, therefore,

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like the rest of mankind, know and use their power. The same is true of the blacksmiths, millwrights, masons, copper-smiths, coach and harness makers, or repairers, saddlers, watchmakers, and goldsmiths. It is necessarily the case in all new countries, and as it is the natural order of things, and the cause of inviting fresh settlers, nothing should be urged against it.

Bridge town and New town, both built by the English, lie between Stabroek and Labourgade; the former was built almost wholly by an individual, who, when the demand for houses was so great, made of it an advantageous speculation. It has, however, now degenerated, and is become the mere residence of hucksters, coloured women, and a low race of Creoles and Barbadoans. The New town has four principal streets, and may be considered as the Cheapside of London in epitome, for business, merchants' stores, retail shops, goldsmiths, watchmakers, hatters, apothecaries, slopsellers, segarmakers, and in fact, every thing is to be found here which can be purchased in the colony. On each side this town, which was also built by the British, are two canals, the banks of which, when the tide is up, appear like so many wharfs, completely strewed with English manufactured goods, in bales, casks, trunks, or boxes. Here the spirit of business is perceptible: the negroes, clad with blue trowsers and checked shirts, moving to and fro with alacrity, performing those offices, which a white man, here and there distributed, dressed in nankeen pantaloons and a fine calico shirt, directs from under an umbrella. Noon generally retards out-door business; as the white men then escape into the house, and leave the negroes to themselves, who, thinking it a good maxim "like master like man," set themselves down to play at cards, paupa, and other amusing games, for the love of which they are so distinguished.

In this town there is a large wharf belonging to the merchants, called the American stelling, where small vessels are loaded and discharged. American vessels likewise come alongside to land their horses and cattle. On my first landing I was much struck with the different shades of coloured people, the mestee\*, mulatto†, sambo‡, and black.

The foregoing towns are to the north-east of Stabroek, the village or town of Werk en Rust, so called after the

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\* Between a white and mulatto.

† Between a white and negress.

‡ Between a mulatto and negress.

name of an estate to which the land formerly was attached, joins it to the south-west, and is the residence of a number of merchants in the American business; it is not so well or regularly laid out as the others; besides which, the burial-ground being here, which consists of ten acres, makes it unpleasant; there are but few grave or tomb stones.

Before cultivation extended itself, this part of the country was inundated with deluges of rain; but the seasons, as the land was cleared, soon became more settled, and the rain less heavy. Two wet and two dry seasons complete the year: the former commences in December, and continues January and February, and June, July, and August; the latter occupies the intervening months. In the rainy season the thermometer is generally lower than at other times; the land winds are also prevalent, which are esteemed unhealthy; and the number of mosquitoes which infest all buildings are extremely troublesome, indeed so much so, that the planter making a new estate is obliged to be half stifled with smoke to secure a night's rest. Their stings and singing noise are very disagreeable; and the remedy of smoking them out is thought nearly as bad as the disease. How destructive to insect life is the burning of camphor, was first observed in Sweden: perhaps this, or some other, envenomed vapour, could be employed more efficaciously than wood-smoke.

The dry season may really be termed beautiful: a fine clear blue sky prevails throughout the day, which is seen making its appearance from the east between the hours of four and five; for the morning twilight is gradual and long; whereas in the evening the sun goes out at six instantly, as if covered with an extinguisher, leaving the country in sudden darkness. This striking difference between the duration of the morning and evening twilight probably arises from the sun's rising over the sea, where the moist atmosphere is very refractive, and setting behind high mountains whose shadow has definite limits. The greatest heat is from seven to ten, and is almost intolerable. The sea-breeze then begins to set in, which restores to nature all her animation, and which blows with increasing spirit until dark, but decreases about ten at night.

August is the commencement of the hurricane months in the West Indies: Guyana, however, is but little affected, except by heavy squalls of wind, which do no other injury than blowing down a few acres of plantain trees. Large accumulations of clouds are now seen going to the southward—



hollow peals of thunder are heard in the interior, and the day generally closes with faint flashes of lightning from the south and south-west.

The length of the day is thirteen hours, and from that to fourteen; no other variation is perceptible throughout the year. Greater variety of climate is to be found here than is generally expected: the range of the thermometer on the sea-coast, in the dry season, which is esteemed the hottest, is from 84 to 90; and at the distance of twenty miles in the interior, the degree of heat seldom exceeds 80 in the warmest part of the day, and in the nights is generally as low as 50 or 60. The mornings come in excessively cold, and with a heavy fall of dew, which, with the swamps and stagnated waters, makes the interior unhealthy to Europeans. The Indians, however, who inhabit these parts, from being accustomed to the soil, enjoy very good health, and are subject to few diseases. Many persons speak of this climate as unwholesome. I have not found it so. In my peregrinations by water to Essequibo and Berbice, which my occupation required, I have frequently been wet through three times within the twenty-four hours, and allowed the same clothes to dry on me without feeling the least inconvenience: not that I recommend a similar experiment to new arrivers, but, on the contrary, I was obliged to submit to it through necessity. More depends on the management of ourselves than is generally supposed, and temperance is the soul of our existence. It is advisable for persons going to the West Indies, to keep their bodies open by cooling medicines, and on their arrival, to be particularly shy of the night air and fogs, which are very unhealthy. It should also be remembered to keep as much out of the sun as possible; too sudden or too lasting an exposure to it, brings on fevers, and other bad consequences.

Some short time after my arrival in Demerary, I went up the river on a visit with my friend to his brother's, who had a sugar estate fifteen miles from Stabroek. It happened to be a very warm day, and after our landing I was induced, though cautioned against it, to take a stroll about the plantation. On my return to the house, I felt a dizziness in my head, and a sickness at my stomach; my eyes rolled about with the most excruciating pain, and my skin was burning hot. I had scarcely time to explain my situation, and express a wish of going to bed, before I fainted away, and was prevented falling on the floor by one of my friends, who caught me in his arms. On recovering somewhat, I found

myself on a sofa, and many persons busied about me in applying hartshorn to my nostrils, and bathing my temples with brandy. I was now hurried to bed, and advised to take a composing draught. After the removal of my stupor, on enquiring into the nature of my complaint, I was informed it entirely arose from the exercise I had taken in the sun-shine, which generally had the same effect on all new comers for the first few months, until custom, like second nature, had rendered them capable of bearing the rays of light. This circumstance I have given at full length, hoping it will act as a caution to others: for the *coup de soleil*, though so frequent a disease, is not habitually foreseen and provided against. In reading over Dr. Pinckard's notes on Demerary, I observed in several instances, he complained of the unhealthiness of the climate, and especially at the Mahaica post, which is as fine a situation as any the colony affords, and is indeed frequently visited by convalescents for the benefit of the sea air. However, the cause of my wonder soon ceased, by his saying in another place, that the soldiers were frequently employed by their officers at that post, to drag nets through the sea to catch fish for their mess, and were sent in open boats up the creek for fresh water. The being thus exposed to the burning rays of the sun, before they were properly accustomed to the climate, accounts fully for their unhealthy state. And surely new troops but just arrived from England, were not capable of bearing a fatigue and exposure, which not even new negroes can always endure, though born nearly in a similar climate.

On my first arrival, the necessity was suggested to me of making immediate application for medical assistance on any feverish symptoms appearing, or on feeling the least indisposed. In March, 1799, I had been actively employed in the morning receiving and taking account of several boat loads of goods, which were landing from a ship in the river, and very carelessly exposed myself to the sun without an umbrella. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I was taken very ill with a severe pain in my head, and accordingly went to bed. Dr. Dunkin, a man of superior medical talents, and physician to the garrison, attended me in the very friendly manner for which he is so noted, and entered into conversation with me as to the nature of my disease, of which he affected to make light. This conduct was certainly calculated to keep my spirits from drooping, and in fact had the desired effect. My disorder became a bilious fever, which was clearly visible by my very sallow complexion,

and the appearance of my eyes and tongue. I looked as if I was turning into a mulatto. Emetics, purges, pills, and bark, were given me in due order, and after four days, I was pronounced to be out of danger, and removed for better air into the country. This was called my *seasoning*, and a more ardent attack of fever had not been experienced for some years by any one. This fact I think will clearly prove the necessity of immediate recourse to medical aid, let the symptoms be ever so trivial; mine was at first merely a head-ache, but if it had been suffered to pass unnoticed that night, the result I think would have been fatal. I was soon after attacked by the prickly heat, which is a scarlet eruption; it causes a great deal of itching, but is considered as friendly to health.

As persons of bilious habits are frequently assailed with a sickness at their stomachs, they ought to be very careful in their diet, and avoid every thing which is uneasy of digestion, or likely to create bile. A few drops of oil of orange, or of Stoughton's bitters, taken in a glass of wine, are reputed to strengthen the stomach, and create an appetite. Good and sumptuous living is necessary here for the support of the system, and to supply the waste of strength occasioned by the daily exertion and the incessant perspiration. Though only two meals are taken in a day, yet they will be found to exceed almost any four eaten in England.

The yaws is a most dreadful disorder. It has much the appearance of the small pox, from the manner of its coming out. The patient is covered with large ulcers in every part of his body and limbs, and, as it is very infectious, he keeps by himself. Its duration is uncertain, being sometimes from twelve to eighteen months, during which, the eruption returns no less than three times. No effectual cure has, I believe, ever been found for it. Salivation will drive it in, but sulphur, and other opening medicines, are now preferred, to induce its coming out. Spare diet, with exercise, and nature's being left to herself, often prove the best resource. This is a disease which a person can never have but once. I have seen only one instance of a white man's having it: therefore it appears almost peculiar to the negroes. There are black women who inoculate their children for this disorder; its violence is thereby lessened.

The stings of mosquitos or gnats, I found very disagreeable, as they are succeeded by large red pimples, the scratching of which frequently occasions so many ulcers.

These insects always attack new comers in preference to others. Lime-juice and water are found to be the best preservative against their attacks, as also a cure for their stings: I used to bathe my hands and feet with it before going to bed.

The chigoe, or jigger, is a sort of a flea harboured in the sand, that gets between the skin and the flesh, but oftener under the toe-nails, where in a short time it becomes as large as a pea, when it assumes the form of a bladder, in which are deposited many hundreds of eggs, that in the process of time come to so many young chigoes. But before they arrive at this state of maturity, a most intolerable itching is felt, which is the signal for extracting them. The negroes are very expert at doing it with a sharp-pointed penknife, and the great art is to take out the bladder without breaking, when the cavity is filled up with tobacco-ash, or snuff. Sand-flies are very small but troublesome insects, scarcely larger than a pin's-head, though their sting is nearly as severe as that of mosquitoes, but not being quite so fleet they are frequently killed in the attack. A ringworm consists of long scarlet spots in different parts of the body, but they especially make their appearance about the face and neck, and may be prevented from extending, by an immediate application of lime-juice and gunpowder, which is a very painful, but effectual remedy.

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## CHAP. V.

*State of Farming in Demerary—Condition of the Negro Peasantry—Reforms suggested—Expediency of the Slave Trade.*

I HAD often occasion to repeat my visits to the hospitable proprietor of the Reynestein estate, and took a pleasure in examining the condition of the peasantry, and the nature of the agriculture. Previously to my leaving England, I had imbibed prejudices against the negroes, and believed them habitually embittered against their masters, and unfit to be trusted a moment; that a white man's life was always in danger, and that it was necessary to make every house a sort of fort, for the protection of its white inhabitants. But

I found that the guardians of security and property were the negroes themselves.

During one of my visits on the Reynestein estate, I was astonished after dark by seeing several fires on different parts of the estate: one before the dwelling, another at the wind-mill, and a third between the poultry house and sheep pen; which, upon enquiry, I learnt were made by the negro-watchmen, who were appointed and stationed every night by the overseer in different directions, to prevent theft.—“All’s well,” was echoed from one to another, every half hour, till the sound was indistinctly heard issuing from the remote plantain-walk and provision-grounds, where its reverberation at times seemed to die away. The door of the dwelling-house is always left open during the night, which leaves to the negroes a free ingress and egress to any of the apartments. The watchmen are responsible for every thing; and such is their attention and perseverance in their duty, that it rarely happens any thing is lost. The negroes delight in a low schoolboy sort of drollery, of which an instance may be borne—it bears some analogy to Foote’s praise of Calais—there the very children in petticoats can talk French. I one evening left the portico to light my segar at daddy Cudjo’s fire, and to see how he was situated. I found him smoking his pipe, and roasting some salted cod-fish and plantains for his supper; he had in one hand a calabash of toddy, which he told me was given him by “dat buckra overseer.” Upon my asking what toddy was, he uttered an ejaculation, “Kie! massa, you no sabbe what dat be?” “Buckra been say neger fool because he no hab sense,” (meaning that they could neither write or read) “and you here so, one buckra, ask me, poor neger, who no hab sense, what toddy be—why, massa, he no more than rum and sugar mixed together with water.” This tuition of a white made all his companions laugh aloud. The poultry-house contained nearly a thousand head of feathered stock, consisting of chickens, turkies, and ducks, which were taken care of and reared by an old negress, whose sole time was dedicated to that: she always counted them morning and night, and gave a tally to the overseer both times, with an account of deaths, losses, and increase, and a circumstantial list of all the laying hens and of the number of eggs, which were delivered to the dairy-maid. There were only eight or ten sheep in the pen, which were fattened and made ready for the knife, previous to being sent from the sea-coast estate, where the body of the flock, consisting of one hundred and

fifty, was kept, as they thrive much better on the saline than on the fresh land of the river. A regular account of these was delivered in, every evening, by the shepherd, as well as of the swine, by the pig-keeper, of which there were between twenty and thirty: as they are apt to do considerable damage on sugar estates, these gentry were obliged to be confined to the sty. Instances are frequent, of some escaping into the woods, where they live wild, and their increase has been immense. They are at chance times to be shot, which is the only way of taking them. The other stock which attracted my notice, were some goats, and between twenty and thirty heads of cows: the former provide milk for coffee, the latter supply the family with butter; besides which, bub, or milk punch made under the cow, is very much used. When there is a sufficient quantity immediately after the cows have calved, the young negro-children are regaled with a mess of milk each for their breakfast.

Oxen are bred for the butchers, the gain arising from which, is generally sufficient to pay all colonial taxes. Rearing stock on an estate is here highly profitable, but more especially horned cattle; and those planters who lay out a small proportion of their capital that way, and have good pasturage, find their account in it. I knew an instance of ten heifers being purchased out of a cargo brought from the Cape de Verd Islands; four died immediately; the other six were grazed six months, and then sold for double the amount the original ten cost. There is little fear but these colonies will in a short time raise more stock of every kind than can possibly be used, which will be the means of making living considerably cheaper here, and of preparing a new source of supply for the West India islands. The fine savannahs in the interior, present a field for graziers which even North America cannot boast of. What is the case in the Orinoko? Beef sells for three-halfpence per pound, and the cattle are allowed to run wild in the savannahs. Mules are already bred here in great abundance, and are the finest in the world; nearly all the West Indies are hence supplied with those animals.

But the great article of cultivation is sugar. New land cleared of the bush is unfit to be immediately planted with the sugar-cane; it generally yields two or three crops of plantains in the first instance, which prepares the soil for sugar. The land is then laid out in ridges, something like the wheat fields in England; and the cane plants which are

propagated by cuttings about six inches long, are then placed between two of these ridges, at regular distances, and lightly covered with earth. The sugar-cane comes to perfection in twelve, fourteen, or sixteen months, according to the soil or season, in which time the fields are weeded and cleaned three or four times. The average size of the cane at its full growth is nine feet long, and four or five inches in circumference. I have sometimes seen canes thirty feet in length and thick in proportion, but they do not make the best sugar; the land which yields them is too rich; and it is a curious fact, that every crop of canes, for the first twenty-five years, improves successively, and yields a better quality of sugar. I have before observed, that the canes are transported from the fields in flat-bottomed boats to the mills where they are ground. The liquor extracted is received into a cistern, whence it is conducted by spouts to the boiling-house, a large building one hundred feet long, and thirty feet wide, where it is received into a large copper, called the clarifier. It is next boiled, and all the skum and filth is taken off by copper skimmers. It is then tempered with lime, which gives it substance, and is ladled into four other coppers, undergoing in each a thorough skimming and boiling. At length it is conveyed by a wooden gutter into the cooler, where it remains until it is about bloodwarm, and is then put into the hogsheads in the curing-house, which is adjoining, and has in it a large platform, on a slope, capable of containing two hundred hogsheads of sugar. The melasses generally continue running from the sugar a fortnight after it is made. On the platform, or starling, are proper channels for conducting it into cisterns. Every sugar estate has its own negro coopers, who make the puncheons and hogsheads requisite for the rum and sugar. Mr. George Brumell informed me, that his coopers got the staves and hoops from the forests at the back of his own estate, but that most planters still imported them from North America.

The materials used for making rum are melasses, skimmings, and water, which, after fermentation, are distilled. A planter expects eighty gallons of rum for every hogshead of sugar which his estate produces, averaging about twelve hundred pounds. The rum made on a sugar estate is generally calculated to pay all its expences.

The distillation of rum has been carried to a high state of perfection, by the perseverance and skill of several scientific men, who have succeeded in making the Essequibo and

Demerary rums as much in request, in the American market, as that from Jamaica is in England. From the method of manufacture, a richness of flavour adheres to them, which is seldom found in the island rums; and I am convinced, when they are more known and noticed in these markets, they will be more esteemed. It was at first with the greatest difficulty, the Americans could be induced to take the Demerary rum, as they were so much prejudiced in favour of the Jamaica; but at this time three-fourths of our rum is shipped to North America, and in preference. The liqueurs manufactured in the French islands surpass, however, for delicacy of flavour, any of our efforts in distillery. The labours occasioned by the make of sugar are the hardest and most unpleasant to which the negroes are exposed: yet such toils would be laughed at by the workmen of an English foundry.

When a negro is purchased, and attached to any estate, he acquires a right of settlement thereon. In sickness and in health, in his young and old age, he is alike treated, maintained, clothed, and lodged. Often have I contemplated, with inexpressible pleasure, a grey-headed negro and his wife, sitting at the door of their cottage, fondly protecting and enjoying the active sports of their grandchildren, while the parents have been engaged pursuing their respective occupations in the fields. All the old settled estates can boast of having reared negroes of three and four generations; but the mass of cultivated lands having been populated within the little space of ten years, there does not appear on them an increase proportioned to the number of negroes in the colony. Great allowances must be made for new settlers—beginning with a small capital, their chief aim was to cultivate the land, not to increase the population: for that purpose they bought men-slaves, as being best adapted for clearing heavy forests of trees, digging trenches and drains, &c. That being done, they then turn their attention to the domestic wants of the men, and purchase a lot of women to supply them with wives; each makes his choice, and the business is settled. The man works over hours, saves his money, and buys for his wife extra articles of wearing apparel and finery. As a couple, they generally live happy, and are very tenacious of decorum; but in the rare case of inconstancy on the part of the female, a complaint is preferred to the manager, or proprietor of the estate, and a separation takes place, which gives to the parties a liberty to make another choice. Some



negroes on my friend's estate, not being able to accommodate themselves from the collection of females already upon it, and desirous of having wives, were sent for to Stabroek, and taken to a sale-room, where a cargo of negroes was just landed, and there made choice of wives, which their master paid for. Two chose pretty women, and the third an ordinary one. On my asking him why he did not like a handsome wife, he replied, "No, massa, me no want wife for handsome, me want him for do me good, and for work for massa as well as me." She was a stout strong woman, and turned out much better than the other two.

On the Reynestein there are an unusual number of creole children, which may be accounted for from the attention and care which are paid them in their infancy. I have seen eight or ten round their master's chair at breakfast or dinner, having their platters filled: there are generally some pets of the kind on every estate; but this proprietor was particularly fond of the children, and used to enjoy their antic nakedness. Their sports agreeably recall the basso-relievos of antiquity. Children born in these regions are less helpless than in Europe: they display stronger symptoms of innate intelligence, and learn much earlier to take care of themselves. The nakedness in which they are so long left, contributes no doubt to their acquiring a freer use of the limbs, and an earlier communication of idea by gesture.

A negro, in the enjoyment of social happiness, having his wife and children, a garden, his goats, pigs, and feathered stock to attend to, feels a degree of interest in the estate, which would scarcely be expected from an emigrated African. By being transported to a new soil, and a more civilized country, these people become more humanized, more enlightened; their minds undergo a new formation, and they are enabled to distinguish the good treatment they receive here, from the arbitrary and unrelenting mandates of the petty kings and princes in their own country, where they are subject to be butchered like a parcel of swine. Better, sure, are the Africans under the West India planters, protected as they are by the colonial laws, transplanted into a settlement, where their industry and talents will make them useful members of the community, than abandoned to the cruel and rude tyranny of an uncivilized master in their own country. The severe methods of coercion, formerly used by the West Indian planters, are traditional among the Africans, and resulted from employing

negro task-masters. In proportion as white overseers have become numerous, has the treatment improved. During my residence in Demerary, I made it a regular question of inquiry among plantation-negroes, whom I was constantly in the habit of seeing and conversing with at remote places, as my chief occupation consisted in travelling, whether they preferred their own country to this; and I hereby make a solemn asseveration, which will remain upon record, that of several hundreds of negroes, to whom I put the question at different periods, they have all given the preference to their present situations. I will venture to assert, that, in case of asking all the negroes round in the colonies, there will be found ninety *contents* out of every hundred to whom the question should be put.

I discovered in a singular manner, that one of the sailor negroes attached to our establishment, and who had been in Demerary about two years, had seen Mungo Park, in his travels in the interior of Africa. I was going down to Essequibo in the schooner, and, as was my custom, I had put three or four books into my portmanteau. Mungo Park's Travels was among the number; in looking over the vocabulary of the Mandingo tongue, I called Peter, a negro of that nation, and asked him a question in his own language. "Kie! massa, you sabbe talk me country," was the exclamation. I had now an opportunity of proving Mungo Park's correctness, and desired Peter to turn the question I had put to him into English, which he did, with several others, and from their agreeing with the translation, he convinced me that the travels in Africa deserved credit and confidence. However, to prove further, I told Peter what I was reading, when he replied with energy, "massa, me been see that white man in me country, in de town where me live, he been come dere one night for sleep, one blacksmith countryman for me been with him, me been give him rice for he supper, and soon, soon, in the morning he been go towards the Moor's country." From the earnest manner in which this artless tale was delivered, I was convinced that Peter had seen Mungo Park; the name of the village, and the reception he met with, agreed so exactly with what was narrated, that there could be no doubt of it.

It will be a source of gratification to every philanthropic heart to know, that the greatest evil which the negroes laboured under, in our continental establishments, is nearly, and will in a short time be completely eradicated: I mean

the painful punishments: the inflicting of tortures by the rab rack, and the severe floggings with a cart whip. Only one instance of the former has been known since the colonies became British, in 1796, and that was authorized by the Dutch laws *now* in force, which are very severe in that respect. A negro had murdered his master, and was accordingly apprehended and given over to the law; upon his trial he was found guilty, and acknowledged his crime. He was sentenced to the rab rack, a horrid machine, with recesses made for the principal joints to be placed in, upon which the criminals are laid out and extended, when they are broken alive by iron bars, and left in that state to linger out a miserable existence, till some one has the humanity to put an end to it. On the day of execution, governor Beaujon sent to the commandant of the troops, lieutenant-colonel Heslop, now general and governor of Trinidad, for a file of soldiers, as a guard to keep in awe the populace. To this gentleman's honour be it remembered, that he resisted the application, and returned an answer similar to this: "That as long as he commanded a British soldier, he would never allow him to be present at such an inhuman execution; but that any assistance which the military could give to the civil government, consistently with the honour and dignity of the army, should not be withheld." This spirited and manly reply to the governor's requisition, shewed at once the disapprobation which the British government entertained for such horrid and cruel treatment of criminals, and has hitherto prevented a repetition of them.

I assert with confidence and satisfaction, that there is not so much flogging on a West India plantation, as there is obliged to be on board our men of war, with the cat of nine tails, to preserve order. The planters feel an interest in exciting emulation among the negroes, and in encouraging them to set examples of industry and order, to the newly imported. It is worthy of remark, that the old seasoned people look with a degree of scorn on the new negroes, because they cannot "talk buckra," and are not so clever and so active as they are, or so familiarized with the customs and manners of their white masters. It was formerly thought necessary, for the preservation of good discipline on estates, to correct negroes for every fault which was committed, and the driver's whip was continually cracking to excite fear, and stimulate the poor wretches to work. Different measures have since been adopted, of which experience fully authorizes a continuance, both from the salutary effect which

they have had on the negroes, and from their being more congenial to the feelings of British subjects; who, though they have been stigmatised by the appellation of men dealers, have yet retained those innate principles of humanity and virtue, which induce them to seek every opportunity and occasion to ameliorate the situation of their dependants. Faults are now corrected and punishments inflicted by personal deprivations, according to the extent of the misdemeanor; instead of being flogged, the negroes are debarred their daily portion of rum, or their weekly allowance of tobacco, and in case of the crime being of such importance as to require a severer punishment, they are confined on the Sunday in the stocks, and prevented enjoying the company of their friends, or forbid from joining in the merry dance, which takes place every Saturday night on the estates. If the cook spoils the soup which was intended for his master's dinner, he is made to eat it, warmly peppered with cayenne. Other domestics acting with impropriety, are sometimes confined, at other times obliged to eat an ounce of Glauber's salts, or to sip them with a tea spoon when dissolved in half a pint of water. This manner of inflicting punishments, is more rational than any hitherto adopted, and as long as the negroes are stimulated with a degree of pride and emulation, it will continue to have the desired effect.

An important and a grievous regulation, is the non admission of servile evidence in the courts of justice. Why should not negroes be heard against whites, as well as whites against negroes? Veracity is indeed not a conspicuous virtue of the blacks; they usually make you put a question twice, in order to gain time for framing an answer such as they wish to give; they hold it no obligation to answer truly. Still their testimony should be heard, and compared with circumstances and with other evidence, until it is duly sifted, and appreciated at its probable worth. I am convinced that it would be a useful reform in the jurisprudence of the colonies, to confer on all the shades of complexion an equality of criminal rights. In the islands, the right of inheritance enjoyed by mulattoes is limited to two thousand pounds currency, so that a father cannot provide liberally for his offspring by a negro concubine; no such unjust limitation, as far as I have heard, is included in the Dutch code.

Nor is it alone in the West Indies that negroes require a further degree of legal protection. A friend of mine brought over to this country a negro servant: he landed at Ports-

mouth, and left Quamin on board the ship to come round to London, to meet him there. We had had a tedious voyage of eleven weeks from Tortola, the last place we touched at, and the general rendezvous for the homeward-bound fleets from the West Indies. Poor Quamin was heartily tired of this long, disagreeable, and dangerous passage, and was anxiously wishing to get on shore, to see a country, to use his own language, "where every body been free, and nobody hab massa." Contrary winds detained the ship longer at Spithead than was wished for. In the mean time she was frequently boarded by men of war's boats, the first of which, after overhauling the crew, as they term it, and finding them all foreigners with proper protections, being rather chagrined at their disappointment, and not liking to return empty handed as they came, right or wrong, determined upon seizing poor blacky. Notwithstanding the asseverations of the master and crew, that he was a servant belonging to one of the passengers who had landed at Portsmouth, this poor African, who had been on board a ship thirteen weeks from Demerary, and was counting on the pleasures which he had been taught by the crew to expect in England, was inhumanely dragged away, taken on board one of his majesty's ships, and carried a winter's cruise to the north seas, destitute of any clothing at all suitable to the climate he was compelled to visit. By an application to the Admiralty, aided with considerable interest, a discharge was obtained for him on the vessel's return, when Quamin had again the pleasure of rejoining his master. I saw him a few weeks after, in London. He asked me when I was going to Demerary again, and begged me to request his master would let him go with me, as he did not like England. Notwithstanding here he had a horse to ride, and in Demerary, if his master was going a journey of a hundred miles, Quamin would have to follow him on foot with the portmanteau on his head, he preferred Demerary. The horse and fine living had no charms for him; yonder he was protected—yonder he was free.

The planter, when he purchases negroes out of a cargo, is very careful in what is called the seasoning; they require nearly as much attention as children. Before they are put on to an estate, they have a pair of trowsers, a shirt, jacket, and hat given them; and it is really laughable to see the grotesque appearance they make when dressed up in their new clothes. They affect to think so meanly of them, that it is often with the utmost difficulty they are induced to

keep them : not that they have been used to better, or even to so good, clothing, but they imagine it gives them consequence, and makes them pass for gentlemen, to affect to despise clothing, such as is not worn by people in authority. The only thing which is held in estimation by them is a blanket, which is always given them in the first instance to sleep on, until they get a bed. These are mostly stuffed with plantain leaves, as being much cooler than feather beds. Others prefer hammocks, which are made of cotton bagging, similar to those used by our sailors. On their arrival at the plantation for which they were purchased, they are put under the charge of the nurse, who provides food, pipes and tobacco, and every other requisite to give them confidence in their new situation. They are thus encouraged, until they become acquainted with the place and people, when they are employed in trifling jobs about the buildings, until they get a little seasoned to the climate, and become acquainted with the economy of the estate. It is then customary to place them under the care of old negroes, each taking one, whom he makes his servant, and teaches how to dress his food, and to provide for his wants. From that time they turn out with the gang, and are instructed, by the persons they respectively live with, to work, which is gradually done, and soon becomes familiar, as most of them were slaves in their own country, where they were accustomed to harder toil and less regular meals. The plantation bell rings at nine o'clock for breakfast, for which they have an hour allowed; at one o'clock they come in for their dinner, and have an hour and a quarter; at sun-set they return from work, and enjoy themselves at home, with a pipe and their supper, which is a negro's favourite meal. Besides necessary food, the weekly allowance of rum is about a quart, and the weekly allowance of tobacco two pounds; so that the utmost degree of luxury and accommodation, consistent with sobriety, is willingly promoted.

The seasoned negroes keep fowls, pigs, goats, and grow garden-stuff; the tradesmen employ their spare time in making those articles of their several trades which they can sell to advantage. At the close of life they often keep a retail shop. It is by no means an uncommon thing in these colonies, for negroes when they have accumulated a sufficiency, to purchase their freedom; and I have known many instances of negroes, who paid their owners a proportion of the purchase money, and were allowed after emancipation to work out the balance. The generality of negroes prefer decorat-

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ing their persons to purchasing their freedom. I have known many negroes who were fond of hoarding up their money, and at their deaths, have left considerable sums: one old woman on a sugar estate in Essequebo, died possessed of nearly three hundred pounds sterling, which she had acquired merely from raising feathered stock. It consisted principally of joes, dollars, and small change, and was equally distributed between her children, which she had left on the estate.

In general, every plantation is visited three times a week by a surgeon, who mostly agrees at two dollars a head yearly to farm the health of the whole population: for this he attends all the sick negroes, and furnishes the requisite medicines. The whites, who require much oftener the interference of the medical practitioner, are often farmed at forty dollars each\*.

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\* I have visited several islands in the West Indies, Grenada, St. Kitt's, Tortola, &c. the condition of the negro peasantry is every where comfortable, as far as I have observed, and is fairly described in the following letter from Mr. William Finlayson, of Jamaica.

"I had opportunities of visiting the neighbouring estates in the vicinity of my uncle's, being mostly pennis, and cotton plantations; the work was light and easy, and I found the proprietors and the white people they employed, kind and indulgent to the negroes. They found it their interest, as well as inclination, to treat the negroes well, and make them comfortable.

"They had each a lot of land, and a sufficient time allowed to plant provisions, and clean their ground. They have two or three crops of corn in some parts in the year; and abundance of plantains, which, when established, with a little care in keeping them clear from weeds, will continue bearing for twenty years, and are a good, wholesome, substantial food. They raise potatoes, of which there are six or seven different sorts, all very good food, and several sorts of yams, which weigh from five pounds to fifty pounds weight, toyas, or cocoas, several kind, as monkey, black, two good, Otaheite and white cocoa, the middle leaves of the last eat like spinnage, and the roots better than English potatoes; sweet and bitter casava, the latter they grate and press out the juice, which is poison, the flour is made into cakes, the same way nearly that oat-cakes are made, and eat much better. They had good comfortable houses to dwell in, and reared pigs and abundance of poultry. Each family had a garden, well stocked with pease, beans, of which there are a vast variety, and some will bear for a number of years; plenty of greens, pine apples, melons, pomegranates, pumpkins, sour sops, sweet sops, and numerous other fruits, and growed a good deal of tobacco, and oil nuts, which they make the castor oil from. I assert it was customary then, I am speaking of twenty-one years ago, for a negro to sell provisions, garden-stuff, tobacco, &c. out of his own grounds, to a greater amount than the generality of the journeymen labourer's or mechanic's wages in England, Scotland, and Ireland. And I no where saw such wretched outcasts as our beggars, and poorer sort of people in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The old are taken care of by the proprietor, and are never suffered to want; they are found in clothes, salt, salted fish, and herrings; a doctor regularly attends the sick.

"The negro women have great attention paid to them in their lying-in—a proper nurse and midwife attends them, and every thing that is necessary is supplied them from the estate—they do not work for four weeks afterwards,

The Europeans are a conceited people. They read ; and they fancy that every thing can be known from books. They undervalue observation, experience, practical talent of every kind. They listen to metaphysical politicians, who without having visited the West Indies, or knowing at all the nature of the people, and of the properties there, think they can direct the tropical planter how best to cultivate, and the assembly of Jamaica how best to legislate. By such vain authors, the English people have been goaded into petitioning their legislature for an abolition of the slave trade. It is the trade in free negroes which alone they ought to abolish. The slave trade is a universal benefit.

Piracies and kidnapping take place on the coast of Africa. The grumetas, or free labourers there, and even persons of a higher rank, are sometimes carried off by the force, or fraud, of the negro crimps. I have by me a piece of Arabic writing, executed by a negro in the colony. I doubt not he was a man of education and consequence in his native country. He was a very clever, sensible man. In his own country he was free, and *said* his father was a king. His owners, who were planters in Berbice, elevated him to a confidential situation on their estate ; and he never in the five years that he had been with them when I left the colony, either betrayed their confidence or forfeited their esteem. He was superior to the general run of Africans, and more communicative. Although in his own country he was high in rank, he avowedly preferred his residence in Berbice. This fraudulent enthrallment is a horrible injustice, best to be met by establishing a strong police at the English factories in Africa ; and compelling the slave vessels to account for their passengers. The seizing of free blacks, and reducing them to slavery is detestable oppression. As well might the people of Hayti come and kidnap the merchants of Stabroek ; and sell them for labourers on the Ohio, where the back-settlers begin to buy indentured whites.

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and have nurses to attend them and wash for them during that period. They then turn out to light work considerably later than the other negroes, and have nurses to attend the children ; and notwithstanding this care and attention, the children very often die on or before the ninth day, of the lock-jaw. Twenty shillings reward is allowed by the assembly of Jamaica for every child born, and raised upon the estate ; and many of the liberal-minded benevolent overseers give this money among the nurses, midwives, &c. as an encouragement. No negro is ever allowed to work in the rain,—and a book-keeper is some years upon trial before he is entrusted with the management of an estate, and if he is passionate and cross to the negroes, no person will employ him. The negroes value very high, some 200*l.* to 300*l.* some even 400*l.* The murder of a slave is felony without benefit of clergy."



But the great mass of negroes purchased in Africa, are already slaves at home, most miserable slaves, the slaves of savages. They are born, bred in slavery; they have felt, they have known no other lot. Like beasts of burden, they have been used to be sold, worked, flogged any-how; to be coupled at the owner's pleasure with his cast-off concubines; to be tortured for witchcraft when he is sick; to be maimed for his quarrels when he is in heroics; to be left during disease, wounds, or age, to dry into a mummy in the desert; or to be recompensed for exemplary fidelity by being butchered on a master's grave. Of this last usage, the high price given for negroes, has in some degree occasioned the abolition.

The transfer of such wretches from Africa to America, is a real service. I have conversed with hundreds of negroes, who all consider it as such. Our imported slaves almost universally acknowledge that they have not worse work to do than at home; and that they are better provided with food, with luxuries and indulgences, than in Africa. Their treatment is improved by the removal: the lash indeed is still used, as on board ship, to stimulate labour; but torture, witchcraft, and above all, the despair of bettering their condition, are among the evils withdrawn. Nor is it in Africa only that black-owners are the harsher masters. Even a freed negro has so much less humanity of nature than a European, that throughout the West Indies, it is an efficient threat, employed to tame the disobedient slave, angrily to say: "Damn you, I'll sell you to a black."

If in imitation of those pious Spanish brotherhoods, who collected funds for the ransom of captives, Mr. Wilberforce, and his fellow-friends of humanity, were to form societies for the redemption of slaves, they would soon find it to be a duty to expend their treasure on the coast of Africa. There languish the most unfortunate of the venal negroes. There ought to be exerted the first efforts of their far-aimed beneficence. They would select, for priority of emancipation, those, who are likely to live longest and to suffer most. The aged have something of habit that extenuates their woes, and something of prejudice against the very remedy. Women every where incur a mitigated oppression. The feelings of lust are akin to kindness, and always operate in alleviation of exactions. The young and the male therefore ought preferably to be bought loose.

Men can be had cheapest where they are worst off. Hence, the Liverpool merchants, from motives of a more

natural and more worldly kind than could influence a Wilberforce, do thus employ, on the African coast, in the purchase of young males chiefly, a larger fund than would be collected for the same purpose by the utmost zeal of Christian charity. They redeem annually 36,000 slaves.

It is not of the original orderly purchase of these people, but of their subsequent destination, that philanthropy has to be jealous. From a country, where if they strayed, the parents, or elder brothers, or princes, who sold them, would seize and sell them again, they must clearly be removed; but this with every practicable care for their health and accommodation. The act of parliament which regulated the transportation of negroes, the carrying trade bill, was an eminently useful law. Nor is it at all less applicable to the trade in natural-born white bond slaves, conducted from many parts of Scotland\*, of Ireland, and of Wales, with North America, than to the trade in alien blacks.

An abolition of the African slave trade, such as has hitherto been solicited, would in fact operate merely as a repeal of this wholesome humane law. The small ships, which now execute the smuggling trade of the West Indies, and which alternately visit the British islands, the Spanish main,

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\* "As the same principles of profit regulated every voyage, the circumstances attending each were in general extremely similar: in some, perhaps the inconvenience was less than in others; but the following statement, taken from a judicial proceeding before the court of session relative to a ship that carried passengers from the isle of Sky to Carolina in 1791, is selected both for its publicity and authenticity. 'The vessel was about 270 tons burden, the number of passengers about 400, including women and children, so that their situation was most uncomfortable and dangerous, there being hardly room for them to stretch themselves. There were three tiers of beds fore and aft, and two midship. The births for a full passenger were eighteen inches broad. Those fore and aft were only about two feet high, including the space occupied by bedding, so that it was scarcely possible to creep into them. The others were a little higher, so that the passenger could turn himself on his side, and rest on his elbow. To add to their calamities, they neither had a sufficiency of victuals nor proper cooking utensils, there being only two pots of twenty four pints each, which were quite inadequate to the preparation in any reasonable time of a meal for 400 persons. Had the vessel made out its voyage, the chief part of the people must have been consumed by disease and filth, which at last was horrible; but after being twelve days at sea, the ship was dismasted and put back to Greenock, where many of the passengers, especially children, died from the effects of the short voyage they had made.'

This white slave-trade is conducted under the cover of the laws concerning apprenticeship. The white bond-slave is indentured for seven years to the captain of the passage-vessel, who, on arriving in North America, sells his apprentices at the market-price, and makes over his indentures to the several purchasers. But as the selling price does not always produce the passage-money, a claim of debt against the apprentice bearing interest, accompanies the indenture; and thus his servitude is prolonged at pleasure, under pretence of working out his debt.

and the coast of North America, under any flag best suited for the protection of their immediate purpose, would in that case undertake the slave trade. Colony-craft would supersede the regular vessels. These ships have not dimensions for accommodating passengers in the becoming manner required by the British act of parliament: so that the old horrors of the middle passage would all return. The manner of removing out of Africa the slaves bought there, is no longer susceptible of much improvement; but is in danger of grievous deterioration by whatever tends to shift the commerce into bottoms not subject to the parliamentary regulation.

I still suppose Mr. Wilberforce, and the friends of the blacks, formed into a brotherhood of mercy, and redeeming in Africa, the greatest objects of pity, with a view to provide for their future well-being. I suppose the method of removal acquiesced in, and the place of destination, to be under discussion. These gentlemen would next be desirous of landing their young charges in the countries where labour has the highest value; where moderate industry would secure them a better condition than they quitted; where civil rights are conferred by settlement; and where tutors are provided for the arts of life, who would attentively teach such occupations as may secure not merely their subsistence, but their well-being, not merely an immediate supply of their wants, but a permanent employ, and a progressive independence. Are there any such countries? Nearly so. Where is this poor man's paradise? I answer—where the greatest bounty is paid for the importation of men, where human ware sells highest at a slave-auction.

In all under-peopled countries men bear a price. It was so, under the patriarchs; so, in the Grecian and in the early Roman world; so, in the northern and middle parts of modern Europe. It is still so in Turkey, in Russia, in North America. Wherever a labourer of the average strength and health, can habitually earn much more than the expence of his food, clothes, and shelter, he cannot but be a thing of worth. The sovereign will give a sum of money to enlist him among the troops; the farmer to enlist him among the boors; the architect to enlist him among the builders. This must be; and it favours the rapid growth of prosperity in a country, that a premium should be given for arrival and residence.

This premium, which is represented by the price of a slave, is indeed wholly the natural right of the individual

sold ; but he has to discharge out of it two just debts. The one to his supercargo for the fare of transportation, for his passage over ; and the other to the state, for a claim of maintenance in case of want, which the first act of sale attaches in his favour to the parish, or estate, for which the purchase is made. The cost of transportation may be valued, I think, at about half the selling price of a slave. If he had contracted for his own fare from Sierra Leone to Stabrock, he would have forty or fifty pounds to pay before he could be lodged ashore, and clad after the fashion of the country.

The claim of maintenance in case of calamity, may be valued, I think, at about one-half more than the whole purchase-money. When a negro chooses to be emancipated (many, who can afford it, do not choose it) he appears before the magistrate of police, and gives security in a sum of 2000 guilders (166*l.*) that he shall not become chargeable. This right of settlement, as it would be called in England, the state undertakes to commute with any given proprietor for 166*l.* by which the state is rather the gainer, so that it may fairly be estimated from 120*l.* to 150*l.* A free native of Africa, who had voluntarily come to settle on the Demerary, in order to be as well circumstanced as a negro is after his first sale by auction, would have to expend twice his selling price. His value is doubled. By leaving to the white merchants the whole management of his emigration, it has cost him but half what he must have given to effect it.

The great use of selling a man by auction is this, that he is thereby beckoned immediately into the form of employment for which there is the greatest call. The carpenter, the blacksmith, outbid the planter, if their labour is most in demand ; the planter outbids them, when agriculture is the thriving employment. Thus, without waiting for the lessons of observation, a man finds out at once the most productive form of industry ; without paying for instruction, he is at once apprenticed to the most expedient department of labour : and he is maintained from his very arrival without any of that preliminary expenditure for food or for utensils, which a free artisan would have to incur. He is, moreover, transferred instantaneously to the county, nay, to the very parish, where there was most want of such a hand : if not by his first sale, by his second, he is sure to be shifted into the most expedient station which the region affords. The difficulty of conveying information to the unlettered, is the only real obstacle to the arrangement of these migrations on a principle of personal consent. Voluntary colo-

nists could be gotten by the myriad, did they but know the lot that awaits them.

From the moment a negro is for the first time sold by auction, it is preposterous to call him a *slave*. He is become in the strict legal sense of the word a *vassal*. He is ascribed to the soil, and can invoke its nutritious aid, by law, during sickness, famine, or decrepitude. He has climbed a step in human society. His sale by auction has conferred not only that civil right which is represented in England by a certificate of settlement; but also a right of property over those savings, which a wise employment of his leisure never fails to bestow. He can acquire a *peculium*, a distinct personal property, which may serve for the purchase of his freedom, or which, if he dies unenfranchised, will descend share and share alike to his children. The proprietor lodges, feeds, clothes, supplies the luxuries of rum and tobacco, and takes the produce of nine or ten hours of labour every day. The vassal disposes of nearly fifteen hours. What British labourer pays for his shelter, his food, his raiment, and his ale-house bill, with the sacrifice of a smaller proportion of his time?

The laws of vassalage may in some rules require amendment and revision; but the system itself is a necessary step in human society, without which agriculture cannot overspread a new country. Vassalage is only a form of bartering labour directly for shelter and food, where there are not cottages to be hired, or shops at which to buy bread and meat. Unless the planter were to make, on a large scale, provision for the lodging, clothing, and feeding of as many peasants as he needs, not one of his labourers could subsist a week upon the estate. In Jamaica, they have to send over to North America for flour, to Nova Scotia for fish, and to Ireland for the beef, which is to give the negroes their Christmas dinner; we are better off on the continent, and shall shortly supply many of the wants of Jamaica; but where absolute necessities must be fetched from a vast distance, some one powerful individual must undertake the contract for the common supply, and take care to proportion it to the mass of his people. No doubt the time will come, when our population is numerous, when, instead of hucksters, we shall have stationary shop-keepers; and when the peasantry will be able to subsist on wages issued weekly. Then labour hired for a short term will supersede labour hired for life; or, as the Europeans would say, free labour will supersede vassalage. In the mean time, whatever ac-

accelerates the condensation of populousness, tends to bring on the European plan of payment; and whatever retards the increase of people, tends to defer the European plan of payment. The abolition of the slave-trade, by putting off the increase of colonists, will needlessly delay, by half a century, the emancipation of the negro vassalry; so thoughtless, so suicidal is the policy, which would interfere with the natural course of things. Some lascars have lately been brought to Trinidad, who are intended to be let as free labourers. It will soon be found, that they must adopt an owner responsible for their maintenance when disemployed, because they cannot raise the required pledge. It will next be found, that they must leave in pawn the mass of their wages, in order to secure the overseer, who delivers out provisions and clothes, for the repayment of his advances: and thus an agreement made after the European manner, will terminate in a practical vassalage.

Locke, a friend to liberty, but a man of sense, when he drew up the laws for South Carolina, recognized and established the subsisting property in slaves. He did not even attack the very questionable principle of the civil law, with regard to the progeny of vassals, *partus sequitur ventrem*; by reversing which, he would have provided for a more rapid growth of free people of colour.

The abolitionists have pretended, that under the West Indian system of vassalage, the number of labourers is continually on the decrease. They infer this from the perpetual importation of fresh negroes; and suppose that ill-usage must occasion such an unnatural decay of populousness. I disbelieve the assertion. From all the fully settled islands, there is annually an obvious overflow of people. From Barbadoes and Antigua, free people of colour have come in shoals to settle about Stabroek. From several islands, which, since being cleared of wood to excess, are dried up, and have declined in fertility, proprietors have detached to our continent, batches of creole slaves, and have occupied fresh estates with the redundancy of their vassalry. Colony-craft again is provided with crews of various hues, obtained from the superfluous population of the West India islands; the petty shipping, which wanders about the American archipelago, and is thus manned, is innumerable. The number of negroes may apparently decrease, and yet the collective population may be on the increase; for many negro girls cohabit with white overseers, and spend the years of child-bearing in producing a mulatto progeny; and some negro

men marry mulatto women. Where there are many mixt marriages, the posterity may include fewer negroes, and yet be more numerous than the parental individuals. In 1787, the collective population of the British islands in the West Indies, amounted to 50,000 whites, 10,000 free people of colour, and 465,000 slaves. In 1805, it was computed at 55,000 whites, 18,000 free people of colour, and 510,000 slaves. In Jamaica especially, the free people of colour have increased during this interval from 4000 to 9000; and the slaves from 260,000 to 280,000 persons; it is true, there was an annual importation of nearly 4000 slaves. Nor can any other proof be needed of a real increase of populousness in the West Indies, than the vast augmentation of demand and supply for every article of commercial interchange. This is further corroborated by the circumstance, that the number of slaves *retained* for cultivation (for of the imported slaves, many are re-exported to foreign settlements) is perpetually decreasing; which, as the produce constantly reared has so much increased, could not be, unless the numbers of the creole or home-born slaves were vastly greater than before.

How necessary negro labourers are between the tropics, appears from their habitual health and strength. The relative mortality of the blacks and whites in the climate of the West Indies, may be appreciated by comparing the Regimental Returns from 1796 to 1802.

TABLE  
*Of Deaths by Disease in the British Army serving in the West Indies.*

	European Soldiers.				Negro Soldiers.			Officer
	Largest Force.	Medium Monthly Returns.	Died.	Per Cent.	Force.	Died.	Per Cent.	
1796, April,	19,676	15,881	6484	40 $\frac{1}{2}$	2495	75	3	226
1797, April,	18,627	11,503	3766	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	3080	118	4	99
1798, April,	9192	8416	1602	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	3055	252	8	38
1799, Feb.	7654	7202	876	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3354	258	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	24
1800, Feb.	8840	7890	1221	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	4320	286	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	58
1801, Feb.	11,745	10,315	2340	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	4604	276	6	104
1802, Feb.	10,198	9058	990	11	3840	199	5	41
Original Army, 19,676	—	—	17,173	—	—	—	—	590

It appears, therefore, that the mortality of the whites exceeds that of the negroes in like circumstances, by above four to one.

Not only the negro and the planter are both accommodated by the fetching of labourers from Africa ; the general mass of plenty is thereby augmented. It is very little that any negro-slave, living all his life in Africa, can add by his toil to the useful produce of Nature. The labour of a negro for one year on a sugar or a coffee plantation beside the Demerary, improved and aided as it is by the order of society, by the implements and processes of art, and by so many lights from science, adds more to the means for the sustenance of human life, than the same negro could have produced by *ten years' toil*, amid the wilds and barbarism of his native Africa. The productive power of a labour directed by the civilized is enhanced in a wonderful proportion.

I conclude with recommending that the trade in free negroes be alone checked ; by causing a due investigation to be made at the slave-factories on the coast of Africa, of the methods employed to collect passengers. If some trusty negroes, who have been attached for twenty years to plantations in the West Indies, were sent over to Africa to enlist voluntary recruits only, they would, I doubt not, be followed back by whole nations of their own accord. The slave-trade, properly so called, the trade which redeems slaves to exalt them into vassals, is a benefit to be encouraged by public premiums. Its continuance is of value to the whole negro race, and is essential to the further progress of agriculture, in the fertile but unpeopled tropical portions of America.

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## CHAP. VI.

*The Essequibo—Its Islands—Fortifications—Creeks, or Tributary Streams—Cultivation of its Banks—Exportation of Soil to Barbadoes—Political Condition of the Planters—Historical Particulars of the Progress of the Original Colonists—Advantages derived from the Accession of British Settlers.*

NINE miles west of the Demerary is the river Essequibo, which, at its mouth, commencing from Borasierri, and extending to Kapoeja creek, is twenty-one miles broad ; the former serves as a boundary to the two colonies. The navigation here is very dangerous and difficult, even for small



craft, which arises from banks of sand running in different directions across the entrance. At the mouth of the river are three islands, which are very valuable for their size, and the high state of their cultivation, principally of sugar and coffee; the easternmost is Leguan, that in the centre, Walke-naam, and the other Tiger island; then comes the west coast of the Essequibo; so that there are four entrances into the river, the best and safest is between the east shore and Leguan. Southward of these are a succession of other islands, which extend five and twenty or thirty miles beyond the first. Hog and Troolie islands have both sugar and coffee, but a greater proportion of plantains. On that point of Leguan facing the sea, are eight windmills, belonging to as many sugar estates. The appearance of this island is truly pleasing from the water, a sandy beach ensures a good landing, the roads are finely shaded with orange and cocoa nut trees, and indeed, the whole being so beautifully laid out, has the appearance of a gentleman's pleasure ground; it is six miles long, and half as many broad. Separated from it, by a channel sufficiently spacious and deep at high water for the passing and repassing of colony boats, and at the distance of half a mile, is a small island, about two miles in circumference, which from its proximity to the other, is called Little Leguan. This is a wild but pleasant place, affording an agreeable recreation, both in shooting and fishing; the soil is sand; some small underwood and shrubbery, which is sufficient for a shade when the heat of the day requires it, is the utmost of its production. The shires of Essequibo and Demerary, from their conjunction with each other, are comprised under one government, though two distinct colonies. Each has its court of justice and subordinate offices, but one court of police suffices for both, which is held in Demerary, at Stabroek.

But to return to the Essequibo river—Fort Island, about fifteen miles from the mouth, is the seat of the administrative government, and the residence of the commander, who is president of the court. A considerable expence was incurred here in the erection of a battery, which mounted forty pieces of cannon, with covered ways and ramparts, surrounded by a deep moat, over which a draw-bridge was thrown: this is now fast decaying; the cannon are dismounted, and the fort is totally deserted, save by the wash-women, who still find it a convenient place for hanging linen to dry. A few starved cattle of mynheer Blecker's, the tavern-keeper, are allowed to browse there, being intended for the repast of the

very honourable members of the court of justice exclusively, who in this instance shewed their spirit of selfishness, in not permitting the numerous people that are obliged to dance attendance, when the court is sitting, to share with them the conveniency of the only tavern in the island, and indeed, in the colony. If that generous hospitality, which is so prevalent throughout the colonies, was not practised here in a considerable degree by some inhabitants, and in their private capacity by some members of court, the visitors would receive no accommodation whatever.

The river Supinama falls into the Essequibo. Many estates and settlements are already made on its banks, and it is also the residence of several timber-cutters and brick-makers, the soil for which is particularly good.

The water of all the creeks is excellent, which in a great measure makes up for the deficiency of springs. The only one of any consequence is that already described, at the foot of a large sand-hill forty miles up the Demerary river.

The tide in these rivers are pretty regular, having about five hours and a half flood and six and a half ebb: their influence extends nearly a hundred miles up, and in spring tides, which rise regularly twice a month, at the full and change of the moon, the rivers swell to a considerable degree, especially when accompanied by a strong northerly wind, which is productive of bad consequences to the planter, if his front dams are not in a situation to repel this additional swell of water.

In 1798, the first settlement was founded on the banks of the Essequibo, but owing to an erroneous idea that the land adjacent to the sea was too low and swampy for cultivation, it was commenced on the higher land, nearly one hundred miles from the mouth, where the soil was by no means so favourable. The land was granted gratis, under express stipulations that such a proportion should be under cultivation in a given time, with the farther inducement of a larger grant, should the terms of the first have been complied with; and as a punishment for non-compliance, a fine was to be levied; which, if not paid, the land and improvements were to be sold for that purpose. A governor was appointed, and a conditional code of laws was given by the West Indian company of Holland, subject to the approbation of the States General. Such internal taxes were made by the governor and his council, who were appointed by the burghers, or inhabitants, as were requisite to defray the expences of the colony.

Coffee, cotton, cocoa, and indigo, were the articles of produce, the culture of which was first attempted on the banks of the Essequibo, and as the planters did not labour under the disadvantages which most new settlers are liable to, great expectations were entertained of their success, both on account of its vicinity to Surinam, and to the West India islands, from which the new adventurers derived considerable assistance. Sugar was soon after introduced, and cocoa and indigo abandoned, as not affording an emolument equivalent to their expectations, owing to the great quantity produced and imported from Asia by the Dutch East India company.

Many wise and beneficial laws were instituted, tending to benefit the colony, and promote the welfare of its inhabitants; who, from having left their native home to settle in the wilds of South America, deserved and met with every encouragement from the legislature. One stipulation, namely, the obligation to ship all their produce to the province of Zeeland, operated, however, to their disadvantage, inasmuch as it deprived them of the choice of markets.

Their courts of judicature were well formed and arranged. Appeals from sentences in cases of debt, exceeding twelve hundred guilders (one hundred pounds) were allowed to be made to Holland. The court adjudged and gave a verdict from such documents and proofs as were laid before them, without hearing counsel on either side; the parties merely giving in a statement of their case, and attending afterwards in person to answer the questions which might be necessary for the elucidation of their respective claims, so that it might be considered in the light of an amicable arbitration. The poor man, as well as the rich, had a pleasure in knowing he could gain redress, without the enormous expence of lawyers' fees, and the multiplicity of charges in stamps and duties, which appear so necessary in other countries; whereas, the only expence incurred here is a few shillings for a citation or summons. No inhabitant could be arrested, except for a criminal offence, nor were any permitted to leave the colony without a passport, and providing security for the payment of any debts remaining.

Melasses were allowed to be exported to America, in return for supplies received thence. Mill timber and house-frames, with which these forests abound, were also permitted to be taken away by the inhabitants of the British West India islands, as a compensation for British manufactured goods. Many vessels were sent hither for cargoes of earth,

by the people of Barbadoes, with which they manured their lands. This traffic would have been carried on to a considerable extent, but great injury accrued to the vessels' bottoms from it; after making two or three trips, a sort of worm, which is natural to the soil, introduced itself into the timbers and planks, which in a short time were sure to make the vessel leaky. The water-worm of the rivers on this coast is very injurious to all ships whose bottoms are not coppered. Great care and frequent application of a coat of tar is necessary, to preserve the boats in any kind of order. The petroleum found in Trinidad is said to be a better preservative against the worm than vegetable tar. The art of disgusting insects by strong and peculiar odors has been little studied. Camphor, though so fatal to insects, is seldom burnt in order to displace them. A mixture of cantharides, orpiment, and other drugs boiled together, is used in Germany for the smearing of window-frames, and it is said to deter flies effectually. Insects in these climates are our most formidable foes.

The company provided themselves with negroes from Africa, at a price which did not exceed twenty pounds each: the settlers also derived considerable advantage from gaining the good opinion of the Indians, whom they engaged, by trifling presents, to assist in their cultivation. These natives were also very useful and expert as huntsmen and fishers, being always sure to bring in a couple of hours, more than could be consumed in one day, which made the first colonists indifferent to the scarcity of European cattle and poultry. It may be feared there has been a negligence in not inducing the American Indians to continue for the colonists the occupations of fishing, fowling, hunting, navigating boats, and felling timber. A considerable quantity of labour is thus lost; and must be supplied from Africa, by persons whose local knowledge is for these purposes far less efficacious. The Indians too, would insensibly have learned to want more European commodities, if they were induced to practise, in their mode, arts, and occupations, for the benefit of a civilized occupation.

At this time, as there were no public roads, or even foot-paths, for any considerable distance, the only method of travelling was by water, in tent-boats, rowed by six or eight Indians; and as the seamen are governed by the wind, so were they by the tide, which runs in all these rivers at the rate of six or eight miles an hour. When the current is against them they are obliged to stop, and if near any house,

the traveller lands, and is sure of a hearty welcome. The principal conveniences used in this country for sleeping are large cotton *hammocks*, made by the Indians, eight or ten feet long, and ten or twelve wide. Mr. Bryan Edwards thinks this a Caribbee word; I rather suspect it derives from the Dutch *hang-mat*.

After the first ten years, the colony made little improvement, remaining nearly stationary the succeeding thirty. No cause can be assigned for this circumstance, unless it be the insufficiency of the funds engaged in the undertaking. Holland began to see her error, in entrusting the colonization of her American colonies to private companies, and to be convinced that they would make a greater progress under the immediate protection of government, than of individual agents. The event in this instance has justified their opinion. The company, in reviewing the state of their finances, and seeing little probability of success attending their pursuits on the present plan, determined upon closing with the States General, and finally transferred to them all the possessions and claims granted them by charter, reserving merely for themselves three or four sugar estates, which soon after reverted to the colony.

The feature of things in general, now wore a different aspect: a free trade to Holland, a better supply of negroes and planting utensils. The produce flowing into different channels, and the advantages arising from the colony being so liberally offered to those who chose to settle there, induced several British subjects from the West India islands to procure grants of land, which could be obtained with little or no expence on the sea coast, and the land adjacent, as the Dutch planters had neglected these, under an idea of their being low and liable to inundation. This consideration, however, had no weight with the English settlers, who brought over seasoned negroes, and commenced with determined industry, to clear and drain the land, dyked it all round, and then began planting. With those situated within the river, sugar was their chief object. They introduced the art of distilling rum into the colony, which had never been before attempted, but the melasses had always been disposed of in the raw state. I am convinced it is a mistake in British policy, to encourage distilleries of any kind, in their own island. The grand use of distillation, is to render moveable to any distance, and preservable for any length of time, the superfluous produce of agriculture. It ought, therefore, for the greatest good of the whole, to be

carried on, where agriculture has most surplus produce ; which is always in the newly settled, and therefore under-peopled countries. We could deliver rum in the British market, cheaper than the English can make gin ; so that the diffusion of comfort, and invigoration, could be had by the people for less money, and less labour. The British distilleries compete with the brewers for malt and barley ; they thus cause a higher price of the materials of beer and porter, and consequently of the wholesomest and most usual drink of the people, than would otherwise be occasioned. Gin-distilleries destroy human food ; they not only endear spirits by the monopoly they have obtained of the home market, but endear beer by distilling the useful grains of which it is made ; whereas rum is manufactured from a refuse produce. The peculiar and somewhat disagreeable taste of rum, may be remedied by attentions to the process ; excellent liqueurs, of which it is the basis, are prepared in the French West India islands. It would be equitable to make the duty on the importation of rum, and its compounds, exactly equal to the excise-duty on the distillation of gin ; this would suffice gradually to open an European market for a most important article of our produce. The English have use enough for their land without growing their own gin ; but to us an additional demand for produce must be perpetually opening, if we are to extend our agriculture in the practicable degree.

On the sea coast, the British settlers also commenced the culture of cotton, and found that land to answer much better than the soil up the river. The cotton is a trefoil shrub, about five feet high, which bears yellow flowers ; these are succeeded by an oval bean-pod, containing seeds and cotton. To grow it, holes are made seven or eight feet asunder, in which several seeds are thrown ; when the young plants are about six inches high, all the stems are pulled up, except two or three of the strongest. These continue for three or four years to supply two gatherings of cotton in the season. The down is cleared of the seeds by a sort of mill. The success which attended these first adventurers, soon brought more ; and from the first coming over of the British settlers, may be fixed the date of the colony's improvement. In 1748, several settlements were made on the banks of the Demerary, but some distance up the river ; nor could the Dutch, here, as in the other case, be induced to settle near the mouth of it, until the English had set them the example, which they soon did after that period. The Dutch, with a

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little experience, discovered that the land which they had been cultivating so far up, was not near so fertile and productive as that which was so frequently inundated. And it may be remarked, that the greater part of the low land in Guyana, has grown out of the sea within the last three or four centuries. This soil, partly the work of alluvion, partly of vegetation, partly of marine insects, is still increasing; the coast is very shallow, and difficult of approach in many parts, and appears to grow continually.

The indefatigable industry and perseverance of the English planters, brought the west coast of Demerary into cultivation; its contiguousness to Essequibo, soon occasioned a road of communication between it and that place. Demerary was hitherto considered a dependency of Essequibo, but in 1774, having extended itself to a surprising degree, and offering a superior harbour to the other, it was determined to make that the residence of the governor, and capital of the two colonies; for that purpose the town of Stabroek was commenced about a mile from the fort, and on the same side the river, whilst a commandeur, or deputy governor, was now appointed for Essequibo. Seven years after this change, an English privateer took possession of the two colonies, in the name of His Britannic Majesty; such was the weak state in which Holland left her colonies. The British commanders at Barbadoes were on the eve of sending troops to the garrison, in order to fortify them, when information was received that the English, in their turn, had been obliged to capitulate to a French corvette: such was the despicable situation, as far as their means of defence were concerned, of these improving colonies. The British inhabitants held out indeed as long as they were able, in expectation of relief from the West India islands; every possible precaution was taken, but a strict blockade obliged them to accede to the terms.

In 1783, at the general peace, the colonies were ceded to the Dutch. During the late war, these, with the other possessions of the Dutch in the West Indies, were entirely neglected, their whole attention being directed to the East. Under these circumstances, little improvement could be expected; crippled as they were, without trade or support from the mother country, and only deriving a little assistance from the British West Indies, it was surprising that three hundred estates were absolutely in cultivation at this time, worked by twenty-five or twenty-eight thousand negroes; the population in white inhabitants did not exceed twelve hundred.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Essequibo continued—Savage Inhabitants of the Banks—The Carribbees—Cannibalism—The Accawaws—The Worrôws—The Arrowauks—Polygamy—Manners and Exercises.*

IN my voyages up the Essequibo to contract for produce, or to collect it, I have occasionally met with canoes of the Indians; although they are continually receding from the districts which the Europeans choose to colonize.

The Carribbees inhabit that part of the coast which lies between the Essequibo and the Orinoko. They are of a middle stature, and well made. Their complexion is light, when compared to the other native tribes, their features agreeable, and the expression of their countenance remarkably sprightly. They colour their bodies by way of ornament with arnotto, and decorate themselves with beads made of fishes' teeth: their hair (like that of all the tribes) is straight, long, and black. Their language is articulated with great distinctness, and is pronounced with much sharpness of tone. The following list of words will give some idea of its euphony.

<i>Carribbee.</i>	<i>Meaning in English.</i>	<i>Carribbee.</i>	<i>Meaning in English.</i>
Liani,	<i>His wife</i>	Nané-guaete,	<i>I am sick</i>
Yene-neri,	<i>My wife</i>	Halea tibou	<i>Good be to you</i>
Hac yeté,	<i>Come hither</i>	Phoubae,	<i>To blow</i>
Karbet,	<i>{ Walled house</i>	Toubana ora	<i>Roof of a house</i>
Encka,	<i>{ Assembly house</i>	Bayou boukaa,	<i>Go thy way</i>
Yene kali,	<i>Necklace or collar</i>	Baika,	<i>Eat</i>
Hue-Hue,	<i>My necklace</i>	Aika,	<i>To eat</i>
Nora,	<i>Wood</i>	Nichiri,	<i>The nose</i>
	<i>My skin</i>	Natoni bôman	<i>Give me nourishment</i>

A very copious account of the Carribbee language has been given by a catholic missionary, named Raymond Breton, who published it at Auxerre, in 1665. His travels respected the Carribbee islands, where the men, he says, spoke one language, and the women another, the latter being of



Floridan extraction. But the Caribbees, or Galibbees, from the southern continent, had lately conquered the islands and exterminated the males.

The Caribbees are the most numerous and warlike of the native tribes of Guyana. During peace they have no sovereigns or magistrates, but during war a chief is elected, who leads them to battle. Their weapons are bows and arrows, and large clubs made of iron wood: they also use poisoned shafts, which are discharged through a reed by the force of the lungs. They are seldom at war with other tribes, but against the Spaniards they carry on an almost constant hostility. Their houses are situated near each other, so that the blowing of a shell, which is their usual signal, will in a very short time assemble many hundreds of the inhabitants. The Caribbees excel the other tribes in industry. The chief employments of the men are hunting and fishing; the women perform the in-door labours; they also cultivate plantains and cassava, upon as much ground as they choose, for there is no property in land among the Indians. Their hammocks are made with great labour; the cotton is spun with the hand, and in the process of weaving, the thread analogous to our shoot is passed under every other thread of the warp separately, as in darning, raising them one by one with the finger. When the weaving is finished, the hammock is dyed with red figures. Some part of the produce of their industry they barter for European articles. For this purpose they make canoes out of trees, hollowed by fire, some of which are seventy feet in length. Beside these, they exchange wax, gourds full of the balsam capivi, cotton hammocks, different kinds of wood, and staves. For these they get in return hooks, knives, hatchets, fire arms, combs, looking-glasses, beads of glass and of coral.

This barter trade, in my opinion, could be greatly increased. By holding fairs at certain known seasons, and offering some hospitality to the savages, they could be induced to collect from remote places of the interior. They would bring many curious productions, and gradually acquire a variety of wants. The Spaniards have instituted such fairs at Buenos Ayres, with the happiest effect. It is true, they fix on the grand festivals of their religion for the assemblage, and hold showy processions, in which the Indians delight to take a part, dressed up with crowns of feathers. But games of agility and bodily exercises, shooting with the bow, distributing swimming-prizes, horse-races

even, might be made to serve for the pretence of meeting. Fairs are the natural methods of distributing wares in countries insufficiently peopled to maintain stationary shops. They have flourished in all such countries, and decay with the progress of settlement. What were the Olympic games of Greece, originally, but fairs, at which there were boxing, wrestling, and running matches? Yet at these fairs the intercourse took place which founded a national cohesion, and scattered the refinements of civilized life.

It is an undoubted fact, that the Carribbees have, in some instances, devoured their enemies slain in battle. Of all the natives of Guyana, this practice is peculiar to the Carribbees. Our aversion to a meal of human flesh is not a feeling originating in our organs of taste, but in some complex mental association. If we were ignorant of what we were about to eat, we might feast on human flesh with pleasure: tell us what we have devoured, and we should sicken at the frightful meal. It seems to be a principle of our nature, to be averse to devouring what has been an object of affection; as if the mind disliked to prostitute that to the low cravings of the body, which had once ministered to the elevated desires of the soul. Man is the object of our strongest affection—the tenderest emotions of the heart are excited by individuals of the human race: and these emotions are extended by association in some degree to all mankind. The form, the countenance, the lineaments of man, excite in our minds faint traces of the love which we had felt for individuals of his kind. It is not surprising therefore, that we should have the most invincible antipathy to eating human flesh; that we should shudder at devouring that which is so peculiarly associated with our strongest affections. But man is not the only object which, by loving, we cannot use for food. We never eat the animals which we have domesticated; the reason is, because we feel for them emotions of regard, differing in degree, not in kind, from those which we feel for man. The dog, the companion of my solitary walk; the cat who sits by my winter's fire-side, and whose purring is music to my ear; and the horse who bears me patiently over many a long rough road, produce in me feelings nearly allied to affection. Why do not the flesh of these animals mingle with our dishes? because our hearts become in some degree attached to these useful animals, and it is a principle of our nature, to be averse to devouring what has been an object of love.

Those animals which are esteemed proper articles of food,

and which we feed to serve up at our tables, sometimes afford illustrations of this principle. So liable is the heart of man to attach itself to surrounding objects, that those animals which are doomed to the knife, if fed and tended by ourselves, often fix themselves upon our affections, and thus are unfitted for our food. When a boy, I could never have eaten of the rabbit which I had tended myself, and which had so often nibbled the cabbage leaf from my hands. There are instances enough to establish the principle, that we dislike eating what we once had loved, and it is probable that our aversion to a meal of human flesh, depends upon this principle. Cannibalism is the practice only of the most savage and ferocious nations, of those who have little sensibility of heart to render them capable of loving, and who are devoid of the amiable qualities of the mind, which are the objects of love. It should be observed also, that they only devour their *enemies*, and rather to satisfy their revenge than their hunger: of all passions, revenge is the most destructive of love. Perhaps the above remarks will throw some light upon the general detestation, and the possible practice of cannibalism.

I now proceed to describe the other native tribes.

The Worrows principally inhabit the sea coast lying between the Demerary and Surinam. They are above the middle size, their features are very large and disagreeable, and the colour of their skin is much darker than that of the Caribbees. They pronounce their language in a very disagreeable and indistinct tone. For ornaments they suspend oval plates of silver to the cartilages of their nose. For clothing they sometimes use the bark of trees, or the net which surrounds the origin of the branches of the cocoa-nut tree; sometimes, however, they purchase cloth for this purpose. They live in the wet marshy places on the coast, and feed upon the crabs and fish which they catch there. They are a contented people, patient under suffering, but this patience and contentment destroys all industry and enterprise, for they are dirty, fearful, and indolent.

The Accawaws inhabit that part of Guyana contiguous to the source of the rivers Essequibo, Demerary, and Berbice. They are above the middle size, with lighter complexions and more agreeable features than the Worrows. In the lower lip a large round hole is made, in which is fitted a piece of wood which is cut even with the skin externally, and internally presses against the gums. Their manners are grave, and their characters unusually cunning. These

Indians are much feared, because of the poisons which they are said to prepare and to make use of for avenging an insult. If any one has been injured in the chastity of his wife, he hides the most mortal hatred under an outside of friendship; the injurer is invited to a banquet, and a fatal poison is cunningly mixed with his drink, which slowly but surely kills him. By means of their poisons they also protect themselves from the attacks of those tribes upon which they have made incursions. Sharp pieces of wood, poisoned and driven into the earth, are placed in all the passages which lead to their houses, one only excepted, which is kept secret among themselves. But these relations resemble the *oby* stories of the negroes, and must be received with hesitation. Their articles of commerce are, slaves, monkeys, parrots, ebony, and other curious woods, *arnotto*, winter's bark, wild nut-meg, wild cinnamon, *balsam capivi*, &c.

The Arrowauks are the next and last of the tribes I shall describe. It has been said that the Worrows inhabit the marshy sea coast between Demerary and Surinam; the Arrowauks live at the back of their settlements, where the land is higher and more dry; about twenty leagues from the coast. They are of the middle size, well made, and of a lighter colour than the three former tribes. Their features are regular, their teeth very white, their eyes black and piercing, and the whole expression of the face is very agreeable. They have hardly any beard, for those parts of the body which are usually covered with hair, have nothing but a thin down, which they pick out as often as it grows. The women have agreeable features, and slender, well-proportioned limbs, and when young, many of them are very beautiful, but when old, their large bellies and long flaccid breasts make them very disagreeable. The men wear a string round the waist, to which is attached, both before and behind, a piece of cloth which passes between the thighs. The women wear a little apron, about six or eight inches square, woven from cotton, on which are strung small glass beads of different colours; this apron is suspended before by strings of beads passed round the waist. A cotton garter is knit round each ancle. On festival days they wear caps of feathers and strings of beads round their wrists, arms, ancles, and legs. Their language is distinct, soft and harmonious. The prominent features of their character are vivacity, friendliness, and timidity. Their arms are large sharp clubs, made of iron wood, and bows and

arrows. Beside the arrows which they shoot with bows, they use poisoned arrows, which are blown through hollow reeds with the mouth. The art of blowing these arrows from the reed is practised from childhood, by which means they acquire such dexterity in their management, that they will hit an object at the distance of thirty or forty yards. These arrows are chiefly used for killing monkeys, which, when wounded by them fall from the tree senseless. The Arrowauks do not constantly reside in one spot, but are continually removing from place to place, generally preferring the sides of rivers and creeks for their habitations. Little time is required for the erection of their houses. They are made by driving four forked poles into the ground, perpendicularly, so as to form a square; these are united by four others laid horizontally, and the roof is afterwards made by poles laid laterally, and covered by those enormous leaves called troolies, and which are more than twenty feet long and two broad. From the bread of cassava or manioc, they make a fermented liquor, which in taste is somewhat like ale. In the use of this liquor both men and women are very intemperate. By fermenting maize a strong drink is also made, which is not much unlike porter.

The person who saw most of these nations, and who explored the interior of Guyana to the greatest extent, was an European colonist, named Nicholas Hortsman, originally of Hildersheim, in Germany. In the year 1740, he undertook, in a canoe manned by Indians, to ascend the Essequibo as far as possible. After traversing many broads of water, dragging his canoe beside the rapids, and carrying it occasionally, on the shoulders of the crew, across the isthmuses, he came to a great lake, and thence into a river running southwards, which floated him to the Rionegro. This stream falls into the Maranyo, or river of Amazons; so that he must have crossed those highest parts of Guyana, whence the waters descend in opposite directions. At Para, he saw the French academician M. Condamine, and communicated to him a map of his route, and a sketch of his journal; but no separate account of his interesting excursion was ever laid before the European public. Solitary journies of this kind are unwise; the amusement would be doubled, and the toil halved, by the society of friendship; and accident would be less able to intercept the reputation and the fruits of discovery. It seems probable that the great lake, called Parima by the geographers, may supply streams, both to

the Essequibo and to the Rionegro. In this case it must be adapted to become the main reservoir and centre of traffic for a most extensive inland navigation.

I have hitherto been describing those things which distinguish one tribe from another; I now come to those which are common to them all. The natives of Guyana believe in one God, who is the cause of all the good which occurs in the world, and in a race of malevolent beings, of inferior power, called yowahos, who are the authors of all the evils which befall them. To the former they offer up no prayers, but they supplicate the latter whenever they are oppressed by any misfortune. Each family has a priest, or peii, who performs the twofold office of priest and physician, and who is supposed to have great influence over the minds of the yowahos, both in averting evils from some, and in calling them down upon the heads of others. If an Indian becomes sick, the peii repairs to him: at ten o'clock at night, the room is cleared of persons and darkened, and the peii takes the instrument with which he performs the incantation of the yowahoo. This is a hollowed calabash, with a few seeds and stones inclosed in it, and a stick thrust through it. With this instrument he rattles, singing meanwhile a prayer to the yowahoo who is supposed to be offended. This incantation is continued till midnight, when an interview takes place between the peii and the yowahoo. Two voices are now heard conversing. The peii afterwards makes his report. If the Indian recovers, the peii has the credit; if he does not, the yowahoo is implacable. The office of peii is hereditary, being conferred only on the eldest son.

At a funeral, the relations and friends show their grief for the deceased by getting drunk, singing, and crying: but of all their instances of regard to their deceased friends, none is so striking as what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day for this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing, which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The riches of the nation are exhausted on this occasion, and all their ingenuity displayed. The neighbouring people are invited to partake of the feast, and to be witnesses of the solemnity. At this time, all who have died since the last solemn feast of that kind, are taken out of their graves. Those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcasses. It is not dif-

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ficult to conceive the horror of this general disinterment. Some appear dry and withered ; others have a sort of parchment upon their bones ; some look as if they were baked and smoaked, without any appearance of rottenness ; some are just turning towards the point of putrefaction ; whilst others are swarming with worms, and drowned in corruption. I know not which ought to strike us most, the horror of so shocking a sight, or the tender piety and affection of these poor people towards their departed friends ; for nothing deserves our admiration more, than that eager diligence and attention with which they discharge this melancholy duty of their tenderness ; gathering up carefully even the smallest bones ; handling the carcasses, disgusting as they are, with every thing loathsome ; cleansing them from the worms, and carrying them upon their shoulders through tiresome journies of several days, without being discouraged by their insupportable stench, and without suffering any other emotions to arise, than those of regret, for having lost persons who were so dear to them in their lives, and so lamented in their death.

This strange festival is more or less in use among all the American savages bordering on the gulf of Mexico, on the Mississippi as on the Orinoko, and is probably a remnant of Mexican superstition. A pompous reinterment is given to the dead ; and games of all kinds are celebrated on the occasion, in the spirit of those which the ancient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon similar occasions.

They have no laws, and no magistrates, and the only restraint upon their conduct is the fear of revenge from the individuals they may injure. The want of laws, and of an uniform strong coercive power, is not perceived in a narrow society, where every man has his eye upon his neighbour, and where the whole bent of every thing they do is to strengthen those natural ties by which society is principally cemented. Family love, rare among us, is a national virtue among them, of which all partake. Friendships there are among them, fit to vie with those of fabulous antiquity ; and where such friendships are seen to grow, the families concerned congratulate themselves as upon an acquisition, that promises to them a mutual strength, and to their nation the greatest honour and advantage.

When an Indian marries, he is perfectly indifferent about the virginity of his wife ; but after his marriage he expects fidelity to his bed : and so strong is the influence of opinion, that adultery is very uncommon, although it is not forbidden

by any part of their religious tenets. Polygamy is universally allowed, but an Indian is never seen with two young wives; the only case in which he takes a second, is when his first has become old and ugly.

Whether or no polygamy is agreeable to the intention of Nature, is an old question. By that equality in the number of the sexes which almost every where prevails, it would appear that Nature intended one woman for one man, and hence that polygamy is contrary to her obvious intention. The same inference may be drawn from a quality of that passion by which Nature produces a union of the sexes. Friendship may have several objects; love can only have one. It seems, therefore, that the union of the sexes was intended to be by pairs. Yet there are some reasons to believe that Nature intended more than one female for each male: women cease to bear children even in Europe before the fiftieth year, while men are capable of procreation to a much later period of life. Beauty seems to have been given to the female to invite the male to that union which is necessary for the existence of the species; the glow-worm lures the male to her embrace by a phosphorescent light. Beauty is the phosphorescent light which was prepared to effect the union of the male and female of the human race. But this light is of short endurance, it goes out long before the male is incapable of feeling its influence. It seems to be a doubtful question then, whether or no polygamy is agreeable to the intention of nature.

Agriculture and the common domestic concerns, are the chief employment of the Indian wife. She plants yams, cassava, and manioc in sufficient number to supply the family with bread and with piworree, that fermented liquor which has been already described. The employment of the men consists chiefly in hunting and fishing. The fish are taken either by traps, or by inebriating them with the root of hiarra. If a piece of the bruised root be thrown into the water, the fish soon rise to the surface in such a state of insensibility as to be easily taken. The other way of catching them is to stop the mouth of the creek which opens into the river by fences, leaving a small opening about four foot broad. During the flood tide the fish pass into the creek in search of food; as soon as the ebb begins, the Indian stops this outlet to prevent the return of the fish which at low water, are seen laying on the mud. The food is boiled, and very highly seasoned with red pepper. When they have more animal food than will serve for present use, they dry



and smoke it, after which it will keep for many months. No particular hour of the day is allotted for meals; the Indian eats when he is hungry. Eating at stated times is only one instance of that systematic regularity of employment, which is enforced by the multifarious occupations of civilized society. The allotment of certain hours for meals, is a mark of some advancement towards civilization.

The females of Guyana endure little pain or after-illness from parturition. As soon as it is over, the mother and child are plunged in water, and the woman immediately goes about her usual occupations. Little care is taken of their offspring during infancy. The males, as soon as they are old enough, go a hunting with the father, and the females learn the domestic duties of the mother. Indolence is an universally prevailing feature in the Indian character; and although the game is so plentiful, and the earth so fruitful, that the greater part of their time is unoccupied, excepting by amusements, yet they are often in want of their usual sustenance. Their indolence is so great, that they spend a much greater part of their time in their hammocks, than in active pleasures. Here an Indian will sit a long time picking the hairs out of his beard, and then admiring himself in a looking glass; then he will take a flute, and play upon it for some time; then he will eat, converse, and go to sleep. They are very expert swimmers, and are very fond of the exercise. Large companies of men and women bathe in the rivers several times a day, without the least regard to the indiscriminate mixture of the sexes: sometimes they form large parties at each other's houses, when they divert themselves with stories, dancing, laughter, and drunkenness. They are very quarrelsome in their cups, and almost all their disputes take place in a state of intoxication. They are remarkably deficient in the art of calculation: they cannot express precisely any distance of time beyond ten or twelve moons. In describing a number of objects, they tell by units, tens, and scores, up to a hundred, which is the highest number their power of enumeration carries them to.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The River Berbice—History of the Settlements there—New Amsterdam—Its Buildings—Taverns—Fortifications—Roads and Water Roads—Canjee Creek—Visit to a Coffee-Planter—Declension of several West India Islands—Wisdom of Deserting them for Continental Property.*

BERBICE river lies in N. latitude 6 deg. 20 m. and 57 deg. 20 m. west longitude from London. Its stream at the mouth is a mile and a half broad, and in the centre is an island called Crab Island.

A bar of sand five miles without the river, running from east to west, prevents vessels drawing more than fourteen feet from entering the river; this navigation is more dangerous than that of the Demerary, from the obstructions to it being of sand. On this account few vessels rendezvous here, but make the port of Demerary their anchorage, whence the supplies from the mother country are transported in colony schooners, and the produce shipped in return is conveyed to the vessels through the same medium.

Berbice, by the old boundary, is bounded on the east by the Devil's Creek, and on the west by Abarry Creek, which separates that colony from Demerary. The river Berbice is shallow, but broad; nearly an hundred plantations have been formed on its banks. The directors of the colony obtain from it chiefly sugar. It also supplies cotton, coffee, cocoã, tobacco, and a dying stuff called rokou. The goods carried thither, are the same as those traded with in the rest of the West Indies.

The Dutch laid the foundations of this colony in the beginning of the last century. About the year 1626, one Van Peere, of Flushing, began to send thither ships, which carried out Europeans, who staid there to trade with the Indians, and collect produce. By the year 1690, this colony was so far increased, that the French who made a hostile landing could levy a contribution of 20,000 florins. This colony was comprehended in the charter of the Dutch West India Company;

but in 1678, arrangement was made with the family of Van Peere, who were in fact the founders and proprietors, by which it was granted to them as a perpetual and hereditary fief. This grant was confirmed in 1703, and was respected until 1712, when a flotilla of French privateers, under the command of one Cassard, went to attack the settlement. Baron Mouars commanded the troops who were landed, and who agreed for a contribution of 300,000 florins; which was eventually discharged by the house of Van Hoorn, and Co. to whom the family of Van Peere ceded three-fourths of the concern, under this condition.

The Van Hoorn Company having become masters of the colony, applied to the Dutch East India Company for leave to import slaves from Asia: this was not conceded; but an agreement took place to furnish annually from the 10th of September, 1714, the number of 240 negroes, from the coast of Angola or Ardra, one third of them to be females. For these slaves the Van Hoorn Company were to allow 165 florins a-head. If a larger number of negroes became requisite, these were to be paid for at the rate of 250 florins a-head. The proprietors of the colony were to have the liberty of selling off their lands and slaves at pleasure; and were to levy 300 florins on every vessel that should go to Berbice.

These proprietors were apparently in a degree successful; they extended the cultivation of sugar, of cocoa, and of indigo; they searched for mines, and invited settlers. They then proposed to raise a capital of 3,200,000 florins in 1600 shares, payable in eight instalments, of which the last was to fall due on the first of April, 1724. For this sum the lands of the Van Hoorn Company were to be thrown into a sort of common stock, and cultivated at a joint expence; the shipping, the warehouses, the revenues of the custom-house, the produce was all to be the property of the share-holders, and a dividend commensurate with the annual profit was to be made. The actual proprietors were to receive, in lieu of any indemnity or purchase-money, a number of shares proportioned to their occupations: thus they would become interested, it was supposed, in promoting the prosperity of the concern, and in raising its dividends continually. About 1,882,000 florins were thus raised and vested; dividends, which never exceeded three or four per cent. were made; and at length the shares fell from 2000 to 200 florins, and were chiefly bought in by the settlers, as titles requisite to the integrity of their property.

A garrison of about 200 men was kept there before the pe-

ultimate war ; but the colony, says the abbe Raynal, was nevertheless scarcely in a condition to resist the crew of an enterprising privateer.

In Holland, the colony of Berbice is administered by seven directors, who are chosen by and from among the shareholders. They receive a salary yearly of 200 florins; and give in their accounts to an annual meeting of proprietors, who name auditors. A secretary and two book-keepers suffice for the business of the concern at Amsterdam. On the spot things are conducted much as in Surinam.

The principal articles on which the revenues of the colony are levied, are a capitation tax on the white and black inhabitants, and excise on every fifty pounds of sugar made, a weighage toll of about two per cent. on all imports and exports, and a tonnage duty of three florins per last on the burden of ships. The directors have undertaken to erect fortifications on the Isle of Crabs ; and have ordered that to every fifteen negroes there should be one white. They grant passports to such inhabitants of Holland as desire to trade to Berbice, with the condition that for thirty florins a-head any passenger-colonists, recommended by the directors, shall be received on board, and if under twelve years of age, for half price.

From the land adjacent to the sea being so very low and marshy, the first settlers of this colony went fifty miles up the river, where they built a town and fortress, which they called Zealandica. As population began to increase, and cultivation extended itself, the inconvenience of being so far from the river's mouth, presented itself in various forms ; large vessels found a difficulty in working up the crooked course of the river ; the projecting points of mud from the irregularity of the stream, occasioned vessels to ground, where they sometimes were obliged to lay until the rising of the spring tides floated them off. Thus situated, and with a view of inducing vessels from Europe, with cargoes for Berbice, to anchor directly in the river, instead of going to Demerary, the seat of government was removed within a mile of the mouth of the river.

New Amsterdam, the name of the town, is built on the south side of Canje river, running in that direction up the banks of the Berbice a mile and a half, with the houses facing the water. The Dutch, in laying out this town, paid every attention to health and convenience ; each allotment appears an island within itself ; the ditches, or trenches, round the houses, fill and empty themselves every

tide, by which means all the filth and dirt is carried off before it has time to stagnate, or occasion unhealthy sensations. Each lot is a quarter of an acre of land, separated as before mentioned from the adjoining one ; which not only leaves a free circulation of air, but allows to every house a kitchen garden, which produces vegetables sufficient for the family. The houses are different from those of Stabroek, in this respect, they are not more than a story and a half high, very long and narrow, with galleries on either side for the purpose of walking and smoaking in the shade ; they are mostly covered with troolie and plantain leaves, a species of thatch in preference to shingles, as being considered much cooler ; but the quantity of vermin and insects which they harbour, does away every other consideration with Englishmen, whose houses in New Amsterdam may be distinguished by being shingled.

The government house and attached buildings are laid out in a splendid manner ; they are of brick, and built in the European style ; for architectural magnificence in Guyana, they are most noticed ; yet even these are not perfect. The eye and the taste are both insulted on looking at this fine pile of building from the river ; at the water's edge, in a line directly opposite the house, and not twenty yards from it, is a boat builder's yard ; so that his excellency and family, when going over the river to visit his estates, are obliged to wade through a group of negroes at work, a heap of chips, boiling pitch pots, and many other delicate etcateras, to embark on board the yacht. The colonial offices, namely, the fiscal's, receiver's and secretary's, are situated behind the government house, and are all built of brick.

There are two taverns in New Amsterdam, both of which have billiard tables ; at one of them is a *table d'hôte* daily for the convenience of travellers passing through the town, or planters from the country ; this house also affords accommodation for slinging hammocks. I have had mine slung without the least ceremony in the same room with a Dutch surgeon and his wife, who slept in separate hammocks, and the only partition between us consisted of a piece of thin cotton bagging extended from the sides of the room, reaching half way up to the cieling. I was not aware of this arrangement until I was conducted to my chamber, when I recognised the voices of the Dutch lady and gentleman I had dined with at the ordinary : we each exchanged a polite '*goed nacht*' before going to sleep. In the morning

after breakfast I called for my bill, and as it may be a novelty I insert it.

Playing six games of billiards, 10 st. ....	3 0
A glass of sangaree .....	1 10
A bunch of segars .....	1 0
Dinner .....	5 10
Wine .....	2 0
Two cups of coffee, 5 st. ....	0 10
Billiards in the evening .....	1 10
Sangaree, 2 glasses .....	3 0
Slinging your hammock .....	3 0
Two cups of coffee in the morning .....	0 10
Breakfast .....	3 0
Cleaning boots .....	0 10
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Twenty-five gilders is 2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling ; so much for the tavern expences of little more than two meals at an ordinary. The eager hospitality of this country soon placed me in a private house, beyond the reach of such imposing charges.

The fortifications are of no great import ; fort St. Andrew and a small battery, guard the entrance of the river on the east side ; and York redoubt on the opposite or west bank. There are two entrances into the river, one on each side of Crab Island, which is reserved by the colonial government for erecting a fort that will completely command the passage into the river, and from being an island, will be easier and much better defended than the present fort. Crab Island is about two miles in circumference, and might be made a very defensible post ; but that would not avail much, as whatever the fate of Demerary is, that of Berbice must be the same, from their being so contiguous ; the former once in possession of any power, would soon over-run the latter by troops, which could march overland ; the convenient ferries stationed at all the creeks and rivers for the passage of horses and carriages, would afford a conveyance to any force sent for that purpose, and although the sovereignty of the colony might be for a while contested in the strongholds and fortresses, it could not last long, the very nature of the situation would oblige the garrison to surrender, or be starved out. For these and other obvious

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reasons, Berbice has regularly capitulated to the British, after Demerary had surrendered.

The same field for speculators and adventurers presented itself here, as in the other colonies. The west coast was first put in cultivation, and in 1799 that to the eastward of the river, as far as the Devil's creek, attracted notice, and was quickly transformed from an heavy impenetrable forest to a field of cotton trees. This coast was surveyed, and was cut into two parallel lines of estates with a navigable canal between the two lines, for the convenience of water carriage; behind this second row of estates, runs the stream of the river Canje, the banks of which on both sides are cultivated with sugar, coffee, and plantains. The estates are thus denominated; that line facing the sea are the coast estates, the second line the canal estates, and the other are the Canje.

This is a fine river, and navigable for colony schooners, thirty miles up; it runs nearly in an easterly direction; at the head of it are immense falls and cataracts; about forty miles below these is a creek which connects itself with the Courantine, through which overland dispatches are brought from Surinam by the Indians: no Europeans have, as far as I could learn, ever attempted this lonely track; its ways are long and intricate, and known to few; there are many creeks to cross, for which purpose the Indians travel with a light canoe, which they carry on their shoulders, and which is launched without any trouble as occasion requires. When the colonies are formally ceded to Great Britain by peace, communications from Surinam will soon be opened with these settlements, and if regular mails and stage-coaches should follow, I shall not be surprised. Indeed the opening of a regular communication with Paramaribo, by establishing a ferry over the Courantine, and expending labour on the present rude path, or by digging a canal and establishing drag-schuyts, is a point of the utmost importance to accelerate the improvement of all these colonies. Paramaribo has long been populous; the division of labour is carried farther there than it can be in our newer towns; many of the arts of refinement and luxury are already practised, and would soon carry their accommodations along the road from the metropolis. There is a redundant population, which would come to the relief of our wants, and by setting at liberty a part of the artificers, would supply new cultivators of the ground. I exhort the administrative bodies to complete the road from Stabroek, through New Amsterdam to Paramaribo.

In the Canje are several fine estates, one of which I visited, a coffee plantation that had been in cultivation forty years. The coffee is a beautiful evergreen, which usually rises to a height of nine or ten feet on a smooth grey stem five or six inches diameter. The leaves resemble those of the bay-tree, the flowers those of the jessamin. When the white and fragrant blossoms drop off they leave a small fruit behind, which is green at first, then red, and which contains two seeds or kernels, called coffee. The fruit is gathered by shaking the tree, is received on mats, and laid to dry in the sun, after which operation the husk becomes sufficiently brittle to be crushed with a wooden roller and separated by sifting. The husk has much of the flavour of the kernel; an infusion is made with it which the slaves drink. Coffee plantations have usually a pleasing garden-like and picturesque appearance: none more conspicuously so than that on which I had to stop. It belonged to a Dutchman; every thing appeared in the greatest order; the dwelling-house, an elegant brick mansion, stood in the midst of a garden, which the occupier took the greatest delight in; even the negro cottages were built on brick foundations, neatly boarded, and covered in with shingles. Many grey headed negroes worn with age and labour, were inmates of these comfortable abodes; they had retired from the busy scenes of life to take care of their poultry, while their sons and daughters wielded the shovel and the hoe. Before these huts were several groups, consisting of between forty and fifty negro children, who with sportive playfulness, were passing the time away until the dinner bell should bring their parents from the fields.

Well pleased with this scene, I could not resist the worthy proprietor's invitation of dining with him, though we had never seen each other before: our segars and sangaree previous to dinner, gave to conversation the appearance of a long standing friendship: we interchanged our ideas respecting the slave trade and treatment of negroes; though he was of the old school, he agreed with me. I complimented him on the order and arrangement of his negro-houses, and the number of the children on the estate, as a certain proof of his humanity. I observed that the aged and grey-headed negroes I had seen in the cottages, proved that he had treated them well in their young days, and now that they were past labour, he provided for them with the careful hand of a kind protector; it gave the most indelible test of his being a worthy man. He said he had been in the



colony upwards of forty years, all of which time had been bestowed upon negroes; he had been a proprietor thirty years; he was not affluent, but he underwent personal deprivations to render his negroes comfortable, whose claims he considered preferable to his own; thinking and acting as he did, he was a gainer, his negroes were happy and contented, their work was done with ease, and his estate improved; the produce of that begot a second and a third—"should I not then be a villain to discard or ill-treat my negroes now they are old and past labour. No! no! my friend, I have learnt that humanity is the best policy, and in the end will produce riches." Our sentiments being so congenial, it was late ere I parted from this worthy Dutchman. Having walked from New Amsterdam, my kind host insisted on my taking his tent-boat, which was accordingly manned for the purpose, and I arrived in town at nine o'clock at night, highly gratified with my trip, and pleased with the business which introduced me to such a character in a Dutchman.

The negro population of Berbice is doubled within the last ten years, principally owing to importations of the English merchants and planters, who had extended their concerns and cultivation of the vacant lands. It amounts to about forty thousand souls; one thousand free people of colour, and two thousand five hundred whites. Deprived of the means of augmenting the population of negroes by importation, it has been clearly proved that an average decrement takes place of two per cent. *per annum*, unaided by any other disorders than those which are common to the colonies; the small pox, the yellow fever, or a scarcity\*, such as to render a change of diet necessary, are circumstances which will make the deaths ten per cent. instead of two.

Situated then as these colonies are, it would be almost utter destruction to them to incur an immediate abolition of the slave trade. It must be gradual, a series of years must be allowed for effecting this important object, and proportioning the sexes. Before such a step is taken, the questions for and against it should be canvassed on all sides, and in every form.

The colonies in Guyana, independently of supplies they

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\* The scarcity of colonial provision in 1803, obliged the planters to feed the negroes on flour, rice and maize, which disagreed with them so much, that many of them died of dysenteries and other complaints.

have received from Africa, are daily getting more negroes from the West India islands, some of which being nearly worn out from long cultivation, the proprietors of estates there find it very difficult and expensive to make them produce what they used to do. Circumstanced as they are, working on a withered soil, they are certainly justified in abandoning that land for better in Guyana, where there is such an extensive choice. The natural consequence we are to expect from such a procedure in the course of time, is the total abandonment of the barren islands for the more fertile soil of the continent. The islands I allude to are Curasso, Eustatia, Saba, St. Martins, Tortola, Tobago, Grenada, and St. Vincent, which will be either partially or wholly forsaken in a few years. When I was at Tortola in 1805, there was neither a garrison to defend it, nor a governor to govern it; therefore it is visibly enough seen, that the then ministry did not think the revenue or value of it would warrant the expence of maintaining a regular establishment there. Barbadoes is declining fast in its revenue and productions, but its situation being to windward of all the other islands, and having a good bay, makes it a most desirable place to be retained by our government. It is now the head quarters for the commander in chief, and Carlisle bay affords a secure anchorage for the navy on the station. But the planters of Barbadoes have as much capital employed in the colonies on the continent, as they have actually in Barbadoes; this certainly is a strange assertion to make, but it is no less true, and will always be the case while Guyana presents such a boundless track of country to cultivate; indeed I have no hesitation in saying, that Demerary owes its present situation and importance to Barbadoes. The planters from that island first emigrated with their negroes, and their rapid successes were an inducement for other islands to follow the example. The English planters having so much capital employed there, with other circumstances, was the inducement for the British to take it in 1796, which fully completed what had been so ably begun; the English merchants, struck with the advantages offered them by the capture of the colonies, spared no pains to form establishments and extend cultivation, which eventually raised them to the rank they now hold.

## CHAP. IX.

*Berbice, a distinct Colony—Van Batenburg not a popular Governor—Boundary of Berbice extended in 1799, by his Management—Mutiny of the Dutch Troops during the Author's Stay—Armament of the Indians in behalf of the Inhabitants.*

THE government of Berbice is separate from that of Essequibo and Demerary; this appeared to be a fact unknown to general Grinfield and Sir Samuel Hood, in September 1803, when they demanded, in their summons to his excellency the governor of Essequibo and Demerary, the surrender of Berbice, which he was incapable of granting. In 1796, when the colony capitulated to the British, his excellency Abraham Van Batenburg was retained in his government, until the colony surrendered to the Batavian troops by the peace of Amiens, when he, as an English governor, of course resigned the reins to a provisional government, consisting of two members of the court of police. The Batavian government not having sent an ostensible governor in the establishment intended for Berbice, report named several persons who were to be appointed to the office, it was indeed mentioned that Mr. Van Batenburg, the late governor, was to be reinstated; he certainly took his departure from the colony for Holland, and took England in his way, where the commencement of hostilities obliged him to remain.

Information having reached England that the colonies were again in the possession of the British, it appeared as if the Fates determined Mr. Van Batenburg to be a governor; for he, though a Dutchman, was appointed governor of Berbice, an English colony!! Being provided with powers from the court of St. James, and a commission under his Majesty's sign manual, he arrived in Berbice, and displaced lieutenant-colonel Nicholson, who was appointed for the interim by the commanders of the expedition to whom the colonies surrendered. By the laws of Great Britain, no foreigner can be placed in any ostensible place under government, or appointed governor of any colony, island, place, or any of its dependencies; this was a stretch however of the Addingtonian power, which was

also put in force at Demerary, by sending Mr. Beaujon there, another foreigner, as governor.

Though the government of Berbice is separate from that of Essequibo and Demerary, the code of laws is the same, with some exceptions as to general rules. Governor Van Batenburg, after he was returned to the government of Berbice by the British ministry, has in several instances exceeded his powers, in such a manner as to induce the colonists to come to resolutions, and present a memorial to his Majesty, setting forth their grievances; they also appointed agents in London to carry these measures into execution. The charges preferred were these:

Depriving the colonists of their right and franchise, by an arbitrary dismissal of two members of the court, and appointing others in their stead, without taking the voice of the inhabitants:

Making new laws and regulations respecting the port of Berbice, *without taking the advice of the court of police*, which deprived the merchants and planters from sending their produce to Demerary to be shipped for England, or employed for the discharge of such debts as they might contract in Stabroek for supplies and plantation stores, which could not be procured in Berbice; thereby causing considerable dissatisfaction and jealousy between the two colonies, and an absolute check to receiving farther supplies:

Irregularly administrating the property belonging by capture to the crown of Great Britain, making a mal-appropriation of the proceeds, and converting the labour of the colony negroes to individual advantage, leaving the colonial business undone, and the fortifications almost untenable and incapable of defence at a time when the combined squadrons were in these seas. Various other charges were brought against governor Van Batenburg, which are stated in the resolutions.

The meetings of the colonists were held at one of the taverns in New Amsterdam, which by the unjustifiable mandates of the said governor, was thereupon closed, thus depriving an industrious man of the only means he had of obtaining a livelihood. No other pretext was given for this proceeding, than that the tavern keeper refused obeying his excellency's order for not permitting any seditious meetings at his house. Another step which the governor took to harass and exert his power over the planters, was to make an immediate demand upon them for "*acre geldt*," viz. acre

money, to the levy of which the recent extension of boundary had in no small degree augmented his rights.

When Surinam capitulated to the British in August, 1799, his excellency, governor Van Batenburg, went there to negotiate with governor Frederici, respecting the land between the Devil's Creek and the Courantine; and on his return he made the result known, which was, that Surinam had conceded to Berbice the track of country between the Devil's Creek and the river Courantine. This addition of territory was a favourable circumstance for Berbice. The sea coast extending nearly fifty miles, and the west bank of the Courantine was immediately surveyed and laid out into regular allotments; and though grants could not be obtained for them from Holland, and the British government would not interfere in them, the governor and court of police gave sufficient recommendations, or provisional grants, which induced speculators and adventurers to commence their labours. Carriage roads were now made, and communications were opened with the Courantine, the west bank of which river soon participated in the cultivation of the sea-coast: the former in coffee and plantations, and the latter in cotton. Nothing was now wanting to proceed to Surinam by land, but the same active exertions on that side the Courantine, which the Berbice planters had manifested on their part.

British capital, industry, and perseverance, had accomplished in eight years, what would not have been done by any other means in half a century. They had populated and brought into an useful state, a track of country which appeared by nature attached to the sea, a low marshy sea-coast, covered with overgrown timber and underwood, and inundated by every rising tide, was now transformed into a colony, bestowing riches on its founders, and support to several thousand individuals. The extent of this land, stolen, if I may use the term, from the sea, is one hundred and fifty miles between the Demerary and Courantine. Carriage roads were made upon it sixty feet broad, with six foot parapets on each side for the convenience of travelling.

The exertions of the British on the Essequibo and Pomeroon coasts, met with equal eventual success, but the consequences were not so rapid: they had to contend against many local inconveniences which the Berbiceans had not.

During 1803, when Berbice was in possession of the Batavian republic, and under the provisional government, the Dutch troops there felt all the miseries which bad food, bad

barracks, bad pay, and bad medical attendance could possibly impose : the ravages made on them by the climate, aided by the other circumstances, rendered their situation indeed deplorable, even worse than that of the troops in Demerary. Remonstrances followed each other without avail ; they were disregarded and treated with neglect. A party was even made among the officers ; some sided with the claims of the men, others with the commanding officer. The neglect of the government, and the unrelenting mandates of colonel Matthias, their commandant, soon bred contempt ; and an utter disrespect to orders was followed by a mutiny, which obliged the commandant and a few followers, to evacuate fort St. Andrew, and take possession of the government house, which was fortified : from this post they were obliged to retreat precipitately to York redoubt, on the opposite side of the river, whence dispatches were sent to Demerary and Surinam, with an account of their situation. The soldiery at Demerary were little better inclined, from their horrid treatment, than the mutineers ; however, a hundred men, all that could be trusted, were sent to Berbice, under the command of major Van Hamers, to co-operate with those at York redoubt. The mutineers were headed by one of their own captains, who imprudently, rather than wisely, joined them, with a view of obtaining by force, a redress of their grievances : they behaved uncommonly well to all the colonists, especially the English ; the provisional governors were put under an arrest, and the sentinel who was placed over them, having allowed them to escape, was immediately shot by the mutineers. They hoisted an English jack at the fort, with a piece of beef placed on the head of the flag staff, and sent a deputation to a respectable English planter, to request he would take the government of the colony on himself, and that the troops would enter into the British service, and defend the colony until forces could arrive from Barbadoes to take possession : these offers were, of course, mildly rejected ; they, however, received the thanks of many individuals, for their conduct to the inhabitants, which was uniformly good.

Important business called me to Berbice at this time, and on the 7th May, 1803, having provided myself with a passport, I embarked on board a sloop belonging to a free negro called La Rose. At six o'clock in the morning the tide answered, there was little wind, but the stream of the Demerary soon swept us outside the mouth of the river,

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where we caught a breeze from the N. E. which continued all day. I retired into the cabin, where I amused myself with smoaking and reading till evening. I then went on deck to enjoy the refreshing breeze, and about eleven P. M. discovered the river Berbice: we immediately shaped our course for the west entrance of the river, to get under the protection of the York redoubt, when we were boarded by a boat from the *Serpent* Batavian schooner of war, who took a pilot from us to bring in some vessels outside the bar from Surinam, with troops on board. Soon after that we were brought to by a gun from the battery, who ordered us to anchor at the ferry, and not go over to New Amsterdam, as the insurgents fired at every boat that crossed. I was of course happy to be under any protection, being the only white man on board the sloop, and therefore landed at the ferry at mynheer D'Hanckar's. Before my servant could bring my portmanteau and writing desk on shore, the vessel with all her hands, were pressed to convey troops from the vessels outside the bar to this place. Mynheer D'Hanckar's I found was the head quarters of colonel Matthias and officers. Major Van Hamers too, and the troops from Demerary, were also here, and mustering thus early, two o'clock in the morning, in order to cross the river to attack the fort. A council of war was sitting to determine on the propriety of this measure, without waiting for the co-operation of the Surinam forces: major Van Hamers and the officers under him were impatient for an immediate attack, that their troops might have the honour of quelling the insurrection, thinking no doubt that news of troops having arrived from Surinam, would be sufficient to induce the mutineers to surrender to an inferior force. Before day light, therefore, the troops from Demerary were embarked on board the *Serpent*, which got under weigh at five A. M. the wind was against their getting over, and exposed them to a galling fire from the mutineers, directed from the government house and fort St. Andrew. In tacking too close in shore on the west side the river, the *Serpent* grounded, and was obliged to remain until the flood made, when she floated, and was joined by two colony schooners, with troops from the Surinam vessels. During the whole of this day (8th May) a continual fire was kept up between the two forts. The fire from the mutineers was ill directed, and the guns of York redoubt fell short in their distance, therefore no harm was done by this sort of warfare. At four P. M. the vessels got under weigh to make another attempt on

the town and government house : they were obliged to edge up the river to keep out of gun-shot reach, which were fired without intermission by the mutineers ; they however effected a landing above New Amsterdam.

Government house was evacuated, and the insurgents retreated across the Canje ; they were pursued by a party of the Surinam troops, when a partial engagement took place ; the troops crossed the Canje, but were soon obliged to retreat ; the mutineers having extended themselves on both sides the road in a field of cotton, fired upon them from their place of ambush, as a company of riflemen ; several were wounded and one life lost ; none of the insurgents, as it appeared afterwards, were hurt in this affray. The 9th of May was employed in collecting the remainder of the forces from Surinam, and the evening was the appointed time for making an attack on the fort ; the *Serpent* was to attempt a landing of troops on the side next the river, while a strong body was to attack it on the land side ; little doubt was entertained for the success of this plan. The following morning, captain Van Evers, commanding the troops from Surinam, very politely offered me a conveyance across the river in his boat, which I accepted ; we were obliged to land a considerable way above New Amsterdam, to keep out of the reach of the shot, which were flying in all directions from the fort ; they were evidently intended against the post at government house, but the artillery was so ill directed, that many of them went into the town, and others obliged the vessels and boats in the river to slip their cables. The burghers were called out to preserve the peace of the town, and two large ships were pressed for the service as prison ships. I was amused by a very novel scene, about two o'clock, which was the arrival of forty canoes in New Amsterdam, full of Indians ; they consisted of upwards of four hundred, and had been collected in different parts of the river by their respective chiefs, to protect the town, and assist the inhabitants to regain possession of the fort. On their landing, they were regularly ranged under their respective chieftains, the canoes were disincumbered of their provisions, and hauled up above high water mark. They were then conducted in separate bodies to outhouses and other buildings which were lent them for quarters. It is needless to say they were well received, and accommodated by the inhabitants with every necessary, which to their wild uncultivated taste was luxury.

The appearance of these native warriors was indeed siz-



gular I have before remarked, that the Indians are low and stout, well made, with long black hair, and strings of beads round their ancles and wrists; the only covering in point of dress is a piece of blue India salem-pores, except the captains or heads of a clan, who are distinguished by a European suit of clothes, and the hereditary or acquired staff of office. Their bows were slung at their backs, accompanied with a quiver full of poisoned arrows, and another pointed at the end with steel, like javelins; in their hands they carried a club about two feet long, considerably larger at one end than the other; the edges are made so very sharp, and the wood being of the hardest kind, that a blow aimed by a person who knows the use of these weapons, is sufficient not only to stun, but to kill a man on the spot.

The Dutch have always been attentive to conciliate the Indians. About the year 1770, general Desalve sent over to Europe from Berbice, an Indian youth, named Weeke, who resided for education at Bergen-op-zoom. He was taught, at his own request, to be something of a tailor, and something of a cook, imagining he could then provide, after the European manner, for his back and for his belly. But finding himself with all his acquirements, no nearer the obtainal of cloth and food, he ceased to value these dexterities. After a year or two, he expressed a longing desire to return to the colony, and was no sooner landed on the shores of Guyana, than he stripped off his European incumbrances, and returned to his native woods, where he ended his days as he began them, among the beloved companions of his youth, in nakedness, idleness, and freedom. Had this lad been apprenticed to a carpenter, or a blacksmith, it is probable he would have found both the means and motive to have used his acquirements at home: these are the mechanic arts which first station themselves among savages, and which become the causes of the succeeding steps in civilization.

The policy of the British government is much to be commended for following the practice of the Dutch, in keeping up the alliance with so faithful and so useful a body of men, at least to the welfare of these colonies, as the Indians are. They are always ready to take the field, and are the foremost to check any disturbance of the negroes; they are also an impediment to their desertion, and from their peregrinations into the interior, and on the borders of the European settlements, are the means of preserving many misguided

wretches, who, in attempting to leave their masters, would find the worst of deaths in an almost impenetrable forest—that occasioned by hunger.

The expence of maintaining a good understanding with our Indian allies, is very trifling; a few hundred pounds in the course of a year, invested in fowling-pieces, gunpowder, knives, hatchets, felling axes, glass beads, India saltpores, and rum, is sufficient. And the presenting of these things to the chieftains, occasions a demand for them among the people. The principal articles we buy of the native Indians are, balsam capivi, bees-wax, letter wood, bows and arrows, canoes, hammocks, monkeys, parrots and parroquets, cassarepo, Indian houses in epitome, and any similar curiosities they bring from the interior. In return for which they receive fish-hooks, looking-glasses, blue and striped cottons, India bafts, corals, and the above-mentioned wares.

A company of soldiers who had taken post at the mouth of Canje river, was attacked by a party of the mutineers, who having covered themselves in some underwood and bushes, obliged the troops to retire, with the loss of one killed and two wounded. During the afternoon of the 10th May, several of the insurgents from the fort surrendered themselves prisoners, and in the evening a proposition was sent to surrender the fort, on conditions which were however refused. Just as the troops were forming themselves to make arrangements for the attack, another courier arrived, to say that the mutineers would give themselves up as prisoners, and stand their trials by court-martial. This was accordingly acceded to, and upwards of three hundred men surrendered, only five of whom were found guilty on their trials, and shot. The captain, who commanded the insurgents, could not be tried in the colony, but was sent to Holland for that purpose, where he was found guilty, and executed. The Indian auxiliaries were gratified by presents of cutlery, were hospitably entertained, and contentedly dismissed.

## CHAP. X.

*Former Services of the Indians to the Colony on the Berbice—Incipient Settlements on the Abary, the Mahacony, and especially the Mahaica—Salubrity of that Settlement—Profits of Cotton-planting—Shock of an Earthquake accounted for—Progress of Settlement on the River Pomaroon—On the Capoya Creek—Rapid Increase of Agricultural Produce.*

THIS late occasion is far from being the only one in which the Carribbees have testified a strong predilection for the planters on the Berbice, and for the general interests of subordination. In the year 1763 an insurrection happened among the slaves of this colony, who rebelled to the amount of several thousands, and massacred a considerable number of the white inhabitants, while the rest fled to fort Nassau, where, fearing their communication with the sea-coast might be obstructed, the then governor, by the advice of his council, precipitately blew up the fort, and retired, with the white inhabitants, on board several merchant-ships in the river, and sailed to its entrance, there to wait for assistance from abroad. This retreat left the rebels in undisturbed possession of the whole colony, and threw the inhabitants of the neighbouring colonies, particularly of Demerary and Essequibo, into the utmost consternation, as they were the most contiguous to Berbice, and apprehended a visit from the rebels, which must have been attended with the most unhappy consequences, as their own slaves were at least five times more numerous than the white inhabitants, and betrayed so eager a disposition for revolting, that it was feared they would not have patience to wait for assistance from their brethren in Berbice.

In this critical situation, however, they experienced the advantage of their connection with the subjects of Great Britain, as at this time a ship of war, belonging to Gedney Clarke, Esq. collector of his majesty's customs at Barbadoes, which had been put into commission by admiral Douglas, and was commanded by a lieutenant of the British Navy, arrived with a company of marines, and another of soldiers, raised at the expence of Mr. Clarke, who was proprietor of several plantations in Demerary, as were several other gentlemen of Barbadoes. This armament effectually

frustrated the rebellious designs of the slaves in Demerary, and the civil dissensions among the rebels of Berbice diverted them from their intended visit. In the interim, however, the governor of Berbice received a body of soldiers from Surinam, and several armed vessels from the islands of Curasso and St. Eustatia, with which he sailed up the river, and took possession of the Dauger-head, a large plantation belonging to the West India Company, where he maintained himself till the arrival of an armament from Holland; when the rebels were soon driven into the woods, whence hunger, and the arrows of the Indians, obliged them to return, and seek an asylum in their former slavery. Several hundreds of the chief promoters of this insurrection were however burnt, or broke on the wheel, with all the various species of cruelty for which the Dutch were then notorious. Before this, however, several hundreds of the Caribbee Indians were, by the governor of Essequibo and Demerary, engaged to take up arms against the rebels, whom they not a little harassed, concealing themselves in the woods by day, and setting fire to their houses in the night, by shooting arrows fired at the point among the troölies with which they were thatched, and then killing the negroes as they fled out in confusion.

The Indians have a sincere dislike and contempt for the blacks; considering them apparently as an inferior race, born like cattle, to labour for the service of their betters. Of the rights of intellect to exert control, they have an instinctive conviction; and are still less scrupulous than the Europeans, about the means of maintaining ascendancy. With them, tenderness begins where fear ends; there is in all their affections, a something of contempt; it is extended to women, to children, to the young, rarely to the adult. They are grateful to the most punctilious honour; but, like people who feel an obligation as an indignity, and who, being defied to an emulation of good offices, wish to surpass in them. A white planter, in this district, who showed hospitality to a travelling Indian family, of which the woman happened to lie in at his house, was called on a year after by the husband, and presented with a beautiful female slave, the booty of a remote campaign. The negroes, on the contrary, have a something fawning in their affection, like men who solicit, and not who vouchsafe protection.

Between the Berbice and the Demerary, there are three small rivers, the Abary, the Mahaicony, so called from the

mahogany trees on its banks, and the Mahaica, which has long had a reputation for peculiar salubrity. Military posts have been established there, to which sick soldiers were transferred; strangers attacked with the seasoning, were sent thither for recovery. Experience still supports this character for wholesomeness; and it begins to be considered as an expedient luxury to have a villa on the Mahaica, whither to retire in case of the yellow fever, or other contagion, entering the province. Thus a considerable settlement has been formed. The village of Mahaica is situated on a small river of that name, thirty miles east of Stabroek: it takes its course from that of Demerary, and empties itself into the sea; it is navigable for colony craft twenty miles up, the banks on each side are under cultivation in coffee, cotton, and sugar; the entrance and bar of this river are very dangerous, and cannot be crossed at low ebb. A military post and captain's guard are stationed at the mouth of the river. The ferry and its environs are pleasantly situated. There is in the neighbourhood, a great deal of wood, well adapted for ship-building; and many ship-carpenters are constantly on the spot and at work; but as the sand-banks, at the mouth of the stream, debar exit or entrance to large ships, no considerable constructions can here be completed, and launched with effect. The circumstance of many married families having settled here, makes the society stand high, and indeed unrivalled by any other part of the colonies. Continual parties of pleasure, attended by military music, undertake excursions up the river; sometimes hand-fireworks are exhibited on the water, and every amusement calculated to please, is offered by the hospitable inhabitants of Mahaica, to render their visitors happy. I never enjoyed more than here the luxury of a tropical night, after a heat and glare almost intolerable. A brisk sea-breeze still blew, bringing with the murmurs the coolness of the spray. We ordered our cane chairs under the orange trees, our segars and sangaree; and sat basking in the moonlight and the wind—turning toward the refreshing air—admiring the beautiful serenity of the dark blue sky—the brightness of the stars, distinct at the very horizon—the planet Venus casting a sensible shadow—the moon so luminous as to read by—and the thousands of fire-flies hovering about the shrubs, or shaken in sparkling showers from the boughs. The faces of the negroes gladden—the sprawling groups begin to quench their pipes, to talk, to stir, to laugh, to sing—they are proposing the dance, and will shortly surround

our contemplative repose with the spectacle of graceful activity and cheering enjoyment; their postures are more lascivious than would be thought decent in Europe.

From the ferry a navigable canal is cut, which runs about eight miles up the coast, parallel with the sea, where it is met by another leading from Mahaicony creek; these canals afford considerable advantage to the planters, both in drainage and conveyance of produce and plantation stores, to and from the different harbours or shipping places; though almost every estate has a canal large enough for the reception of a boat, yet there is a degree of danger sometimes attending their getting in; a contrary wind or rough sea are obstacles frequently thrown in their way; if this plan of inland carriage was adopted throughout the colonies, it would be highly beneficial, and might be the means of preventing so many of the colony schooners, that sail coastways, from being taken by the picaroon boats and privateers from the Orinoko, which are fitted out in time of war.

A merchant, in the commencement of 1799, knowing that he should require a large parcel of cotton to ship, of the ensuing crop, made engagements with a planter of Mahaica, to give him two thousand five hundred pounds for the crop of his estate, taking upon himself the risk of its being more or less. The average production for the last two or three years, did not exceed twenty thousand weight, which made it evidently a risk for the purchaser. However, the goodness of the season soon recompensed him, and before two months of the crop time was expired, a larger quantity of corn was picked, than was necessary to pay the purchase money. By considerable attention and assiduity in hiring and giving rewards to the negroes for their exertions, and by complimenting the manager with half a pipe of wine, a larger crop was made than the most sanguine expectation could have suggested. It amounted to sixty thousand weight, and gave a profit to the purchaser of six thousand pound sterling. This fortunate hit, with others of a similar sort, which extended themselves throughout the colonies, gave an additional zest to cotton planting, many of the planters of that article were enabled to pay off their encumbrances, and retired to live in England on the produce of their estates. Hence it is said, that one good crop in five, makes a cotton planter's fortune. These circumstances, combined, certainly tended to increase the cultivation of cotton, and were the means of inducing more settlers and speculators to reside among us.

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A shock arising from an earthquake at a considerable distance toward the interior, was felt here and at Stabrock, on the 10th of December, 1802. It was still more sensible along the Essequibo, but not at all in the Berbice : so that it must have come from a south-west direction, and have nearly spent itself. These shocks are not unfrequent, but they seldom do harm in the flat country. They seem to arise from some efforts in the land to lift itself higher, and to grow upwards; for the land is constantly pushing the sea, (which of course must retain the same level) to a greater distance; the inundations of the interior are less frequent, the tides extend less far, and the coast estates, as they are called, become inland property. The incessant efforts of crystallization thrusting its innumerable wedges under the foundations of the mountains, or some other less obvious fossil processes, may cause this gradual elevation of whole continents. The area of lifted land in order to fill, at a higher level, the surface of globe which it formerly covered, must diverge, and crack into perpendicular fissures. This operation seems to be the cause of earthquake, and is universally accompanied, as far as I can learn, with the ingulphment or absorption of large quantities of water, and sometimes with the subsidence of the sides of the fissures. This constant shooting upwards of the land, which is so sensible in the West Indies, has been little heeded by European mineralogists.

The mineralogy of Guyana is a subject still less investigated. It cannot be doubted that within water carriage of our settlements, there must be limestone rocks : lime, or rather its material, has been so profusely scattered by nature, that it forms the basis of the exterior hills, in almost all ridges of mountains. Yet we import, from Europe, the lime which we use in the sugar manufactory. How vast an economy would result from providing and burning it at home. The very shells on our coast would supply the requisite quantity of lime, if it were thought worth while to collect and to burn them. But it seems to be the intention of nature that every people should have something to fetch from a distance, in order to unite, by the ties of commerce, the distant quarters of the world. Agriculture still offers a boundless and a profitable field of employment; the other arts are seldom domesticated, until a superfluous population begins to become inquisitive for the means of earning a subsistence.

The high price of land on the east coast of Demerary

had advanced so much, as soon induced adventurers with a small capital, to seek for other lands at a distance from Stabroek, which from that circumstance could be purchased at a much lower price. An extensive range of sea coast to the westward of Essequibo, called the Arabische coast, and Pomaroon river, and the coast contiguous to it, presented themselves as eligible situations for cultivation, and accordingly a number of adventurers found settlements there, which are at this time held in as high estimation for the production of cotton as any land in the colonies. The west coast of Pomaroon juts on the boundary of the Orinoko, where there is a military post established.

Since the English took possession of the colonies, they have cultivated the whole of that coast, extending upwards of fifty miles, and are now making estates on the banks of the Pomaroon, which river is half a mile broad at its entrance, and is difficult of access from projecting banks of mud on each side, and a bar of the same consistency, which runs across, prevents any vessels entering drawing more than nine feet water.

Up the edges of this river the melancholy traces of ancient cultivation and abandoned residences, are frequently apparent. Above the fork, formed by the junction of the Harlipyak with the Pomaroon, the Hollanders had formerly three settlements of some extent. Fort Zealand, which the English destroyed in 1666; Middleburg, which at the same period was plundered and abandoned; and Harlipyak, which borrowed or lent the name of the contiguous stream. The present English system of cultivation begins with the lands nearest to the sea; but the Dutch, probably from the fear of those buccaneering expeditions, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had given a specimen, at the expence of the Spanish settlers in Guyana, began, but fruitlessly, their establishments at the interior extremity of the lowlands, and as far up the different rivers as they found the navigation convenient and the soil docile. I trust it will not be long before the British have covered the reproachful traces of ruin and desertion, with new dwellings and wider cultivation.

The estates already made between the Essequibo and Pomaroon rivers, are variously valued from five to eighty thousand pounds sterling, each, according to the extent of cultivation, number of buildings, &c. &c. This coast possesses a considerable advantage over the other sea coasts, from its being able to rear any quantity of plantains, the



land being so very luxuriant and rich, while those estates on the east coast of Demerary, are obliged to purchase plantains *weekly* in the river, and keep a craft employed in conveying them for the support of the negroes.

The plantain or bannanna tree, is a native of Guyana, and produces fruit nine months after planted; it is about ten feet high: one plant produces three or four stems, which grow perfectly straight, but are cut down within six inches of the ground, after the fruit is gathered, and in succession, it produces another crop. A plantain has nearly the shape of a parsnip or carrot, but continues of equal circumference to both ends, and is guarded from the rays of the sun by a thick peel or skin; when roasted it is more like bread than any other vegetable, and is produced in bunches, which weigh from fifty to seventy pounds.

The only usual species of grain are the maize, or Indian corn, which produces six weeks or two months after planted; and the Guinea corn, which only yields one or two crops in a year. The Guinea and Scotch grass are cultivated in preference to hay, and produce abundance of fodder for cattle; negroes are employed regularly in cutting grass for the supply of the town, which they dispose of for a shilling per bundle.

Cotton is the only produce which this Pomaroon coast avails itself of to any degree of excellence, for which purpose it is equally as good as any other land in the colonies. Of sugar and coffee there are estates, but neither answer so well as cotton, from the land being too rich and saline. It is a fact, that the land improves with every crop that is taken off, as does also the quality of its production. The cultivators and settlers of this coast had a great deal to contend with in accomplishing what they have; a marshy track of country, covered with immense heavy bush, was entirely to be drained, cleared, and planted by new negroes; and the first settlers were so scattered about, as to be ten and fifteen miles from each other, or any cultivated estates: and then, the only method of getting to them was by a boat or canoe, by which means they were also obliged, for the first year, to convey their plantains, till they could have their own planted. The planters and negroes were also in the first instance, obliged, until they could build temporary huts, to sleep in the open air, with their hammocks hung between two trees. This was a pretty hard trial for both negroes and master, but nothing to what they are continually obliged to bear in the settlement of new estates.

They had not very liberal encouragement, as the east coast planters had examined the land, and declared it incapable of producing cotton, and would not answer cultivating.

The new adventurers were stimulated by a desire to excel, and by industry and perseverance, soon got a crop off, but which, from the richness of the soil and youngness of the trees, did not produce as much as was expected, from their growing more into wood and branches, than pod; they then took in more land, and planted with cotton and plantains; the trees which yielded before, had now grown to a proper age, and the ensuing crop sufficiently repaid them, by producing a quarter of a pound of cotton per tree; and indeed at the end of six years, these estates improved themselves, and would produce tree for tree, as much as the east coast. This gave general satisfaction, though the east and west coast planters still have a little sparring. In 1799 and 1800, the rage for cotton-planting was greatly increased by the largest crops ever known to be produced in the colonies; and the price it fetched at market exceeded every former limit. From the season being so very favourable, it was computed that every tree produced a pound of net cotton, although the general average is never calculated at more than one-fourth.

The price in the English markets, gradually advanced from two shillings and sixpence to four shillings per pound, and almost all the large crop fortunately arrived for sale, and benefited by the rising prices. The crop commenced in September, and continued, with little or no intermission, until July following; and such was the immense blow and quantity of cotton on the trees, that a great deal was lost and blown away before it could be picked. Many estates hired negroes at three, four, and five shillings per day, under an idea of preserving the cotton, by picking it in time, and on Sundays, those negroes who were willing to work, were paid in the same proportion by their proprietors. Negroes too belonging to sugar and coffee estates, willingly hired themselves for that day, to pick cotton for the neighbouring plantations.

From several transactions which came under my inspection, I had an opportunity of knowing that considerable profitable speculations were made by the merchants, who purchasing at a low price, shipped the cotton so as to meet the market in England just described. Two, three, and even four thousand pounds have been cleared by one shipment.

The Kapoya creek, which lies between the Essequibo and

the Pomaroon, is also beginning to exhibit its villas, its logies, its sugar-houses, and its windmills; but the established set of crops are raised every where in the same way, and few attempts are made to enrich the country by new articles of produce. A great service might be rendered us by the introduction of some East India plants—of the bamboo for instance—which is applicable to so many mechanical purposes of common life, and which some of the lascars in Trinidad could teach us to employ. Its natural soil is on the delta of rivers, in such mud islands as we inhabit.

It appears to me, that a distinct *exploiteur* ought to be appointed for each of the rivers, and that the grants of land ought all to be made on the principle of an increasing quit-rent. The local officers might in some degree depend on a central institution at Paramaribo, an arrangement which could easily be made instrumental to the revenue of the state, and to the comfort of individuals. Perhaps the Courantyne offers the most expedient field for the next enterprises of plantation. Its contiguity to the Surinam would afford great facilities in the supply of the first wants, both of provision and construction; and its settlement would complete an inland communication between all the English colonies in Guyana.

The importation into Liverpool in 1796, of cotton, from the Essequibo and Demerary, was six thousand bales, since which time the quantity has gradually increased, and in 1804, amounted to twenty-four thousand nine hundred and seventy bales. The increase also into the ports of London, Glasgow, and Bristol, have been upon the same extensive scale.

## CHAP. XI.

*Increase of Sugar Estates, as well on the Coast as in the Rivers—Expensive Undertakings—Seasoned Negroes—Sailors and Tradesmen imported from the Islands on advantageous terms to themselves—Circumstance which occurred at the Sale of an African Cargo—Proof of Gratitude in Negroes—A melancholy Story—Task Gangs—Wood Cutters—Visit to an Eccentric Character—Account of his Establishment.*

MOST of the emigrants from the West India islands have hitherto engaged themselves principally in sugar planting, by which means the number of estates for that article are increased five to one. The genius of the Dutch could never thoroughly dive into the proper method of manufacture, and, for want of capital to carry their measures into effect, they almost all failed, and never arrived to any perfection.

Such was the rage for making sugar estates, which our islanders had introduced into the colony, that several were founded at an enormous expence on the sea coast. This land was always considered too saline, and the difficulty, from the shallowness of the water, in landing the heavy articles required for the buildings, such as bricks, lime, mill timber and frames, coppers, stills, and iron work, made the old colonists fearful of engaging in such an undertaking, until the enterprising and dashing Englishmen launched into it, and boldly sunk, in accomplishing their object, some thirty, forty, and fifty thousand pounds, in making a plantation. One gentleman from the islands, purchased three sugar estates of foreigners, valued at one hundred thousand pounds, sixty of which he paid in bills on London, at sixty and ninety days sight; the balance was paid in equal instalments, with interest. I mention this circumstance merely to give an idea of the individual speculation which was carried on at the time of the surrender, under the idea of the colonies being kept by Great Britain at peace.

Seasoned and valuable negroes, used to plantation work, were imported in considerable numbers from the West Indies, to assist in agriculture. Men brought up and used

to the sea, were also brought over to instruct our negroes in the management of the colony boats and craft. Many of them were free, who engaged themselves for that purpose, and others were sold on most advantageous terms to themselves; so that after a certain period of service they were entitled to their freedom and wages. Some of them besides being provided with provisions and grog, received three joes, or five pounds ten shillings sterling per month, which eventually enabled many an individual to purchase a share of his master's boat, or to get one for himself, in which case he would be as a carrier or droger, to those estates which did not keep craft of their own. If he was a careful industrious servant, his employer generally found it for his interest to take him into partnership, or allow him a proportion of the profits arising from his carrying for other estates. In a similar way were negro and mulatto tradesmen, such as carpenters, bricklayers, coopers, mill-wrights, tailors, and shoemakers, induced to come over and settle among us. These people, of course, worked under the direction of white merchants, who had been engaged and brought over from England and Scotland, but principally from the latter. By these means, we not only increased our number of good tradesmen by importation, but induced many of our own negroes to become such, by apprenticing them to that trade they preferred; young boys from the age of twelve to fifteen, were generally fixed on for that purpose, and it has been remarked of the African negroes, that those of the Congo and Elbo nations were the better adapted, and quicker at acquiring a knowledge of a trade, than any others. I knew a carpenter, who had from fifteen to twenty boys belonging to different people, that were articed to him for two, three, and four years. I cannot conceive for what reason such long apprenticeships to the mechanic arts have been introduced in England. The rudest African learns in three years any of the common handiworks; and can the European, accustomed from his childhood to see them exercised, and to handle their tools and their wrought ware, require more than double the time? It is a great oppression to a young man to find his labour, from eighteen to twenty-one, has been contracted for by his parents at half its value.

I once witnessed a curious debate between two negro boys, in a sale room where the cargo of an African ship was landed. I observed all of them dancing and singing previous to getting their dinners, except these two boys, who were

apart from the rest, and appeared, from their manner of speaking and gesture, to be talking on some very interesting subject. I was induced to draw nearer them, when the eldest of the two explained to me, by signs and broken English, (which he had acquired in some of the factories on the coast of Africa, and from the sailors in the course of his passage) that the other boy was afraid he was going to be sold to white men to be eaten ; while he had been attempting to impress on his mind, that the intention of his being brought there, was to work. I soon eased the boy's mind, by taking him into the yard, where there were some carpenters at work, and putting a hammer into his hand, made him to understand that he was to learn to build houses and work with the carpenters : at which he began hammering and knocking away to shew his willingness, then ran to me and hugged me, pointed to my mouth and then to himself, at which I shook my head with abhorrence. The poor fellow was remarkably pleased at my assurance that we were not cannibals, and I had soon the pleasure of seeing him join his comrades in their dancing and singing, with a heart free from care. The next day I had an opportunity of getting him a good purchaser, who at my request, made him a carpenter. I frequently saw him afterwards, and he always thanked me with apparent gratitude, for what I had done for him. The other being a clever quick lad, was taken by the person who had the sale of the cargo, and intended for a cook, but not liking such a dull inactive life, he preferred being a sailor, and was accordingly, through my interference, put into a colony boat for that purpose. I was afterwards often with him at sea, and always had reason to believe he would do any thing in his power to serve me. When my segars were done, in consequence of being out longer than I expected, from contrary winds or other causes, Jem, for that was his name, has frequently deprived himself of his leaf tobacco, to make me segars. I am fully convinced he saved my life, by extricating me from a situation I had imprudently placed myself in one day while bathing : I got nearly out of my depth, and from not being able to swim, the current, which was running at the rate of six miles an hour, quite overpowered me, and prevented my return to shore. Jem, who was on board the schooner, which was at that time lying aground at the point of Walkenaam island, at the mouth of the Essequibo river, where the circumstance happened, perceived my situation, plunged into the water, and succeeded in getting

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me alongside, where with the assistance of the small boat, he brought me on board, heartily tired with my bathing excursion, and my arms, neck, and shoulders, completely blistered by the sun. At another time I had an opportunity of seeing him particularly active in attempting to save the captain of the schooner, a white man, who unfortunately fell overboard. We were going very fast at the time before the wind; the small boat happened to be towing astern; Jem and another negro jumped in and cut the tow rope, but their good intent was frustrated, it was too late, the watery deep had closed over him. When the accident happened it was nearly dark, we came to anchor, and hoisted a lanthorn at the mast head, as a signal for the boat to find us. It was a long two hours before it returned from the fruitless search, in which time, however, I could not but remark how much the remaining negroes were affected, and admired their assiduity in providing something warm and nourishing for the captain, in case he should be taken up, an event they expected, from his being such a good swimmer, until the boat returned, when their disappointment and grief were excessive. These circumstances tended to raise the African race high in my estimation, and satisfied me that gratitude and affection could be made prominent features in their disposition, when properly treated and soothed. I am convinced their's is a character but superficially known, and is worthy of a particular investigation.

From an increase of cultivated extent of country, employment for negroes of course followed, and as those planters who began with small capitals, were debarred the advantage of stocking their estates with a sufficient number of labourers, the most expedient plan for accomplishing their work, was to hire negroes. Managers and overseers of estates are always enabled by frugality, to save as much from their salaries as to purchase a negro, whom they let or hire out to work. The next year they can purchase two, and the year after, two more. In this progressive manner, many men have laid the foundation of fortunes. The possession of one negro, has eventually made them owners of fifteen or twenty, at which time they are formed into a task gang; which is so called from its undertaking to do a specific quantity of work, such as clearing and preparing so many acres of land, draining and planting the same; which they are paid for by the acre. Many of these gangs are in existence, and are of great utility to new settlers. Some of them have fixed residences up the rivers and creeks, and when plantation

work does not offer, are employed in timber cutting for the building of houses, mill frames, and various other uses so constantly in request on estates. In Europe, the abolition of vassalage seems to have grown out of the institution of task gangs. The guilds of the burghers, which prepared the way for all the chartered liberties of the people, were originally purse clubs, founded to prevent the artisans from becoming chargeable in seasons of distress, to the landlord on whose estate they were born. If our task gangs were encouraged by the government, to appropriate a part of their earnings for the attainment of a like independence, companies of free labourers would insensibly be formed, and only agriculture would remain a servile occupation.

We export to the islands a large quantity of mill timbers, for the erection of sugar works. The forests also supply us in a great measure with shingles, wallaba staves, and hoops, for sugar hogsheads. The fuel which is used in the manufacture of sugar and distillation of rum, we also provide ourselves with in abundance; whereas the estates in the West India Islands are obliged to use coals. The valuable woods are sometimes exported to England for the cabinet-makers. A considerable quantity of our hard woods, especially the teteuna and sieurbally, are sawed into planks for the boat builders' use; they are most esteemed for that purpose. A flat-bottomed boat, called a punt, is much used in the rivers, creeks, and canals, for the conveyance of produce; they are square at both ends, and will not live at sea.

The Dutch, as I have before stated, generally live in sumptuous elegant houses, and in other respects, in a manner which fully proves they are set down for life. Having, however, one day, some business to transact with mynheer Vos, of Essequibo, I was convinced this was not, like many other things, a general rule without an exception. Mynheer V. possesses an unincumbered estate worth twenty thousand pounds, has no other relative in the world, than a natural daughter by an Indian, to leave it to; he is between sixty and seventy, and came to the colony as a common soldier about 1770. He contrived, while in that situation, by buying and selling little articles, to amass so much as to purchase his discharge, and to reserve a few hundred guilders to trade on. With them he purchased a sloop-boat, hired a negro, and commenced regular hoopman, or buckster, by selling on those estates he went to, such articles as he had: and after a week or two's cruise, he would return to



town and replenish his stock for another trading voyage. This course of life he continued for many years, without having any regular house; he met with several reverses of fortune, and once or twice was nearly ruined by the loss of his little cargoes, from the vessel's getting ashore on the sand banks at the mouth of the Essequibo, where, to lighten his boat, he was obliged to throw the cargo overboard. These mishaps did not damp his ardour, but on the contrary, proved a stimulus. He now built himself a hut on the west coast of Demerary, which was intended for a repository of merchandize. His water excursions became more periodical, and he carried, at one time, only a part of his wares, to be freer from risk. The profits of trade were next invested in the surer enterprises of agriculture. In 1785, he purchased the land where he now lives, consisting of five hundred acres, and commenced the arduous task of clearing it of the heavy forest trees and bush, with three negroes and himself.

The singularities of this man are many, as such I shall make no apology for animadverting on those the most striking and characteristic. The intention of my visit to him was to receive a thousand pounds, which was then due on his note. I was surprised, in the first instance, on my arriving at the middle path of his estate, or road, leading to the buildings, at not seeing any bridge, or the least trace of one, over the ditch which was cut across for conveying the water off. How in the name of convenience, has this man, thought I to myself, lived here twenty years without feeling the want of a bridge; thinking, however, was of no avail, I leaped my horse over, and followed. The shadow of a footpath, indistinctly perceptible from being overgrown by weeds and grass, led me to a negro hut, where I inquired for the house of the proprietor, expecting that it would be hid from the road in some rural retreat or grove of orange trees. Judge my surprise, when an old Indian woman came to the door, and told me in a jargon of wretched English and Dutch, that this was mynheer's residence, and that he was in the field with the negroes. I alighted, and desired he might be called. Cudgo, an old negro, superintending others in cleaning cotton, took my horse, and Miss Vos, commonly called Quasheba, a yellow buckeen girl, with long black hair, about the age of twelve or thirteen, and without shoes, was sent for her father. The Indian woman, who proved to be her mother, now insisted on my walking in, out of the sun. I was accordingly shewn into a sort of

apartment, indeed the only one there was, which served for parlour, dining-room, chamber, and kitchen; in fact, this was a room for every purpose.

I was now seated on a bench, and left to ruminate. The roof of the house was covered in with plantain leaves, time had made several apertures in it, which admitted air, rain, or sun, as it occurred; the sides and gable-ends were secured by manicole trees, split and slightly tied together. The light was admitted by a wooden shutter, which was kept open by a piece of stick. The roof afforded a favourable retreat for centipedes, scorpions, and cockroaches, and the ants, which were creeping about the clay floor, seemed to be the only scavengers of the habitation. A large carpenter's chest contained all his pantry, and kitchen utensils; an old deal table, two stools, and a bench, completed the scanty furniture; save two or three empty gin-cases, whose flasks were converted into water-bottles. A hammock was slung from the cross beams, and a mattress stuffed with plantain leaves and covered with cotton bagging, was lying in one corner. A hogshead of salt fish, a barrel each of salt beef, tobacco, and salt, had been rolled into another. To this variety of articles, must also be added, to make up the inventory, a few smoked queriman, which were extended from the ceiling, twenty or thirty bunches of plantains, and several thousand ears of Indian corn or maize, with three or four old shovels. Scarcely was there such a collection of filth, vermin, household furniture, plantation stores, and provisions, ever got together before. The other end of the building was occupied by sick negroes, who were then employed in picking and cleaning cotton; the centre was filled with ginnies, machines used for separating the seed from the wool. I was soon driven from my seat by some dirt which fell on my head from the ceiling: on looking up, I discovered several chickens sitting on the beams, which accounted for it. There appeared to be a considerable quantity of stock feeding about the house, such as turkies, ducks, fowls, cabboretts, and pigs, which, on inquiry afterwards, I found to belong to the Indian lady of the mansion.

I was soon apprised of mynheer Vos's arrival, by his blowing a shell at the door to call his negroes in to dinner; after which he made his appearance, gave me a most cordial shake of the hand, as is the custom of the country, and inquired after my health; we were obliged to hold the conversation in our respective languages.

I will attempt a description of his person and dress. He is nearly six feet high, very thin and emaciated; his face, hands, and feet, for he had no shoes on, bore strong marks of the climate, much wrinkled, and the colour of a piece of tanned leather; his chin was graced with a month's length of beard. His hat, made of plantain leaves, was very broad in the brim, he had a pipe in his mouth, about two inches long in the tube, which was perfectly blacked from frequent application to the fire; an umbrella, which he carried in his hand, was covered with a thin sort of brown dowlas, not much unlike Scotch Cambrugh. The jacket and trowsers were made of Russia duck, which, with a checked shirt, comprised the whole of his dress. This grotesque figure, however, received me with the utmost cordiality, and getting a gin-bottle from the chest, offered me a sapie, which he had poured into a calabash, but this I declined accepting; however, drink with him I must, and therefore preferred a little lemonade, which was made with lime-juice and molasses, and then strained through a piece of cotton bagging. We then went to business. Mynheer made me half a hundred apologies for the trouble I had had in calling for the money, as it was his intention to come to Stabroek to pay it; he had just sold his cotton for a bill of ninety days sight, for the amount I wanted; and taking an old Dutch writing-desk, of the fifteenth century, from under the table, asked me for his *acceptatie*, (note of hand), which I accordingly gave him, when he presented me with a set of drafts, on a respectable house in London, for one thousand pounds. I then took some more of his lemonade, and called for my horse, which he insisted on leading over the ditch at the road-side, where we parted, mutually satisfied, at least I was so, with my visit.

This curious mixture of European industry, arithmetic, and frugality, with a Caribbee indifference to luxury, grace, and accommodation, is perhaps the form toward which the back-settlers of these districts insensibly tend. By degrees the whole class of planters, who can live like Westphalian boors, in the same apartment with their pigs and horses, will find that by ceding the fee-simple of an estate just brought into cultivation, and by constantly breaking up fresh lands, they can increase their property more rapidly than by a stationary industry. Whenever we have a regular set of wood-clearers, or primary settlers, the progress of colonization in Guyana will be as rapid as in the most fertile parts of North America. European emigrants will land at the

sea ports, and accommodate themselves with the completer properties in the neighbourhood of the great town, and within reach of the luxuries they want : but their descendants will learn the simpler manners and more natural habits of the old indigenous nations, and will carry into the interior, the useful and the profitable without the unnecessary arts.

To the natives of lower Germany, this whole province is well adapted, and is peculiarly inviting. Their own language, manners, and system of vassalage, has, in a great degree been already naturalized here by the Dutch ; so that emigrants from Bremen or the Hanoverian territory, would feel less strange, and have less to learn and to alter, in order to adapt themselves to the colony, than any other Europeans. The English must, perhaps, be excepted, whose predominance is astonishing, considering the novelty of their footing ; and who seem already to counterpoise the Dutch as a landed interest, and to outnumber them as a mercantile interest.

The progress of Mr. Vos, in about thirty years, from a common soldier to a planter, who can give his daughter a fortune of twenty thousand pounds, has in it little but what hundreds may expect to rival. There must be a constitution superior to the climate and to intemperance ; there must be frugality, industry, perseverance ; there must be some knowledge of writing and accounts, and much alert observation ; yet this progress has been orderly, at no one moment remarkable, nor the effect of luck ; but of permanent causes.

If the young British farmers were aware how various and amusing are our rustic occupations ; how profuse is the profit which attends every little exertion of industry ; how richly productive is the incessant vegetation of our excellent soil and climate ; and how much of natural luxury there is in the habits and gratifications of the civilized planter, they would more commonly migrate to a country, where the fee simple of an estate costs less than the renewal of a lease in England, and where the superintendence of an agricultural concern, confers not merely the rank of a country gentleman, but that baron-like authority over the growing population of the vassals, which the ancestors of the country gentlemen enjoyed in England during the feudal ages.

## CHAP. XII.

*Some Account of the Animals—Deer, called Bajeer and Wirrebocerra—Hogs, called Picarre and Warree—Rabbits—Tigers—Armadillo—Apes—Sloth—Porcupine—Laubba—Alligator—Manati—Bats—Guana—Aboma—Small Snakes—Pipa—Lowlow—Barroketa—Peri—Queriman—Galvanic Eel—Sun Bird—Surinam Falcon—Butcher Bird—Mackaw—Acushe—Flamingo—Tigerfowl—Toucan—Spoon Bill—Powese—Marodee—Mock Bird—Rice Bird—Kishee—Insects.*

IT is my intention now to give a concise account of the animals and vegetables which are most worthy attention among the native productions of these colonies. Several animals have been imported which are not natural to any part of America, as the horse, the ass, the zebra, the bull, the cow, the sheep, and the hog. Some of these afford instances of the power of climate in altering the natural qualities of animals, when transported from their own to a foreign country. The bull and the cow grow here to a greater size than in Europe, but what they have gained in size, they have lost in the delicacy of their flesh, which is not so tender or so fine in flavour as that of Europe. The wool of the sheep is converted into hair by the change of climate. Some of these imported animals have got loose and multiplied. In many places large droves of hogs run wild, and in some of the savannahs, the bull and the cow are found in the same wild state.

I am now however to describe the native animals of this country.

There are two kinds of deer, of which the smaller is called wirrebocerra, the largest bajeer. The bajeer, is about the size of an English buck, and is covered by a short hair of a reddish colour, but on the belly white : its head is large, its eyes bright, its ears are long, and hang down, its horns are short and curved, its neck is short, and it has a short thick tail. These animals feed in great numbers in the savannahs of the interior, and frequently approach the plantations, where they are often killed by the native hunters : their flesh is good, but far inferior in delicacy and taste to that of the wirrebocerra.

The wirrebocerra is considerably smaller than the bajeer, and is clothed by a short soft hair of a reddish yellow colour. It is of a very slender make, its legs are slender but strong, and its feet are cloven; its head is small, and without horns, its eyes sharp and piercing, its ears conical, its neck long and arched, and it has a short tail. It is very timid and swift of foot, which protects it from the tigers and other voracious animals. The flesh of the wirrebocerra is considered to be the finest of the deer kind.

The goat is much smaller than that of Europe; its horns are short, slender, and curved downward. In other particulars it is similar to the European goat. It has from three to five kids at a litter.

There are two kinds of hogs, peculiar to tropical America, and very numerous in all parts of Guyana, the picaree and the warree. The warree hog is about the size of a European hog, and much like it in shape. Its tusks are larger, its ears smaller, and its bristles longer and coarser. These animals run in large droves, and their flesh is more delicate than English pork.

The picaree is considerably smaller than the warree. It is covered by yellowish bristles, which are longer and more numerous on the back, and has a light mark coming down on each shoulder. It has short tusks and no tail. On the back, over the hinder leg, is a gland, having a cavity about an inch deep, into which pours a white fluid of a very fetid odour. The picarees go in large herds, are very prolific, and are most frequently to be met with in low marshy places. The flesh of this animal is much admired by the natives, who as soon as they kill them, immediately cut out the gland upon the back, to prevent the meat from being tainted.

The Indian coney, as it is called by the Europeans, or the puccarara, by the natives, is common to all parts of Guyana. It is very like both in size and shape to the hare. Its ears are smaller and rounded, and it has no tail. The shape of the head, the division of the hip, and the colour of the fur, are like those of the hare. It burrows in the earth, and is very prolific.

Of all the animals which are eaten by the inhabitants, this is the most numerous. It is easily taken. The flesh forms a considerable part of the food of the inhabitants, which is very delicate, and like that of a rabbit.

The tiger is precisely similar in the shape of its body, to the tiger of Africa, but is smaller in size, and more slender

in make. The colour of its hair is a greyish brown, with black stripes disposed longitudinally. The hair of the belly is white, with black stripes; its tail is almost eighteen inches long, covered with alternate rings of brown and black. It is a very fierce animal, frequently making attacks upon the sheep and hogs of the plantations, and even sometimes upon the natives, especially at the breeding season.

The tiger cat of Guyana is something larger than a common house cat; its eyes fiery, longer tail and ears, and the skin is variegated with spots like the leopard's: it is uncommonly ferocious. I have seen a tame one play with a rabbit for some time, and afterwards kill and eat it. On attempting to take his prey away he would immediately fly at the person.

The lynx is about the size of a large hound, and similar in shape to the tiger cat; its head is formed, and the coat striped like that of the tiger; it has long whiskers at the mouth, and its claws are very much curved. The lynx is a very ferocious animal, but never attacks man.

The tatta or armadillo, is nearly three feet in length from the end of the snout to that of the tail. The length of the head is about four inches, of the body about a foot and a half, and of the tail about a foot. Its body is covered thus: over the shoulders is a hard shell, over the hips is another shell, and between these are nine girdles covered by scales of a triangular form, and united by a strong membrane. Thus this shelly covering has numerous joints, by which it can vary its form according to the movements of the animal. Its head, snout, and ears, are very much like those of a pig, its tail is thick near the body, where there are several rings that gradually taper to a point; its feet are short and covered with scales, each fore foot has four toes, and each hind foot five. This animal burrows in the sandy hills distant from the sea; when young, its flesh is very tender and delicate, but when old, it has a strong disagreeable taste.

Animals of the ape kind are very numerous and various in this part of the world.

According to the account of the natives, the *oran-outang* is to be met with in the woods, and is much larger than that of Africa or Asia, being five feet high. But these accounts merely depend upon the evidence of the natives, as one of these animals has never been seen by any European.

There is an ape commonly called a *quato*, which is about

two feet in length. Its face is bald, but its body is covered with black hair, it has a nose like that of a negro, large ears like the human, and deeply sunken eyes ; it has no tail. The quato is sometimes tamed, but notwithstanding, is very mischievous. The female menstruates regularly.

The howling baboon is about the size of a fox, covered with smooth black hair ; its ears are smaller, and its eyes not so deep as those of the quato, and it has a long black beard ; the tail is covered with hair excepting at the end. These animals are very numerous. They sometimes assemble in large numbers, and set up the most disgusting yell imaginable, which they keep up for a long time. This happens almost always before rain, and is a sure sign of its coming, as is also the croaking of frogs.

The saccawinkee is the smallest monkey that has been found here. The whole trunk is about six inches long, its head is small, its ears are round, its nose is flat, its eyes prominent and black, and its face covered with fine white hair ; its body is clothed with long black hair, whitish at the end ; its tail is about nine inches long, and covered with long black hair. These animals are frequently tamed, but never live longer than a few months.

There are two species of the sloth here, one called the ai, the other the unan. The ai is about the size of a fox, and is covered by bushy hair of a dirty grey colour ; its hind legs are much shorter than its fore, by which formation it is assisted in climbing trees ; each foot has three long sharp claws, by which it clings to branches ; its head is round, and it has a very large mouth in proportion to the size of the head ; its eyes are languid, and its voice somewhat like that of a kitten. The curious characteristic from which it has received its name, is its uncommon aversion to motion. When beaten, instead of quickening its pace, it sends out the most doleful noise. Some have said, that when upon the ground, it takes a day to travel forty or fifty paces, and that it spends no less than two days to mount a tree of a moderate size. When once mounted, it never descends whilst leaf, bud, or fruit remains for it to devour. This animal coils itself up into a ball, so as often to escape detection. Its flesh is much liked by the natives. The other species of the sloth, the unan, differs from the ai only in a few particulars ; its head is not so round, its hair, instead of being grey and bushy, is lank and red, and it has only two claws upon each foot.

The porcupine is not very common here. It measures



nearly three feet from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail ; it has a round head, large piercing eyes, small round ears, and whiskers like those of a cat ; the whole body and part of the tail are covered with sharp, highly polished prickles, about three inches long ; these prickles are white at the points, approaching to a black in the middle, and yellow next the skin. They generally lie flat upon the back, but when the animal is irritated, they are set up. It has a long tail, which twists round the branches of trees for support. Its feet are much like those of a monkey.

The laubba is an animal peculiar to this part of the world, is about the size of a large cat, and is covered by fine brown hair, with round white spots : the hair under the belly is white, the body is round and thick, the head is like that of a pug dog ; the eyes and ears are small, the neck is short, it has no tail, and little feet. The laubba is an amphibious animal, and feeds upon heres and grain. When pursued it will swim a long time at a short distance from the surface of the water, so that it is often shot under water with arrows. The flesh is very delicate, and is much admired, tasting something like pork.

Alligators are frequently seen in the rivers near the sea. Their length when full grown, is about twenty feet, and their shape much like the common lizard. They are a harmless, but not a pleasing animal. The upper part of the tail has a sharp edge which is gapped like a saw. Over the eye is a protuberance about the size of a large orange, which is hard, and covered by a scaly coat. The skin of alligators is so thick that a musket ball will not pierce it, except about the head, where it is not so hard. At low water they will come to lie in the mud and bask in the sunshine, when their young ones, about four feet in length, are often killed by the natives.

The manatee, or as it is sometimes called, the sea-cow, is about sixteen feet or more in length, and several feet in circumference ; it is covered with a black rough skin, upon which are large wrinkles and inequalities, particularly on the sides, and is scantily supplied with hairs. The breasts, upon which are two fleshy fins about a foot and a half in length, resemble those of a woman ; the tail is somewhat like a whale's. The head is like that of a hog, and the nostrils like those of an ox. It has auditory holes, but no external ears. The eyes, which are very small, are placed between the ears and snout. Its mouth is large, and beset with bristles on each side ; without teeth in the

front, and its tongue is so small as to be scarce seen in the mouth: its neck is very short. Most commonly, it is found in fresh water rivers, but sometimes on the coast: it never quits the water entirely. The flesh of the manatee is fat, and much like veal.

The bats are twice as large as those of England, and are without tails. They are covered with brown hair, of which the texture is very soft and fine. The inhabitants usually sleep in hammocks, so that the feet are mostly uncovered: whilst they are asleep, the bats often open the veins of the feet without waking them, and then suck till they are satisfied; and the person upon waking finds himself faint, and his feet bathed in blood. They make similar attacks upon cattle.

Here is an animal of the lizard kind, called guana. It is about three feet long: its skin is brown, with blue marks on the body, and black spots on the neck, and is covered with small scales. Its back and tail are sharp, and indented; its mouth is armed with sharp teeth; it has a bag under the throat, and crooked claws upon its toes. These guanas are generally found among fruit trees, where the natives shoot them with arrows, and esteem their flesh a great delicacy, which is much like that of a chicken; the eggs are very fine.

We have a great number and variety of lizards here, which, however, it would be tedious to describe.

The snakes in this part of the world are mentioned as various and dangerous. The largest that has ever been found is the aboma. Snakes of this kind have been killed measuring upwards of twenty feet, and they are even said to measure, when full grown, thirty feet in length, and three feet in circumference, at the middle and largest part of the body. I have seen one which lay stretched quite across the road. It is of a brown colour, with black spots upon the back, and upon the sides are black spots with a white center: it is largest in the middle, and grows smaller as you approach the end of the tail. Its head is broad, its mouth wide, with two rows of teeth, its eyes projecting and sparkling, and near the tail are two claws. This enormous but sluggish animal, is not officiously mischievous: it can devour deer and hogs: it entangles them in its grasp, smears them with saliva, and then swallows them whole. These snakes have been killed with the half digested remains of deer in them. The aboma is an amphibious animal.

Other smaller snakes, which climb trees and catch mon-

kies and birds; and some water-snakes, which devour the wild fowls, are to be met with, but they are neither so common nor so venomous as is supposed. I have seldom seen any. Perhaps the hogs have thinned their numbers.

The pipa is one of those animals which at first view every one pronounces deformed and hideous; the general uncouthness of its shape being often aggravated by a phenomenon unexampled in the rest of the animal world, viz. the young in various stages of exclusion proceeding from cells dispersed over the back of the parent. The size of the pipa considerably exceeds that of the common toad; the body is of a flattish form; the head like a short cone; the mouth very wide, but covered at the corners with jagged gelatinous lips. The fore feet have four and the hind feet five toes: these last are united by webs. The male pipa is larger than the female; both have a dark brown colour on the back, but the belly of the female is more yellowish. The back of the female is covered with granules, which may be considered as so many teats, to which the offspring attach themselves. The spawn is deposited in ditches; and the progeny, after acquiring the tadpole form, is assisted by the father to fasten on the mother's back, where they nestle until the second transformation is completed.

On the coast and in the rivers, are a variety of fish, many of which differ so little from those which are well known in England, that I shall only select the most curious for description.

The lowlow is a salt-water fish; it is about six feet in length and three feet in circumference. Its colour is a light blue, with a metallic splendour. It has six fins, one pair a little below the head, another pair on the belly, a single fin on the back, and another large one at the end of the tail. It has a long boney head and a wide mouth.

The barroketa is about three feet in length, and two feet in circumference; it is much like a salmon, excepting in its scales, which are larger, and its body which is rounder. The barroketa is found in plenty at the upper part of rivers: the flesh is white, fat, and delicate. This is the largest fresh-water fish found in our streams.

The peri is another fresh-water fish; its length is about eighteen inches, and its breadth, for it is flat, about three inches; it has a broad head and large mouth, armed with long sharp teeth; it has four fins, one pair on the belly just below the head, a single fin on the back, and another at the end of the tail. It is very formidable to swimmers, as it

bites at every thing in its reach, and instances are related of women having a breast taken off by this fish.

The queriman, a fish about the size, and equally as good as a salmon, is caught on the coasts with a cast net in shallow water.

The galvanic eel, so remarkable for the power of giving a sensation similar to the electric shock to any one who touches it, is commonly about three feet in length, and twelve inches in circumference at the largest part of the body. Its skin is smooth, without scales, and of a light blue colour. From seven or eight inches below the body to the end of the tail, it gradually tapers to a point, and the body separated from the fins is almost round. It has three fins, one pair on the back of the head, and a long single fin on the belly, which reaches from the head to the tail, and which diminishes in size with the body. Its head is as large as the largest circumference of the body, and flattened on the upper and lower sides, on the former of which are several holes. It has a wide mouth without teeth. When the fish is grasped with the hand, a galvanic shock is received; a similar effect takes place when touched with a metallic rod, when held by a hook and line, or even where there is no other conductor but the air, if the hand be very near the fish. This shock depends upon the will of the animal, for if it is not irritated, the hand may be held near without perceiving any sensation. The galvanic eel is an inhabitant of fresh water, and is often found in the river Essequibo. It appears to be unable to live long without the access of air, as it very frequently comes to the surface of the water to fetch breath. It lives principally upon small fish, and is itself eaten by the natives.

The frog-fish of Guyana is a great curiosity: I never saw but one which embraced the properties of both, as they go through the regular gradations of a frog, a frog-fish, and a fish.

We have a large land crab here, which is much eaten by the inhabitants. It is of a square form, each side being about two inches and a half long, and of a light blue, or whitish colour. It has many legs, and two large claws like those of a lobster. These crabs live in holes in the mud, on the shores of the sea, and rivers near their mouths, and at low water appear in great numbers on the mud.

The fish which are caught on our coast are far from being delicate, as the water is very muddy for thirteen or fourteen leagues from the shore.

I shall next endeavour to give an idea of the birds which are natural here, and which are most worthy our attention.

The sun bird is not unlike the partridge of England, but a little larger; when procured tame, they are kept in houses to destroy the ants, with which this land abounds.

The Surinam falcon is about the size of a hawk; the head and upper part of the body is covered with feathers of a light brown, the under part has feathers spotted with yellow and brown; the feathers of the tail are like those of the under part of the body, and the legs are yellow; the beak is crooked, and at the root is a substance, in appearance, like wax; the tongue is cloven. This bird can inflate his head to nearly the size of his body; he commits great depredations on the poultry of the plantations.

The strix or owl, is about the size of a thrush; it is covered with feathers of a light straw colour, shaded with white; the feathers of the breast are light straw-coloured spots upon a white ground; its legs are short and its claws black; its beak is crooked and yellow, its head, eyes, and ears large, and its tongue divided in the middle.

The red lanius, or butcher-bird, has feathers of a bright red colour, which on the wings and tail are spotted with black; its bill is straight, and near the point is a tooth on each side; its tongue is ragged, and appears as if it had been torn.

The black and white butcher bird is covered with feathers, which are coloured with alternate marks of black and white; its legs and claws are of a dark colour; its bill is brown and tapering, and the end of the upper mandible bends over that of the lower.

The mackaws are the largest of the parrot kind. The blue and yellow mackaw is about the size of a capon, and is covered with feathers, which on the back part of the body are blue, on the fore part yellow; its legs are short and dark coloured; it has a black coloured band around the throat; a beak three inches long, wide, black and semi-circular; the feathers on the top of the head are green, those about the face are black.

The mackaw is a fine majestic bird, about the size of a turkey; its plumage is of a superior red colour, and the long bushy tail provides the native Indians with elegant feathers to adorn themselves; its bill is very large, and of an uncommonly thick substance.

The red and blue mackaw is about the size of a hen. The feathers on the upper side of the wing are blue, those on the

under are red ; the tail is red in the middle, and blue on the sides, and shaped somewhat like a wedge ; its cheeks are without feathers ; the upper mandible of black and white, the lower black.

The red and yellow mackaw is peculiar to Guyana, and is rather less than a common hen. It is covered with yellow feathers on the back and upper part of the wings, with blue and red on the tail, and with red on the top of the head and breast ; the colour of the whole beak is black. This bird is not very common even here.

The acushe is the largest parrot found here, and is very common in Demerary. The feathers of its body are of a beautiful green colour, those on the top of the head are red, and the upper parts of the wings are edged with red ; it has a long tail of red, green, and blue feathers, with a long, slender, flesh-coloured bill.

Beside these we have a great number and variety of the parrot kind, of which I could not give distinct ideas without plates.

The bird, called by the French, agame, by the natives canicani, and vulgarly the trumpeter, from its voice, is peculiar to Guyana. It is about the size of a turkey ; its body is without a tail, and of an oval figure ; the feathers on the back are grey : those on the breast are blue and long, and those on the rest of the body are black ; its legs are long, slender, and of a bluish green ; the neck is long, the bill green and pointed, and the eyes bright ; it is very tame, and is often kept among other poultry.

The flamingo, as it is called from its resemblance to the North American bird of that name, is about the size of a heron. It is covered with feathers of a bright scarlet colour, and is without a tail ; its neck and limbs are long and slender : its head small, and the bill long, slender, and arched. These birds live together in numbers on the banks of the rivers, or on the shores of the sea. They are very tame, and often mix with the poultry on the plantations.

The tigri fowlo, or tiger bird, is about the size of a heron. It has a reddish colour, spotted with black ; hence the name. The bill and legs are long, slender, and of a light green colour ; the neck is long, and covered with long depending feathers ; the eyes are yellow, and the head small, upon which is a round black spot.

The toucan is about the size of a common pigeon ; it is wholly black ; with these exceptions only, there are two white spots on the fore part of the crown of the head ; the

throat and upper part of the breast are white, and there is a red mark in the form of a crescent, between the white feathers of the breast and the black feathers of the belly ; its beak is very large and red, six inches long ; it has a long thin tongue, and its nostrils are behind the jaws.

The picus, or woodpecker, is about the size of the European woodpecker ; it is covered with black and white feathers, excepting those of the crown of the head, and of the belly, which are red ; its bill is straight, and its tongue long, round, and sharp.

The pelican, or spoon-bill, is covered with red feathers, excepting the head, which is bald, and of a white colour ; its bill is straight, flat, and broad ; it is about six inches long, toothless, and crooked at the point, which is rounded and broader than the rest ; the upper mandible has a nail at the end, and a spoon-like cavity ; it is transparent, and is of a whitish brown colour ; the lower mandible is more opaque than the upper, but of the same colour.

The peacock pheasant, or, as it is called by natives, powese, is rather smaller than an English turkey ; the whole body, except the belly, which is white, is covered with shining black feathers. On the crown of the head is an erect tuft of black feathers, mixed with white near the points, about an inch and a half in height ; its bill is convex, and about an inch and a half long, of a yellow colour, but black at the point ; the upper mandible is arched, and extends farther than the lower. The bird is common along the Essequibo and Demerary. Its flesh may easily be taken for that of a turkey.

The marrodee is about the size of a pullet, and covered with very dark brown feathers ; the bill is of a dark brown, and the legs, which are longer than those of a chicken, are grey. It is found in great numbers ; the flesh is like that of a chicken, but not so delicate.

The harmaquau is somewhat like the marrodee. Its make is more slender, and the feathers black. The names of these two birds were given them by the natives from their cry, which has a like articulation.

The mocking-bird is about the size of a black-bird. Its body is covered with feathers of a shining black, excepting its breast and the upper edges of its wings, which, with the crown of its head, are crimson. Its bill is conical, gibbous, and flesh-coloured. The nests, which are about fourteen inches in length, and about eight in circumference, hang from the branches of the tallest trees, and are so tossed about

by the wind, that if not for their length, the birds would be thrown out. These birds imitate many other songsters: whence their name. Their peculiar notes are very sweet, which is a rare quality here, where the greater number of the birds excel rather in the beauty of their plumage than in the music of their voices.

The rice-bird is about the size of the mocking-bird. The feathers on every part of its body are black. Its bill is conical and gibbous. It has small black eyes, and the skin immediately around the eye is without feathers and white. It is commonly met with in the fields of rice.

The *kishee-kishee*, as it is called by the natives, is more lavishly decorated with splendid plumage than any other known bird. It is about the size of a sparrow, with a straight conical pointed bill of a light red colour. Its plumage is adorned with the greatest beauty, splendour, and variety of colours, which are so mixed together, as to afford the eye of the beholder the greatest possible pleasure which can be received from colour. These birds are not found near the coast, but are brought from the inland parts of the country by the Indians.

The green sparrow is a beautiful bird. The head and back are green, the breast and belly are yellow, and the large feathers on the wings are edged with white.

The red-bellied blue bird is covered with blue feathers, excepting on the belly, where they are red. It has a straight bill, oval nostrils, and forked tongue.

The humming-birds in this part of the world are in great number and variety. Their bill is sabulated, slender, and crooked, of which the upper mandible incloses the lower. The tongue consists of two threads, which are tubulous. They are the smallest of the feathered tribe, some not weighing more than fifty grains. Their nests, which are very small and made of cotton, are built by the female, upon the small twigs of fruit trees. The female lays two eggs at a time, about the size of a pea, which are white and transparent. Their food is the honey of flowers, which they suck by inserting their tongues into the flower, and support themselves, whilst sucking, by the motion of their wings, which make a humming noise.

The green and crimson humming-bird is the most frequent here, but not the smallest. It is about the size of a large cherry. The feathers on the neck, back, and upper edges of the wings, are green. The breast is crimson, and the wings and tail are green, purple, and crimson. It has a



small crimson tuft on the crown of the head; the head itself is small, the eyes round and black, the bill long, black, and slender.

The black humming-bird is the smallest that has yet been found, being about one-third smaller than the former. It is covered with feathers of a greenish brown colour, excepting the large ones of the wings and tail, which are of a shining black. All the feathers are beautifully glossy. Its bill is black, in thickness about equal to a pin, and bent near the end. It has a small tuft on the crown of the head, which is green at the bottom, but of a fine glittering gold colour at the top. These birds sometimes weigh less than fifty grains.

I have thus described some of the most curious of the feathered tribe, which are natural to Guyana. To particularize them all, would require bulky volumes and numerous plates. There are wild ducks, teal, partridges, &c. which differ very little from those of England, and which it would be tedious to enumerate minutely.

Insects abound here in vast numbers, from the continued warmth of the climate, which is favourable to their production and longevity. I shall mention a few which invite attention by their curious history, or which compel attention by their stings.

The blatta, cock-roach, or caroehe, is about an inch long, and of a brown reddish colour; its form is a flattened oval; it has two salt wings, two long feelers, and six legs with forked extremities; it is a destructive insect, as it devours victuals, and makes what remains disgusting, from the disagreeable smell which it leaves; it also gets into the trunks of travellers, and destroys linen and books.

The bees in this part of the world are quite unlike those of England, being nearly as small as the common fly, and of a black colour: they are armed with stings; they deposit their honey in the cavities of trees; the wax is dark brown, sweet, slightly mixed with bitter, and quite fluid.

There is a kind of ant, called the flying ant; it is almost an inch in length; the body is divided into two parts, which are united by a slender substance; on the fore part there are six legs, each of which has three joints; the head is of a triangular form, and has two feelers; it has four transparent wings of a brown colour. These creatures live under ground in the dry season, but in the wet, the rains drive them from their habitations, when they may be seen in vast swarms flying in the air.

There are two kinds of flies, called fire flies; the largest is more than an inch in length, and of a chesnut colour; it has a large head, two feelers, two wings, and six legs. Under the belly is a round luminous patch, and on each side of the head is a prominent round luminous body. These animals in the dark emit a strong steady light, so that two or three put into a glass will enable you to read. The smaller fire-fly is not above half the size of the former. They are never seen but by night, when they emit sparks of fire at intervals.

The palm-tree, or groe-groe worm, is about three inches in length, and about the thickness of a man's finger. The head is black, and the body of a light yellow. This animal breeds in the heart of the cabbage tree after it is cut down. When roasted and seasoned, it is considered as very fine, and equal to any marrow.

The scorpion is about six inches long, of a light brown colour, with black spots; it has two claws proceeding from the neck, about an inch long, jointed, and having a pair of nippers at the end; it has four pair of legs; the tail is jointed, forked, and armed with two small crooked sharp stings, of which the uppermost is the longest. The bite of this insect is venomous.

The centipede is about six inches in length, and five lines in breadth; its body has twenty joints, to each of which belong a pair of legs, so that it has forty legs instead of a hundred, as its name expresses; at each end it has a pair of forked feelers, and a pair of strong forceps at its head. It moves with equal rapidity either backward or forward. Its bite is venomous and painful.

To these may be added the chigoe, a sort of flea, of a dusky colour. This insect, as has already been observed, is very troublesome by insinuating itself under the skin of the feet; if not extracted, it forms for itself a bag, in which it deposits its eggs; these eggs are hatched, and the new insects form other bags, and deposit other eggs; the consequence of this breeding are ulcers, which are difficult to heal, and very painful; but they are seldom suffered thus to breed undisturbed; they are picked out as soon as the itching which they produce is perceived, and the art consists in extracting the bag unbroken. These insects are very numerous.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Some Account of the more conspicuous Vegetable Productions—Cabbage-Trees—Silk-Cotton—Pipeiras—Bullet-Tree—Iron-wood—Launa, &c.*

I NOW proceed to a description of the vegetables which are natural in this part of the world, and which, from their utility or curiosity, are most worthy of popular attention. Here I must necessarily be select. Volumes might easily be filled with a description of the plants which may be found in the plantations and woods of Guyana, but any thing like a comprehensive treatise is beyond my range of information.

The cabbage-tree grows to about the height of a hundred feet. Its trunk is seven or eight feet in circumference, straight, upright, tapering, and covered by a grey bark. The branches commence at about a hundred feet from the earth; they are twenty feet in length, of a green colour, and diverge in a horizontal direction. The leaves are about two feet and a half in length, and three inches in breadth near the trunk, whence they diminish in size as they approach the end. They are pinnated and pointed at the extremity. They are disposed thickly on two opposite sides of each branch. Where the branches arise the bark is of a deep green colour. From the trunk near the lower branches arises a green husky pod, twenty inches long and four broad, wherein are produced numerous small nuts, which are the seeds from which the tree grows. The cabbage grows on the summit of the trunk, consisting of thin white strata of the taste of an almond, and covered by a green thick skin.

The cockarito tree is of the same genus with the last, but does not grow higher than thirty feet. The external substance of the trunk is extremely hard, and is used by the Indians for pointing their arrows. The cabbage which this tree bears is the most delicate of the species.

The silk-cotton-tree generally grows to the height of a hundred feet. Its trunk is about twelve feet in circumference, and is covered with an ash-coloured bark, set with short thorns. The branches arise at about seventy feet from

the ground. The leaves are long and narrow, and are disposed at the extremity of the branch in a circular form. The flower has five stamina and one pistil, and is placed just without the leaves. The flower falling off, is succeeded by a conical pod about four inches in length. The pod contains short silky filaments, with small dark coloured seeds adhering to them. The silk-cotton-tree flowers every three years. The trunk is often made use of for canoes, which are formed by hollowing it with fire.

Of the pipeira tree there are two kinds, the black and the yellow : the bark and wood of the former being much darker than those of the latter. The pipeira-tree when full grown, is about seventy feet in height, and nine feet in circumference. It is without branches until very near the top. The leaves are long, narrow, and terminate in a point. The flowers have four light yellowish petals, which fall off, and are succeeded by a round fruit about an inch in diameter, affording a farinaceous food, which is sometimes used by the Indians for want of better. The timber is very weighty and durable.

The bullet-tree is about fifty feet in height, and seven feet in circumference. Its bark is smooth and ash coloured. Its branches commence very near the top. Its leaves are long and narrow. It bears pentepetalous flowers of a reddish colour, somewhat blended with purple. The wood is of a dark colour, spotted with small white spots ; it is very durable, and sinks in salt water.

The iron-wood tree, so called from the hardness, weight, and durability of its wood, is made use of for a variety of purposes, such as clubs and windmills. The trunk is about fifty feet in height; and six feet in circumference, and is covered with a greyish bark. It bears white flowers, succeeded by small red berries.

The launa tree grows to the height of about fifty feet ; is covered with a grey bark, and sends out numerous branches. The flowers, which are white, are succeeded by a fruit of the size and shape of an hen's egg ; it is covered by a whitish green skin, and its substance is somewhat like an apple. The juice of the fruit is at first almost colourless, but in a short time acquires a deep purple colour. It is made use of by the Indians for painting their bodies. The colour, however, lasts only for a short time.

The red mangrove tree affords a most curious instance of the care with which nature protects her productions from surrounding dangers. This tree is of considerable size,

and is covered by a grey bark; it has numerous branches, covered by oval leaves. It arises from several roots. The ramifications of each root unite into one small trunk, which pierces the earth, and rises two or three yards from the surface of the ground, before it unites with its fellows to form the main trunk of the tree. This tree grows in a loose wet soil, by the side of streams of water, and therefore is guarded from the injury which might arise from the instability of the soil. Slender shoots, about three inches in circumference, bare of leaves or branches, and having joints at a few feet distance, grow from the trunk and branches of the tree in great abundance; these shoots descend, enter the earth, and take root, and thus afford support to the tree, which might otherwise fall, from the looseness of the soil, and the force of the water.

There is another species of the same tree, called the white upland mangrove, which, as it grows on firmer ground, has none of these supports.

The cassia fistula tree is between forty and fifty feet in height, and is covered with uneven light brown bark. At the end of the branches which arise near the top of the tree, grow clusters of the flowers. These have five yellowish petals, which falling off, are followed by pods, about eighteen inches in length, and three in circumference. The pod is partitioned into cells, containing a sweet pulp of the colour of treacle.

The tetermer tree is about fifty feet in height, and eight feet in circumference: its bark is light and rough, and its branches are covered by light green leaves, about four inches in length, and two in breadth. The wood is very useful for a variety of purposes, and is much like mahogany in appearance, but not so hard.

The ducollabolla tree grows to the height of forty feet. The trunk is about twenty inches in diameter, and is covered by a rough reddish bark. The tree is wholly without branches until near the top. The wood is like mahogany, but excels it in colour, grain, hardness, and weight.

The bourracourra, or letter wood, is the heart of a tree which grows here. It commonly grows to the height of thirty feet, and is about sixteen inches in diameter. The trunk is covered by a reddish bark, and sends out numerous branches bearing purple flowers. When the bark and sap are cut away, the heart is about twelve inches in diameter. It is of a deep red colour, marked with black spots and figures: is very hard, solid, and ponderous, and

receives a polish unequalled by any other wood. From the smallness of the quantity which can be procured from each tree, and from its beauty, it is very valuable even here. It is worked into rows, walking sticks, &c.

The mahogany tree has a cedar-like appearance, and grows to the height of fifty feet, which is rendered more conspicuous by its preferring a rocky station, where there is apparently little soil for its nutriment: it is not common, being less adapted for the flat humid land at the mouths of the rivers, than for the mountainous district of the interior. It is of the *decandria monyginia* class: the calyx has five segments, the flowers five petals, the nectarium is cylindric, and bears anthers, the capsule is five-celled, ligneous, and opens at the base. The seeds are imbricated and winged like those of firs and pines.

The hearree-tree commonly grows to above twenty feet in height, and is covered by a rough grey bark, clothed in a white moss. It has a few branches near the top, with rough green leaves. This tree grows near rivers, and at a distance from any other trees. It is esteemed a strong poison, and is said not to suffer any other vegetable to grow near it. If one of these trees be found on a plantation it is not destroyed, because the smoke of the wood when burning, is fatal to all kinds of animals.

The cocoa-tree, which is cultivated in the plantations, is seldom suffered to grow higher than fourteen feet, although in the interior of Guyana it grows wild to great heights. The trunk is about six inches in diameter, covered with a light green coloured bark, and destitute of branches as high as eight feet. The leaves are pinnated, nine inches long, and three broad, of a light green colour on the upper, of a dark green on the under surface, which is ribbed. The flowers arise from the trunk, or from the lower branches near the trunk. It consists of six petals of a flesh colour spotted with red. When the petals fall off, the pod appears about the size and form of a melon, pointed at the end, and having longitudinal grooves. This is divided into longitudinal cavities, in which the nuts are placed in rows; they are about the size of a cherry, of an oblong rounded shape. The cocoa trees are planted in rows, at twelve or fourteen feet distance, and form beautiful and shady plantations.

The coffee-bush generally grows in the plantations to six feet in height. The trunk is covered with a bark of a greyish brown colour. The branches arise from the trunk near the earth, and grow all around in a horizontal direction.

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The lowest branches are about eighteen inches in length, but they grow shorter as they approach the top, so that a coffee-tree is in the shape of a cone. The leaves are about three inches long, and one and a half broad, pointed and green. The flower consists of five petals, several stamina, and one pistil. The germ contains two kernels, covered by a pericarp. Of this fruit there are two crops in the year, and each tree yields about a pound and a half at a crop. The coffee-trees are planted in rows at the distance of five feet.

The cocoa-nut-tree grows to fifty or sixty feet in height, and is seldom either perfectly straight or erect. It is covered by a bark of an ash colour, which at the top of the tree becomes green. The branches commence very near the top. They are about fifteen feet long, and twenty or thirty in number. The leaves are about eighteen inches long near the trunk, and diminish in length as they approach the extremity of the branch. They are narrow and pinnated, and are placed on two opposite sides of the branch. About six or eight years from the time of planting, the tree bears nuts. The stalk arises from the trunk where the branches grow, and bears several nuts.

Of the ricinus or castor bush, which yields the well known castor oil, there are two kinds, the red and the white, distinguished by the colour of their stalks, of which the former is of a reddish colour, the latter green. The stalk is jointed, and about five feet in height. The leaves are about eighteen or nineteen inches in circumference, and divided into eight or ten pointed parts. They are supported by foot stalks ten or twelve inches long, and grow in great numbers both upon the stalk and branches. It bears nuts of a triangular form, and covered with a thin brown fur; these nuts by expression yield the castor-oil.

The guava-tree grows to about twenty feet in height, and is covered by a smooth grey bark. The leaves are about three inches long and one broad, rough, pointed at the end, and of a dark green colour. The flowers have five white petals. It bears a round fruit, which, when ripe, is of a light yellow colour. The internal part of the fruit is filled with a red coloured pulp, with numerous hard seeds; this pulp is covered by a substance somewhat like apple, and over all is the rind. The external substance is used for tarts and other sweet preparations, and the pulp is made into jelly.

The aviago pear-tree grows to about thirty or forty feet in height. Its branches are long, its leaves large and

pointed, and its flower has six petals. The fruit when ripe, resembles a large pear. It consists of a soft, agreeable nutritious pulp, covered by a rind, and containing a stone. The pulp is eaten with salt and pepper.

The female poppau generally grows to the height of fifteen feet. The trunk is about seven inches in diameter, covered by a light brown bark, hollow, and wholly without branches. The leaves are three or four feet in circumference, divided into seven or eight sections, which are again subdivided into other sections. The leaves are supported by foot stalks about two feet long, which grow from the top of the trunk. The flowers have five petals of a light yellow colour, supported by pedicles which grow from the top of the trunk; they have an agreeable odour, and are used for preserves. The fruit is about six inches in length, of an oval form, and when ripe of a yellow colour. The internal part of the fruit consists of a soft pulp, mixed with small seeds. This pulp is covered by a substance somewhat like that of a pompion, which is eaten when the fruit is nearly ripe, being previously boiled. There is another tree, called the male poppau, which produces no fruit.

The American aloes tree grows to about twenty-five feet in height. The trunk is about nine inches in diameter, and covered by triangular pointed laminae, which are green throughout the year, and diminish in size as they approach the top. The roots send out leaves which surround the bottom of the tree with a bush. These leaves are about four feet in length, seven inches in breadth at the middle, which is the broadest part, and about half an inch in thickness. They are pointed at the end, covered by a smooth green skin, and internally consist of a white saponaceous substance. The branches commence about fifteen feet from the earth; they are short, and in considerable numbers. The flowers consist of six petals with a pointed summit, as many stamina, with large anthers, and one pistil. These flowers grow in large clusters, one of which arises from each branch. This tree attains its full size in three months; it is very beautiful, and is usually planted in gardens.

The aloes plant consists of a slender petioled stalk, about twenty inches in height, encircled at the bottom, near the earth, by several diverging leaves, and supporting near the top, several pendulous yellow flowers. The leaves are about two feet in length, five inches in breadth in the middle, which is the largest part, and six lines in thick-



ness. They are set with short strong prickles on each side, running the whole length of the leaf, and are covered by a smooth green skin. This skin contains a soft bitter pulp, from which exudes a thick juice. The juice when indurated is the aloes. The process of induration is effected either by the sun, or by boiling ; but the former is much more valuable.

The silk grass plant, or *curretta*, as it is called by the natives, is smaller than the American aloes, but similar in appearance. The flowers consist of six petals, six stamina, and one pistil. The leaves arise from the root, and form a large cluster. They are much like those of the American aloes, and are about three feet in length. Their internal substance consists of a saponaceous pulp, mixed with fine white strong threads. The threads, when separated from the pulp, are white and glossy, and very much resemble silk ; and curious nets and strong ropes are made of them. The pulp is used for washing, instead of soap.

The *siliqua hirsuta*, or cow itch, is a plant like the vine, long, slender, and creeping. The leaves are thin, pointed, and covered with a down. The flowers grow in clusters, and are followed by a pod, somewhat similar to the common pea, in shape and size, and containing several purple beans. The pod is thickly covered by very fine stiff pointed hairs, which produce an intolerable itching upon being applied to the skin.

The Indian yam is peculiar to this part of America. The plant is long, slender, and like a vine ; the leaves are large, and digitated ; the root is about eight inches in length, and as thick as a man's wrist ; it is of a reddish purple colour, and affords an agreeable farinaceous food.

Ginger is the root of a reed. It grows to the height of about sixteen inches. Its leaves are long, narrow, sharp, and rise in a spiral direction. The land near the coast is well adapted to the growth of ginger, which requires a soil frequently drenched in water.

Of the cassava shrub there are two kinds, the bitter and the sweet. The main stem is knotted, covered with an ash-coloured bark, and grows to the height of four feet. The branches are thin, short, and green, and arise from near the top of the trunk. The leaves are large and digitated, and arise by red foot stalks, six inches long from the branches. The root is about a foot in length, and six inches in circumference, of a cylindrical form, and consists of a white farinaceous substance. To prepare it for food it

is ground into a meal, the meal is then squeezed to express the juice, and is afterwards baked into cakes, which are good food, and will keep for several months. The juice is boiled with meat and seasoned, and makes excellent soup, which is termed casserepo, and used in pepper-pot and sauces. The Indians and negroes are very fond of this sauce; highly seasoned with cayenne. Pepper-pot is a standing dish, and if replenished when near the bottom, will keep for any length of time; it is related of a Dutchman who lived in Berbice, that he absolutely kept one for upwards of twenty years. The whole of this root, both the meal and the juice, before being exposed to fire, are fatal poisons, and cattle are frequently killed by drinking of the juice which has been left in their way by the carelessness of the slaves. This poisonous quality is possessed only by the bitter cassava.

The plant which bears the caruna poison, is a small tree, covered by a brown bark. Its leaves are small, oval, and of a light green colour. At the end of the branches grows a reddish coloured blossom, which falls off and is succeeded by small nuts, covered by a thick husk. The nut has a hard shell, and contains a farinaceous kernel. This kernel is a slow poison, which is said to be made use of by some tribes of Indians to destroy their enemies.

The nibees are long creeping plants, without leaves or branches, of immense length, whilst their circumference is seldom more than seventeen or eighteen inches, sometimes not above three or four. In the interior parts of the country they mount from the earth to the tops of the loftiest trees, then descend to insert themselves in the earth, and then again mount to the neighbouring tree, connecting the trees in this manner in various directions. Sometimes they coil themselves round the trees, and sometimes insert their tendrils into the bark, thus destroying them either by compression or starvation. The nibees are made use of for fastening the thatch of houses, for which purpose they are split into small ligaments. The stalks are of different forms, some are round, others are angular, flat, or grooved.

Troolies are leaves of an enormous size. They are used to cover houses, which they protect from the most violent rains, and last for many years. This leaf is about twenty or thirty feet in length, and two or three in breadth; it is supported by a strong stalk, about three inches in circumference at its commencement. About twelve of these leaves, each supported by its stalk, grow from the roots. In the centre of

these leaves a short stem shoots up, upon which is a cluster of light yellow flowers, these falling off are succeeded by large round nuts.

The plant, the root of which is the ipecacaunha, grows to about three feet in height. The leaves are large and smooth, and sharp at the end. When the flower, which is yellow, falls off, it is succeeded by a long round pod. The pod contains white silky filaments, to which a number of small dark seeds adhere. Their roots are thin and woody, and have an emetic quality.

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#### CHAP. XIV.

*Change of Condition in these Provinces resulting from the Conquest—Capitulation of 1796—Burgher Regulations revised—New Barracks contracted for by an English Mercantile House—Arrival of Troops—Rations—New Rum, properly called Kill Devil—Fact related of an English Seaman—Batavian Medical Staff—Fever in the Dutch Troops—Bad treatment of the Patients—Great number of Deaths—Manner of interring—Du Melles' Resignation refused—English Guineamen allowed to sell—Smuggling—Regulation to prevent it—Every Boat obliged to wear Dutch Colours—Fate of a Negro Captain for refusing.*

An account ought now to be given of the change of condition which these provinces have undergone, in consequence of their passing from the Dutch under the British protection. Those circumstances relative to the transfer of allegiance, which passed within the limits of my hearsay, or observation, are not many, and can have no claims to importance as historical anecdotes. But so many methods of subsistence have taken a new form and course, so many different sources of prosperity have gushed in upon the country, so many unexpected experiments in speculative industry were successfully tried during the anarchy, that a narration, however defective, will almost inevitably throw light on the regulations, which a wise policy ought to adopt, for promoting the future and permanent benefit of the district. I will begin therefore with the public papers which announced to government the surrender.

*To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Lieut.-Gen. Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the West Indies.*

*Head Quarters, St. Lucia, May 2, 1796.*

Sir—In my letter of the 9th April, I expressed a desire to detach a body of troops to take possession of Demerary, provided that admiral Sir John Laforey would allow me the necessary naval force.

The admiral, upon my application to him for that purpose, immediately ordered the Malabar, La Pique, and Babet, on board of which and the Grenada transport, with some small vessels, major-gen. Whyte, the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, embarked and sailed on the 15th ult.

On the 21st, this squadron arrived upon the coast of Demerary, and on the 22d, the governor and council were summoned to surrender the colony to his Britannic majesty, upon the conditions which I have the honour herewith to enclose. The next day the terms were agreed to, the capitulation signed, and the British troops took possession of the colony. Lieut.-colonel Hislop, of the 39th regiment, is left commandant of Demerary and Essequibo. Major-gen. Whyte was to proceed to take possession of the neighbouring colony of Berbice, and after making the necessary arrangements, he is ordered to repair to his station at St. Domingo.

From the accounts received, there is produce to an immense value at Demerary, which will be immediately shipped for Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. ABERCROMBY.

*Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.*

*Stabroek, Demerary, 23d April, 1796.*

Sir—In obedience to your excellency's commands, I left Barbadoes on the 15th instant, with a detachment of the artillery, and part of the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, amounting to 1200 men, escorted by the Malabar, Undaunted, La Pique, and Babet frigates, with the Grenada transport, and five schooners and sloops; and on the 21st made the land, when the Scipio joined the fleet. That

evening when the tide made, the Babet and La Pique frigates; with the Grenada transport, passed the bar with the schooners and boats of the fleet, and came to anchor within random gun-shot of the fort, at the entrance of the river; and having during the night prepared every thing for an attack, at day-light appeared in force, when I sent a flag of truce by lieutenant-col. Hislop, of the 39th regiment, summoning the governor to surrender the colony and its dependencies to his Britannic majesty's forces, agreeable to the terms I have the honour to enclose, and which the governor and council accepted.

The unanimity with which the service was carried on between the fleet and army was pleasing to all concerned, and Mr. Higgins acquitted himself with much propriety and utility. Captain Parr, who commands the fleet, has assisted and supplied us from the fleet liberally. And I have the satisfaction to inform your excellency, that from every information I have received, and from above seventy ships being actually loaded with the produce of the country, now in the river (most of which will be sent to England), and from every account of the fertility and the soil, it is a most important acquisition to Great Britain.

The colony of Berbice, adjoining to this, being a separate government, I shall direct my attention to it without delay; and shall leave lieutenant-col. Hislop in the command here, agreeable to your excellency's directions.

The Thetis, a Dutch frigate of 24 guns, and a cutter of 12 guns, are added to the fleet; and captain Parr has given directions for destroying or bringing down the river, a French brig privateer of force.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JOHN WHYTE, major-general.

*Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. &c. &c.*

*By Major-General John Whyte, Commander of His Britannic Majesty's Land Forces, &c. &c. and Captain Thomas Parr, Commander of His Majesty's Ships, &c. &c.*

These are requiring you, the governor and council, military and naval forces, of the colony of Demerary and its dependencies, to surrender the said colony to his Britannic majesty's forces under our command, and to place the said

colony under his majesty's protection, and quietly and peaceably to submit to his majesty's government.

In which case, the inhabitants shall enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the full and immediate enjoyment of all private property, whether on shore or afloat (excepting such as may appear to belong to the subjects of the French republic), according to their ancient laws and usages, or such other as may be determined upon, previous to the colony's being placed under his majesty's government, upon the most liberal and beneficial terms.

That in the event of the colonies remaining under the British government at the conclusion of a general peace, they shall enjoy such commercial rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies. With regard to the military and naval forces, that the officers and men of the land forces shall, if agreeable to themselves, be received into the British pay, with leave, at the restoration of the Stadtholder, to return into his service. Each non-commissioned officer and soldier shall receive, upon his taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, to serve him faithfully during the war, where it may be thought proper to employ him, the sum of one hundred guilders. The officers to receive, upon the same conditions, the allowance of two hundred days' bat, baggage, and forage-money, as paid to the British officers.

The officers and men of the marine forces cannot be taken into the British service, until his majesty's pleasure shall be known, but shall receive pay according to their rank, and every indulgence that can be allowed.

That the governor and all civil officers, after having taken the oaths of allegiance to his majesty, which will be administered by major-general Whyte, are (if they choose) to remain in their respective situations (excepting those who have shewn a decided partiality to the French interest), the governor only resigning the military command. Should such liberal terms be refused, the governor, council, and all concerned, must be answerable for the consequences, as an immediate attack will be made by the land and sea-forces, which will render every resistance vain.

Major-general Whyte and captain Parr give the governor one hour, and no more, from the delivery of this by lieutenant-col. Hislop, to accept or not.

JOHN WHYTE, major-general.

THOMAS PARR, captain, R. N.

*Dated on board H. M. S. Babet, off the river*

*Demerary, April 20, 1796.*

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Gentlemen—It is out of my power as yet to give a decisive answer to your summons, demanding a surrender of this colony to his Britannic majesty's forces, as my duty requires me to lay it before the council, to whom it is also addressed, but which is not assembled at this moment. I will, however, call the members present together, and return about twelve o'clock an answer.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

ANTHONY BEAUJON,  
Governor of Demerary.

*Demerary, 22d April, 1796.*

*To their Excellencies General Whyte and Commodore Parr.*

*On board the Babet frigate, April 22, 1796.*

Sir—We have been honoured with your letter in answer to ours of yesterday's date, summoning the colony of Demerary to surrender to his Britannic majesty's arms, requesting, for the reasons therein mentioned, to have until twelve o'clock this forenoon, to assemble the council to assist you in your determination. The reasonableness of this request induces us to grant it; but you will be aware that, if an answer is not returned at or before that time, no farther delay can be made, and you alone must be answerable for the consequences; and you will please also to observe, from the very liberal terms offered, no deviation whatever can be admitted.

We have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN WHYTE, major-general.  
THOMAS PARR, captain, R. N.

*To his Excellency the Governor of Demerary.*

*Fort William Frederic, Demerary, 22d April, 1796.*

Gentlemen—We, the governor, members of the council, and commanders of the naval forces of the colony, in council of war assembled, having attentively perused the summons, dated yesterday, and addressed to us by your excellencies, demanding the surrender of the said colony to his Britannic majesty's forces, also the terms thereunto annexed, have, after mature deliberation, resolved to accept said terms, and on them to surrender said colony and dependencies, as demanded, whereof we hereby give you notice; also that our colours will be struck on the landing of your forces. It will depend on the several officers and the troops to decide

for themselves, as to the offers made them; and we have the honour to subscribe ourselves, &c.

ANTHONY BEAUJON, governor.  
J. VAN WELL, major.  
C. FITZJCHER, commander.  
P. P. LUYKEN.  
THOMAS CUMING.  
A. MEERTENS.

By order of the council,  
M. S. TUINE, sec. *ad. int.*

*To their Excellencies General Whyte and Commodore Parr, Commanders of His Britannic Majesty's Forces off Demerary.*

The officers and troops entered into our service. It is now no secret, that general Whyte's expedition originated in the invitation of the inhabitants. A deputation had been sent to Barbadoes to represent the situation of the colonies to the British commanders. The first attempt to land was made a few miles to windward of the river. The boats unfortunately grounded about a quarter of a mile from the shore, without being able either to return to the shipping or get nearer the land, for the depth of mud was four or five feet; here they remained twelve hours, exposed to the rays of the tropical sun, and in case the inhabitants, or Dutch forces, had been averse to their measures, before they could have effected a landing or returned to the fleet, I would venture to say, the musquetry and grape-shot from the shore would have made that perfectly unnecessary when the tide returned. Seeing the inefficacy of attempting a landing, when the flood rose, a signal was made for the boats to return, and the next morning lieutenant-col. Hislop\* was sent, in a flag of truce, to Stabroek, to summons Demerary and Essequibo to surrender to the British, who would take possession of the colonies for and in the name of the Stadtholder; contracting parties were appointed, and the capitulation signed, which guaranteed all private property, except that which was floating, and a continuance of the Dutch laws, offices, and religion. His excellency Anthony Beaujon, formerly secretary to the colony, a native of St. Eustatia, was appointed governor until his majesty's pleasure should be known, and lieutenant-col. Hislop, of the 39th regiment, commandant of the troops.

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\* Since brigadier general, and governor of Trinidad.



Berbice was surrendered in a similar way to the protection of the British forces, immediately after Demerary. But of this, enough has incidentally been said already in the ninth chapter.

A great number of speculators accompanied the expedition: some brought over merchandize and shipping to load for England, and others came to make purchases of landed property; indeed the readiness with which the speculators engaged from the West India islands and Great Britain to invest their capital, made it more like a country resumed, than ceded, to England. From such a sudden ingress of monied men, the value of estates was greatly enhanced, and land which used to be valued at six pounds five shillings per acre, sold in 1796 at nine pounds three shillings sterling, in 1797 at eleven pounds, and in 1799 and 1800 at twelve pounds ten shillings, at which price it remained till the peace of Amiens, when the value of land visibly began to decline. All the uncultivated lots, between the Demerary and Berbice, were bought up with an avidity never before equalled, and several estates were made up along the Mahaica and Mahaicony creeks. Considerable part of the Dutch property was immediately sold to the English adventurers, and the face of every thing began to wear the appearance of English. Their manners, customs, and language, were adopted; indeed every thing was so visibly changed for the better, that it scarce looked like the same place: the river was now full of shipping: I have seen upwards of one hundred sail of British vessels loading at one time for the ports of Great Britain.

An English volunteer corps was formed of the inhabitants of Stabroek, commanded by a major: and a troop of cavalry was soon afterwards raised, which was commanded by the present governor\*.

Lieut.-col. Hislop, was also the means of adding another regiment to the line, the 11th West India regiment, which he succeeded in doing by a levy on the planters. This idea they the more readily entered into, from being promised payment for those negroes they sent, which, I am sorry to say, they never received; but had the mortification to see their property taken away from the colony (when delivered to the Dutch in December 1802, according to the peace of Amiens) without the smallest remuneration. The least, I think, which *ought* to have been done, was, that as the ne-

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\* H. W. Bentinck, Esq. late governor of St. Vincent.

groes were contributed by the planters for the defence of their property in the colony, they should have been left attached to that service for which they were originally intended. Instead of this, on evacuating the colony, the commandant took the regiment with him, as he would any other regiment of the line belonging to his majesty.

Governor Mercurius now became the representative of the sovereign power. The burgher regulations for arming the inhabitants for the internal defence of the colonies were nearly the first official discussions which his excellency, after being installed, had in the court of police, where he sits as president. The former laws on that subject were all annulled, and those now produced were of a much stricter nature than the others, but on the whole, well arranged for a protection against revolts of the negroes. One article, however, occasioned great inconvenience to the inhabitants of Stabroek, and was productive of dangerous consequences to new comers, or unseasoned inhabitants.

When the health of the Batavian troops began to be so bad that one half of them were confined to the hospital and barracks, it was determined that they should never mount guard or do night duty in Stabroek, but that a company of the burgher militia, or inhabitants of Stabroek and the adjoining towns should do it.

As they were mostly composed of British subjects, the governor and honourable court of police, probably thought there was no harm in exposing them to the unhealthy night air and dew, and that they had found an excellent substitute for their own troops. Under this idea, the inhabitants were obliged to do garrison duty at Stabroek, patrol the streets during the night, and were placed as sentinels at all the public offices: besides this, they were paraded every day for the first month or two, to be made perfect in the Dutch method of exercise and word of command.

After the first week of this nocturnal "burgher wagt," several of the merchants were deprived of the assistance of their clerks, who, from not being accustomed to this irregular life, and some of them but just arrived from Europe, were confined to their beds by fever, occasioned by exposure to the night air, and perhaps by too free an access to the bottle, which the fatigue of duty required or occasioned. Many persons were brought to their sick beds, and those who recovered, while in a state of convalescence, were obliged to provide certificates from their doctors or surgeons, of their incapability to do duty. The fine for non-attendance on the guards or parades, was a joe (thirty-six shillings). Such

an event happening a second time the offender was imprisoned for a period left to the discretion of the officers; if it occurred more than twice successively, he was to be banished from the colony. These arbitrary measures could not fail of being disagreeable to the individuals who composed the militia. The conduct of the governor and of the court of police, ought to have been protested against by the inhabitants *en masse*, which would have made them personally answerable for the consequences which followed.

That no private pique for inconvenience personally suffered from governor Meertens, may be thought to influence my pen, I wish it to be known, that during the time the Dutch had possession, after the restoration of the colonies to Holland in 1802, I was a resident in the country, removed five miles beyond the reach of the burgher regulations of the town, and therefore experienced none of those grievances of which I have complained. Having witnessed them; having visited my friends and acquaintances, when confined by sickness thence occasioned; and having followed some of them to their graves, how can I refrain from animadverting on such unjustifiable proceedings?

Anthony Meertens is the son of an advocate of Amsterdam, and at the age of maturity made his *débüt* as a lawyer of Demerary. Versed in every professional art, he owed his first advancement to several attorney and executorships, which gave him the management and direction of a number of estates. His affairs of this sort were not confined to Demerary, but extended to Essequibo. The emoluments arising from these appointments are always considerable, the commission allowed by law being ten per cent. on the gross produce of the estate, therefore, if a crop amounts to a hundred thousand weight of coffee, the attorney gets one thousand of it for his trouble. But this is not the only advantage arising to these offices. Mr. Meertens had an opportunity of purchasing an estate, very cheap, of the heirs of one of his constituents, who resided in Holland. The plantation Rome, situated on the same side of the river as Stabroek, and about three miles distant, is said to have been obtained for thirty thousand guilders, viz. two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. This estate he still possesses: it is valued at upwards of one hundred thousand. On his arrival in the colony, as governor, he erected a splendid government house there, which building was computed to cost ten thousand pounds. The frame was made and imported from Holland, and some busy people no doubt unfoundedly reported, that it was intended to have

been erected in Stabroek, on public ground, as an official residence for the governor, and not upon any private property. Mr. Meertens next undertook the inside furnishing. A young lady, of Indian extraction, and but twice removed, had taken possession of his heart. After the usual form of courtship, contrary, however, to the established custom of the colony, he took unto himself a tawny wife. It is not the first time that money has reconciled such a procedure.

Mr. Meertens, in 1792, appeared in the municipal character of fiscal for the colony of Demerary. In this office he was very lenient towards the English smugglers from the West India islands, who, to the great benefit of the colony, used to take the produce into market, when the Dutch shipping in the river dared not leave it. Notwithstanding all the caution which was practised on the part of the Dutch naval force stationed in the river, considerable quantities of produce, especially cotton, went to be imported into Great Britain by this circuitous route. The fiscal's apparent indifference to what was going on, never went unrewarded; and if he did not absolutely smuggle his own produce out, he used to sell it to those who did. He was a member of council, and signed the capitulation which surrendered the colony to Great Britain in 1796. In April 1799, he and his family embarked on board the *Grenada*, for London, where he remained until the preliminaries of peace were signed, when he went to Holland, in expectation of still furthering his advancement.

Mr. Meertens returned to the colony in 1802, as governor, with a Mr. La Maison, who was appointed vice-president of the courts, and who, after involving his official business in a labyrinth of confusion, and after receiving money and settling accounts for several merchants in England, who had rashly invested him with powers, took to drinking, and finally incurred the suspicion of insanity. His friends took advantage of it, and insisted on his making a speedy, but not wholly honourable retreat, from the colony, leaving his constituents in the lurch, the principal of which were the assignees of a once respectable mercantile house in London.

The arbitrary manner in which this vice-president was allowed to act in his office, always excited disgust in every Briton, who considered the trial by jury as the bulwark of his liberties. As Englishmen, placed in a foreign country, we were divested of that blessing. Six members of council

being chosen, and the president, or vice-president (the former is the governor and merely an honorary member) decide on all causes. The vice-president is a professional man, and receives a salary from the colony; the other six are appointed by the keizers from the inhabitants of the country, and by pecuniary embarrassments, are often placed in the vice-president's power, who frequently has it at his option to admit a suit into court or not, and always to retard its progress, besides which, he has the casting vote. From these circumstances it may be clearly inferred, that the vice-president is the influencing man in the court, who has it in his power, from his situation and command over the other members, in a great degree to turn the scale of any trial, or cause. Such, I am sorry to say, was the state of the courts of justice, while under the Batavian government; and the terms of the capitulation have hitherto tended to resist the desirable degree of reform. The following occurrences will give some idea of them.

We were so scantily supplied by the twelve merchants of Holland with the requisite stores, plantation utensils, &c. that it was thought advisable, previous to the war, to allow British manufactured goods to be imported from the islands to make up the deficiency, for which produce might be taken away in payment, upon paying a duty to the colony chest. The English schooner *Fanny*, of Barbadoes, took advantage of this liberty, and arrived in the Demerary, with a cargo consigned to her owner, who was a merchant residing in Stabroek. After the cargo was landed, the vessel was brought alongside a wharf, of which the consignee was in part proprietor, to be re-loaded. A day or two after, when a proportion of the cargo was shipped, the master of a French schooner, belonging to Martinique, and then lying in the river, comes ashore with his crew, and orders the *Fanny* to sheer off from the wharf, as he wanted her birth for his vessel. This demand was resisted, when Monsieur and his people were preparing to put his orders into execution; but jack tar, not relishing such interference, prevented them, and a scuffle ensued, by which means the French seamen came off second best, with a good drubbing. A complaint being immediately made to his excellency, an order, with the officers of justice, came down to enforce the removal of the English schooner, for the French one to take her station. Further resistance was vain, but the merchant waited on the governor to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of such a procedure, as he was a

proprietor of the wharf, and his vessel had an undoubted right of preference to load there. The Dutch governor assuming all his dignity, was astonished that any resistance had been made in the first instance, desired that he might not be troubled or intruded upon, and said that he would make every Englishman in the colony bend to his power.

A foreigner, of the name of Kholer, had a cause depending in the court, to determine the validity of a claim he made to an estate in Demerary. The sentence of the court was given against him, which saddled him with some very heavy law expences, beside depriving him of what he thought his right. He was incapacitated from making an appeal to their high mightinesses, by several unfortunate circumstances, which quickly followed one another, and the heavy costs he had been at in sustaining this law-suit. A man thus situated, without the means of prosecuting his claims, would certainly feel some degree of chagrin; especially as he was induced to believe it was occasioned by a private pique which the vice-president had against him, before he arrived at that dignity. In a company where several of La Maison's partisans happened to be present, Kholer vented his spleen against him, and roundly asserted that he was actuated by partiality in the decision he made in his cause, and that he was not so good nor so just a man as he ought to be. This of course soon found its way to the vice-president's ears, who immediately issued a writ for apprehending and confining him in jail, where he was kept a close prisoner for six months, without being brought to trial; and it was not until the British took possession of the colony in September 1803, that, by petitioning the lieutenant-governor, he had an opportunity of appearing before his judge; for La Maison was obliged to be retained in office\* until the arrival of his excellency Anthony Deuujon, who was sent out from England, and wisely placed a second time, as governor of the colonies. Poor Kholer had not yet felt all the power of the vice-president, for when before the bar, he beheld in the person of the judge, his prosecutor, through whose machinations he was deprived of the benefit of his counsel, who was not allowed to plead, though he had

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\* *Extract of article first of the capitulation.*—The constituted authorities, and public offices, whether in the civil law, or church establishment, as well as the members of the respective courts, except the governor-general, shall be retained in their respective offices and situations, until his majesty's pleasure shall be known.

Answer by the commanders of his majesty's forces—granted.

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been the only one hardy enough to undertake the cause, in direct opposition to the man in place. The trial was soon concluded, and Kholer was sentenced to be twelve months imprisoned from that time, and to pay all expences, even the jail-fees, and not to be released until the demands were liquidated, when he was to be banished the colony. At the time of my leaving Demerary, he was still imprisoned for the additional expences incurred at his trial. The drossart's (sheriff) humanity was shocked at his case, and he asserted, in my presence, that if Kholer could by any means settle the law expences, the jail-fees, which are very heavy in this country, he would willingly give up, to enable him to get his release.

The military were not much better than the civil regulations; both had that driftless character, which the anarchic state of the metropolitan province favoured. A line of military posts were established on the sea-coast, and new barracks erected suitable for the reception of five thousand troops. At Mahaica fort, which is finely and beautifully situated at the mouth of the creek, commanding an extensive sea view, a barrack was built, capable of containing five hundred men, besides a handsome airy house for the officers, and a good hospital, with other out-buildings.

At Kingston, which is adjacent to Fort William Frederic, are several very spacious barracks and officers' houses, which would quarter four thousand men with the greatest ease, and regard to health. These buildings and improvements were projected by the Dutch government, contracted for by an English mercantile house, the plan improved by the engineers under general Grinfield, and finally paid for by the colony. They are certainly a very great acquisition to the troops, and afford an opportunity in case of sickness, of removing them to different situations for change of air, which is very necessary, and so often proves salutary.

Some little time after the first arrival of troops, which amounted to fifteen hundred, a reinforcement of five hundred more arrived, equally in as bad a plight as the former, with regard to provisions and accommodation on board ship; the preparations and arrangements made for their reception, were not in the least calculated to benefit their situation. A more ill-digested plan for the reception of two thousand men into a tropical climate, I suppose never was witnessed; if they had had no time for making the necessary arrangements, something might have been urged in apology; but as upwards of fourteen months had elapsed from

the signing of the preliminaries of peace to their arrival in the colony to take possession, surely more might have been done to render their situation comfortable, and approaching to that of civilized human beings. Not to put a worse construction on the conduct of the Batavian government in this particular instance than it deserved, it must be viewed as a wretched piece of parsimony; to have sent the troops out as they did, destitute of every comfort and convenience, and I might almost say, of the common necessities of life. Their rations consisted of meal bread, and hard biscuit made of the same material, a large quantity of which was imported from Holland. Salt beef and pork badly cured, from the same place, with pease, oatmeal, and calavancies, without the change of fresh meat : these articles absolutely and solely constituted the provisions served out to the Batavian troops in these colonies.

The pay of the troops was so small, as scarcely to allow them to purchase pipes and tobacco. A Dutch soldier would sooner be deprived of his dinner than his pipe. Without half the indulgences British troops have, were these poor miserable wretches left to their fate, not an allowance of spirits to render their water palatable, except *new rum*, which is not improperly termed "kill devil." An instance of this I had from undoubted authority.

A seaman belonging to one of his majesty's ships, stationed in the West Indies, died suddenly, turned quite black in several parts of his body, and was evidently in a putrescent state. The surgeon requested leave of the captain to open and examine him, which was accordingly done, when a *quart of new rum*, nearly as clear as when it first issued from the still, was taken from him, which evidently caused his decease. I am convinced, if our brave seamen were to profit by the knowledge of its deleterious qualities, that we should not experience half the number of deaths we at present do : I principally allude to the seamen in the merchants' service, who, as is well known, when on shore are under little or no controul from the masters of ships. On a Sunday, their general point of rendezvous is at the grog shops, where, besides getting beastly intoxicated with this new rum, they supply themselves with a small keg to serve them during the week, in addition to the allowance they receive from their ships, which is always of a good quality, as the masters generally have an opportunity of laying in a sufficiency for the voyage, free of duty, before they leave England.



I have frequently heard unthinking people exclaim, "ah! the climate of the West Indies is the grave of our seamen:" I entertain a more charitable opinion of it. During the seven years of my being a resident of Demerary, I never knew of any contagious fevers prevailing among the inhabitants there: I do not even remember more than one instance of yellow fever, when the coffin was ordered for the patient, but he recovered. The small pox, I should hope, will be completely eradicated, by the active exertions of Messrs. Dunkin and Lloyd, who introduced and promoted the vaccine inoculation to the utmost of their power, by appointing regular days for attending to it, free of expence; and by having negroes sent from the distant parts of the colonies, thus giving the medical men, who resided inland, an opportunity of extending it.

The medical staff attached to the Batavian troops was very numerous, but consisted principally of inexperienced young men, and boys of sixteen or seventeen, as mates, who from all appearance, had been taken out of apothecaries' shops in Holland, for the purpose of continuing that parsimony they had so ably commenced with. To these unskilled youths, and to their lack of knowledge, was the health of two thousand men confided. I can figure to myself the outcry which would have been raised against a British ministry, were any of their undertakings conducted on a similar basis.

My aim and intention is to relate facts without exaggeration, I will therefore take the liberty of returning again to the 2d of December, when the troops were drawn up to receive the governor. They were landed in the afternoon of the 1st, and on the second, when they were paraded without ostentation, they had not had one meal, or eaten a morsel since leaving the transports, which nearly completed a space of twenty-four hours. The first day's duty and exposure to the sun, without that sustenance which nature required for her support, with the other disadvantages the troops laboured under, may be deemed the first step towards sickness, and indeed the foundation of all the dreadful calamities which followed. The disorder which broke out among them, soon began to rage with fury; the number of sick increased daily, in fact hourly, occasioned by their being allowed to remain in the barracks with the healthy men: their surgeons were panic-struck; an epidemic fever ran through the soldiery like wild fire; already were there a thousand of them confined. In this posture of affairs, the Batavian go-

vernment should have issued out good and wholesome rations, wine, and other nutritious restoratives, and exerted themselves to have increased the comforts of their troops; but it was ordained otherwise, and though fifteen or twenty died every day, the number of patients still increased. To behold, as I have done, dozens of human carcasses exposed for hours to the sun, on the hospital wharf in Labourgade, and in open boats, waiting for coffins, and afterwards to have seen them packed three in a coffin, would make any body shudder. The deaths soon after increased to such a degree, that there was no possibility of being supplied either with coffins, or even with graves. The burial ground was already made impossible, from the stench created by so many bodies being interred in so short a space of time, frequently not more than three feet under the earth, so that it was at last determined to roll them up in their blankets, and send them outside the river's mouth in punts, or flat-bottomed boats, and there commit them to the deep. Colonel Du Melle, who commanded the troops, being quite disgusted, tendered his resignation to the governor, which his excellency declined accepting.

The inhabitants continued very healthy, and unaffected with the contagion which had spread amongst the soldiers; the deaths, for the first two or three weeks, used to be announced in the colony gazette, but from motives of prudence were afterwards repressed. From good authority I know they exceeded five hundred within three months after their arrival, when the governor found the necessity of giving them a change of air. Accordingly they were dispatched to different parts of the colonies in small detachments, which probably saved the lives of many, but not of all; for on the colonies capitulating to the British, in September 1803, a deficiency of nearly three hundred of the troops was perceptible, which number must have died in the country. One hundred and eighty poor miserable objects were delivered over to the British, on their taking possession of the colony, and immediately placed under the care of an able English physician, Dr. Allanby. They almost all recovered, and were so much pleased with their rations, manner of treatment, and allowance, which was so different from what they had been accustomed to, that they one and all entered into the British service at Barbadoes.

The Batavian government covenanted that British Guineamen should be allowed to sell their cargoes in the colonies for three years, but not be permitted to take away any thing

in return, except bills upon Holland. This regulation was certainly very hard ; however, during the four months peace which subsisted, after they were in possession of Demerary, several cargoes were sold, and the ships, obliged to leave the river in ballast, used to lay off and on the coast in the day, and would anchor in the night to take in the produce which was brought off to them. By these means considerable quantities of cotton were thrown into the London and Liverpool markets, notwithstanding the means taken by the Dutch corvette, *Hippomenus*, which sent out several tenders to intercept this smuggling trade. I was coming up from Essequibo one night, and before we perceived it, the weather being very dark, were alongside of an English Guineaman, who was then taking in cotton. We were immediately hailed and ordered to stand off ; but continuing on our tack, and nearing the vessel more and more, we were saluted by a shower of musket balls, several of which passed through the sails, and wounded the masts ; fortunately no other injury was done. The negroes appeared perfectly composed, and proceeded to put the schooner about, merely saying, “Them buchra sailor mad—no ? While we were in stays another volley was fired, but more for the purpose of frightening than of injuring, as the balls whistled over our heads without appearing to strike any part of the vessel or rigging. One of the first measures taken by the naval commandant on the station, was to insist on every colonial boat, of whatever nature, wearing a distinguishing vane. For registering the name of the vessel, and receiving written instructions, the captain of the *Hippomenus* extorted a joe, or thirty-six shillings for each boat ; therefore computing the number of boats at six hundred, he made upwards of one thousand pounds by this assessment on individuals. Moreover every colony craft, however small, even an open boat, was not allowed to pass and repass in and out of the river, without having a Dutch flag flying. Such was the nationality they were led to, that a poor negro captain one day, who after having passed the fort and anchored in the river, hauled his Dutch colours down, was taken on board the corvette, and severely punished for not keeping them flying until the sun set. I saw the poor fellow afterwards, and he told me that his schooner should not wear any colours in the river until the English took the colonies again ; that he did not care for the Dutch captain, even if he flogged him every time he came in, he would have his own way ; to use his own language—“kie !

massa Hendry, them Dutch color no good, me schooner no shall wear flag in the river, tac them English buchra come again, when me shall buy one English jack: me no mind suppose that Dutch officer flog me every time me schooner come in; him no shall wear them color." To me it was highly gratifying to observe how Englishly disposed all the negro interest is: born for the most part in the West India islands, these black sailors grow up with a patriotic zeal for all who talk our language.

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## CHAP. XV.

*Improvement and State of the Colony from 1783 to the Peace of Amiens—Lots of Land sold very cheap.—Difference between the Dutch and English Planter—Previous unpleasant state of the Colonies from internal Causes—A servile War quelled by a Regiment of Rangers—Grants to the Officers along the Pomeroon—Invasion threatened by Victor Hughes from Cayenne—Historic Particulars of that Settlement—Further Particulars of the progressive State of the Interior.*

THE preceding chapter left the Dutch in quiet possession of the colonies. The new regulations of the court of Holland, and the extension of power granted to the governor, were hailed as returning symptoms of affection and regard from the mother country, for want of which the infant had of late years been declining, but being received again under the protection and fostering care of its mother, it was expected to thrive tenfold.

Holland having withdrawn her attention from the eastern world, directed it to the improvement of her West India colonies. The ideas which had been hitherto formed of them were completely erroneous; and since the English had made estates there, the Dutch discovered that any part of the continent was fit for cultivation, and the soil every where adapted for profitable production.

The governor and council were now authorized to grant the whole of the land adjacent to the sea, lying between Demerary and Berbice, commonly called the east sea coast, and comprising fifty miles in length; this tract, as well as another called the Arabische, or west coast of Essequibo,

were surveyed and laid out into allotments of one quarter of a mile in breadth, facing the sea, and a mile in length, extending into the interior, containing two hundred and fifty acres each, with a similar proportion reserved at the back of the first, to resort to when that should be cultivated.

The Mahaica, Mahaicony, and Abarry creeks, empty themselves into the sea between Demerary and Berbice; the two former are the principal, and were surveyed at the same time with the coasts; the land here is good, and easy of cultivation. After penetrating through a few trees and underwood just on the edge of the banks, a fine clear open savannah country presents itself, a most beautiful dank plain, with here and there a solitary tree, which has its effect in diversifying the scene: such an immediate change of country and appearance is as unexpected as pleasing to the beholder.

Soon after my arrival in the colony, I was highly gratified by an excursion into these savannahs, being on a visit at a cottage, as it is modestly called by the owner, in the Carabanna district, about five miles from Mahaica. I was invited with my friendly host to breakfast, in the company of a large party, at Brome-hall, a neighbouring estate. We were fifteen or twenty in number, and every delicacy which the colony afforded, was provided by our hospitable entertainer; tea, coffee, and rich soups, fowls and mutton, noyau, sangaree, and wine. Breakfast being finished, we mounted our horses, attended by negroes on foot, for the purpose of exploring a path through the savannah to some part of the Mahaica creek; and from the direction we took, it was intended to be beyond the cultivated estates, and as near the head of the creek as we could reach. The day was remarkably mild; a fine clear open country; all the party in spirits: some bethought themselves of the pleasures of the chase, which they had enjoyed in England. The hunting cry was given and re-echoed from one to another; two or three old hunters, as if by instinct, started at the well known sound, and were soon the headmost in the field. The wirrebocerra, a sort of deer, was our projected game. A marshy track compelled our attention to a path, which, to our surprise, appeared to have been lately used, but our attentive host was in the secret, for on our arrival at the creek, which stopped all progress, we found a party of negroes, who had been dispatched before, with a cold collation, with punch, malt liquor, and wines. After partaking of these refreshments, we mounted our horses again, and

proceeded to the cottage, where the party had engaged to dine. We reached this estate about four o'clock in the afternoon, after travelling upwards of twenty miles, quite tired and fatigued. An excellent dinner, aid by the sparkling charms of Madeira and claret, and the happy cordiality with which Mr. B. receives and entertains his friends, soon dispelled all weariness, and it was not till morning that this joyous party separated.

Mahaicony is the principal place in the colony where the colonial craft are built; all the materials for which, except nails and iron work, are procured from the interior; they are generally from thirty to forty tons burthen, schooner rigged, with covered decks; they draw only five feet water, and are navigated by negroes. A principal part of the allotments were granted to Dutchmen, but the opinion which they had originally founded was not completely eradicated. Some attempts had been made by them to cultivate the sea coast, but these not succeeding as they expected, little more was done in it. Indeed they were soon glad to dispose of their grants, and on such terms and prices as the British subjects, who were arriving daily, were glad to purchase at.

Many lots of land of two hundred and fifty acres were sold for one and two hundred pounds. One indeed was even exchanged for a negro, and another was absolutely given for a turkey, by which name the estate now goes, to commemorate the anecdote of its purchase. Similar lots to these on the east coast of Berbice, have been sold by Mr. Blair, to whom large grants were made for four, five, and six thousand pounds in 1799, 1800, and 1801.

The national slowness of the Dutch was never so completely verified as in the resettlement of these colonies. They are planters of the old school, and nothing whatever can divert their attention from the traditional manner in which they settle their estates. The system which the English have introduced, ensures as much cultivation in one year, as a Hollander would accomplish in four. The one dashes on and prepares a hundred acres to plant, while the other is content with twenty-five; his greatest ambition is to make his estate look like a garden, while that of the Englishman is to get the greatest quantity of cotton under cultivation possible, as it has been found by the experience of a series of years, that the quantity, and not the quality, constitutes the profit of the crop. The labour which is saved by the English planters is almost incalculable. Instead of cutting down every tree, and removing all the underwood, accord-

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ing to the pernicious example which was set them, they fired all the wood, except that part intended for provision-grounds, in direct contradiction to the advice of their friendly though mistaken neighbours, who assured them the land would be totally ruined by such a procedure. The event proved it otherwise, as from being too luxuriant before, it was found to be improved; the megass, or soil generated from putrid foliage, which is generally a foot thick, prevents the fire from penetrating too far so as to injure the land.

Messrs. B. and H. and Mynheer A. possess two estates on the west coast of Essequibo, four miles distant from each other; the former have only cultivated their estate five years, while the latter has been twenty-five years in cultivating his; and the difference in the value of the last crop did not exceed five hundred pounds sterling.

There is a wonderful dissimilarity between the Dutch and English colonists. They naturally both go out with a view of making money; but the one with an intention of ending his days abroad, and the other of returning to his native country, to live in ease and independence on the fruit of his industry. The first thing a Dutchman does, after he is in possession of an estate, is to build a splendid house; the next thing is to employ his negroes in making a handsome garden; he then gets a pleasure-boat, and four or five negroes are immediately put in training for sailors; and lastly; his ambition must be gratified by a curricule and pair of horses. The only thing they agree in is good living. The pleasures of the table they both are determined to enjoy; the one in a large splendid house, and the other in a cottage.

Many English merchants, about 1790, formed establishments, and settled in Demerary; and considerable quantities of British manufactured goods were obtained from the West India islands; but the importation of negroes, or exportation of produce in British shipping, was prohibited as interfering with the Dutch navigation laws. Nevertheless, a barter trade, to a considerable amount, was carried on privately, and even passed over in silence by the officers of justice. There being no custom-house in the Dutch colonies, that superintendence devolves on the fiscal and receiver.

The republican war of 1793 threw the inhabitants into great distress; their intercourse with the mother-country was retarded, and no business was carrying on save with America, and the contraband trade with the English. Their

military force was reduced to little more than two hundred men; discontent occupied every breast, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the few remaining troops could be kept in subjection.

Such was their deplorable situation in 1794, when very alarming symptoms appeared among the bush negroes, who had been a considerable time in collecting, and were now at this period arrived at such a pitch of temerity, that it was necessary they should be checked.

The Dutch troops, with a few negroes, were accordingly detached to the west coast of Demerary, where they entered the bush; but after beating about several days, and having many skirmishes with the insurgents, in which they were defeated, from being worn out with fatigue, they were obliged to return to the sea-coast again, in time to behold the remains of their barracks perishing by the flames, which had been communicated to them by a party of the maroon negroes, sent out for provisions. They murdered the manager and a mulatto girl, burnt all the buildings they could approach, one of which had been appropriated for the troops, and stole every thing which was at all valuable, or that could be conveyed away. Such daring outrages as these had the appearance of leading to dangerous consequences, to ward off which the governor and council thought it advisable to call on the inhabitants for their assistance, for which purpose many of them volunteered for the service, and a company of rangers was raised, consisting of negroes, which were contributed by the different estates, and placed under the command of major M. Grath, under whom were captains Dougan, Johnson, &c. with others in subordinate situations. The armed burghers, or inhabitants, joined the rangers with a number of bucks, or Indians. These people are remarkably averse to the negroes, and have generally stood foremost in case of any disturbance, to quell the blacks, and protect the Europeans; indeed they have always here, as in Berbice, evinced a strong desire to maintain and aid the white inhabitants in the sovereignty of the country.

The combined forces took the field in 1795, formed into two divisions, one of which entered the bush on the west coast, and the other fifteen miles up the river, by Ababbour creek, with an intention of taking a complete circuit, and forming a junction. They were provided with several trusty negro guides, one of whom I very well knew, of the name of Gentleman: he belonged to an estate up the river, and



had been purchased among other negroes out of an African cargo, at Grenada, and brought thence, by his masters, to settle on a sugar estate they possessed. This negro, from his uniform good conduct, soon gained the esteem and confidence of his owners, and from his sincere attachment to them, was looked upon as a favourite, which, however, was shewn in no other way than by trifling presents at a chance time. His house, his way of living, and indeed his employment, seldom differed from that of others, except when any commission required a confidential servant, then Gentleman was generally fixed on. He possesses good plain sense, considering the way in which he was bred among the savages of Africa. He was active and sharp-sighted, had a clear head, made himself acquainted with the principal passes and paths to the revolted negroes' encampments, which he acquired by dint of perseverance and industry, at the risk of his life, by making excursions into the wood at night, by which means he discovered their places of retirement: he used especially to watch their carrying plantains, which they had stolen from the neighbouring plantain walks; he was once or twice near being caught, in which event they would have had no hesitation in killing him as a spy. He has always proved himself a faithful and honest negro, and except one failing, that of being rather too fond of rum, is free from vice. Few negroes possess ideas of honour and integrity in a greater degree than he does. With all these good qualities, Gentleman could not fail of being eminently serviceable to the division to which he was attached. I have frequently questioned him as to the nature of his own country, of which he speaks with the utmost dislike and contempt. "Buckra (white men's) country more good; here so, me only one massa, in a dat country for me, every man my massa, suppose he more strong than meself. They catchee me and make me work for them king; suppose me no want for work, them sall kill me: sometime them king make war and one noder somebody get me for work; them no give me victuals, them no give me rum, them no give me blanket, them no good like a buckra massa, them flog and them kill them slaves like a hell; suppose one king kickkaraboo (die), they kill all the slaves too." From this artless and unadorned tale, may be collected a great deal to prove the wretched situation of the negroes in their own country, and with what arbitrary sway and despotism the petty kings, or rather barons in Africa, govern their vassals and slaves.

But to return to the bush expedition, which, after con-

siderable fatigue, succeeded in surrounding an encampment, or negro village, in the night, consisting of seven huts. Many of the inhabitants were absent; however, a number of them were taken, and those who resisted were shot and slain in the confusion of the moment. The Indians acted with great inveteracy against the insurgents. A reward of ten pounds sterling being offered by the court for each right hand that was brought in belonging to a bush negro, they made no hesitation in disencumbering those killed, of these members. The gardens and provision-grounds in the back country, which had been vigorously defended, were of considerable use to the pursuing party; for the revolted had rooted up and laid waste every thing, burning every building, and desolating every plantation.

The prisoners were sent in under an escort of rangers, who seeing every thing consumed and rendered useless, commenced their march again in search of the hostile encampment. They kept the field for several weeks with little or no intermission, until the health of the Europeans employed in the undertaking, obliged them to retreat, without even being able to discover the main hiding-place of the adversary. They repelled the gipsy foe into inaccessible districts. The promptitude and active manner in which the planters undertook this business, deserves the warmest praise, as they evidently prevented the insurrection from being extended, and brought to an open rebellion, in which case, all the disaffected in the colony would have joined, and from the weak state of the military force, would soon have had the colony in their own power. The governor and court of police were aware of the services rendered, and in their vote of thanks, which was sent both in the Dutch and English languages, informed the principal officers of the expedition, that they would immediately take into consideration the best means to be adopted for granting them each a lot of land on the Pomaroon coast, in consideration of their services. Those in subordinate offices were remunerated for their loss of time, and handsome presents were made to all. The Indians and negroes were not forgotten: many of them had silver medals given them for encouragement, with each particular service engraved thereon. The Indian chieftains were presented with large handsome sticks with silver heads, as mementos of their services, and of their attachment to the Europeans. These encouragements were calculated to do considerable service, and to excite emulation

and good conduct in others; they will be handed down to posterity as marks of distinction and approbation.

This business being so happily got over, the planters and merchants turned their attention to their own particular situation. Belonging to a country which could neither protect them, nor their trade, whose European government and inhabitants were divided by factions, which have finally made them a dray-horse to a Corsican usurper; something was necessary to be done to enable them to open their ports, and ship from the colony the produce which had been accumulating for several years. A little trade with North America, and a heavy barter trade for negroes and produce with the English, were the only vents they had for any of their productions, and these, at the utmost, did not dispose of more than one-third of the annual crop. The English contraband trade, from a small beginning, increased so much, that the government was obliged to take notice of it, and a Dutch sloop of war, which was lying in the river, constantly kept out boats of observation, to prevent a continuance of the trade. The English vessels used to anchor off the coast as regularly as in a harbour, and kept always prepared a warm reception for these Dutch cruizers, in case they should come athwart them with hostile views. On the appearance of any vessels on the coast, these immediately returned into the river, and by feigning persons supposed to be in good understanding with the fiscal, every thing was rendered eventually easy for the English planters and merchants to slip out with their schooners, though most of the produce exported this way, went from the east sea-coast, by which means it avoided passing the fort at the mouth of the river.

Destitute of almost every article of European manufacture and convenience, the military force reduced so very low as two hundred men, and these so nearly in a state of mutiny, as to make it synonymous to being without any; the colonies began to be conscious in this situation, that they should fall an easy prey to any adventurous plunderer. Victor Hughes' arrival at Cayenne began to be noised abroad, his repeated proclamations of liberty and equality, which breathed vengeance on all the possessions not immediately in possession of the French, called on a rabble of idle and disaffected negroes and mulattoes to join, to whom he promised freedom, and held out a glittering prospect of glory. He succeeded in deluding six thousand misguided and

jects to join him, whom he armed and disciplined, with an intention of taking possession of Dutch Guyana, and finally of revolutionizing all the British possessions in the West Indies. The dread of being consigned to the mercy of such a band of lawless miscreants as composed Victor Hughes' army, determined the inhabitants to apply for advice and protection to the island of Barbadoes, where some considerable proprietors resided, who had also estates in Guyana. A short account of the French establishment at Cayenne, must convince every one how much wiser it was to court the superintendence of a British, than of a French authority.

The province of Cayenne is situated in about 53 degrees W. longitude, and 5 N. latitude, its principal settlement and seat of government is near the coast on a small island of the same name. It is bounded on the west by Surinam, on the north and east by the Atlantic ocean, and to the southward by the Portuguese territories, whence it is separated by the course of the Oyapoco as far as its boundaries have been defined; the extent is computed to be three hundred and fifty British miles in length, by two hundred and forty in breadth.

The French undertook in 1635 the colonization of Cayenne. Merchants of Rouen were the chief patrons of the scheme; Ponceau de Bretigny, the official governor of the settlers. The contempt for justice which every where distinguishes the French, was here fatal to their interests. The native Indians, expelled from their lands without even an attempt at consent or purchase, robbed of their huts for the accommodation of strangers, deprived of the society and labour of their women by the seductions or violence of the whites, and often compelled to toil for their oppressors, conspired against the intruders, murdered the governor, and greatly harassed and thinned the settlers.

On receiving this intelligence in France, a new company was proposed, and a reinforcement of a thousand colonists. Other merchants were to share in the enterprise. The former adventurers had erred by their violence; these were to carry out every christian virtue. The multitude indeed could only be recruited from among persons of broken fortunes and character; but these it was presumed would copy from their chiefs. The abbé Marivault, a most pious, virtuous, and respectable ecclesiastic, was to be the governor, or rather high priest, of this new Jerusalem; the general Roiville was intended for a subordinate character. In the act of embarking at Havre, the abbé Marivault's foot was

said to have slipped, he fell into the sea, and was drowned. Roiville was assassinated during the passage. Those who arrived at Cayenne, displayed there the same insubordination and atrocity which had broke loose on ship-board. They quarrelled with each other, with the former settlers, and with the natives; many died of wounds, more of the climate. The garrison deserted to the Dutch. The remnant of settlers who clung longest to their properties, were obliged to fly from the hostility of the Indians, and escaped to one of the leeward islands in an open boat and two canoes. Thus failed the second attempt to settle Cayenne, and all the hopes of that company who had been at so much expence and trouble to colonize it.

An expedition was soon after fitted out from Surinam, under the command of Spranger, to take possession of the settlements thus evacuated by the French; scarcely any adherent population was detected; few materials that were worth removing, or structures worth occupying afresh. It was, in fact, a visit of inspection, which terminated in systematic abandonment, but which serves to prove that Cayenne is a natural appurtenance of Parimaribo.

In 1663, another West India company was established in France, under the directorship of La Barre. Their capital did not exceed ten thousand pounds sterling; but the great assistance they derived from the French government enabled them to regain the possession of the lands and embankments which the former company had evacuated. Cayenne came again into the hands of the mother country; but not for a long continuance. The English took it in 1667, and it was afterwards taken by the Dutch in 1676. The colony being restored to the French at a peace, great hopes were now entertained of its enjoying tranquillity, and realizing those hopes of gain which had so long dazzled the eyes of the adventurers; but in this respect they were again mistaken.

Du Casse, who was a good seamen, arrived with some ships from France, in 1688, at Cayenne, and by various means instigated a party of pirates who had settled there two years before with a large valuable booty which they had taken in the south seas, and who were now employed in cultivating the land, to join him in plundering Surinam. Many of the other colonists, induced by the designing arts of this adventurer, joined him, but the expedition proved unfortunate—some of the besiegers fell in the attack, the rest were taken prisoners, and sent to the French Carribee islands, where they settled. The colony has never recovered

this loss; far from extending into Guyana, it has only languished at Cayenne.

The island of Cayanno, or Cayenne, is separated from the continent only by two arms of a river of the same name, and is about eighteen miles long and eight or ten broad; its situation makes it a most unfit place for a settlement, and it would have fared much better with the colonists had they commenced on the main. The land adjacent to the sea, is hilly and mountainous, and that in the centre low and swampy, continually subject to inundations, to prevent which, no other plan can be adopted but that which has been followed in the neighbouring colonies, of digging dykes and draining into the sea. It is much doubted whether the soil is good enough to repay the expending of so much labour. This island is well fortified, the entrance into the harbour is very narrow, and no ship of any burthen can work in until high water.

The aboriginal natives in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea coast, cannot exceed eight thousand, who, by the assistance of several missionaries sent among them, were induced to think better of the French than they deserved, from their repeated acts of oppression.

The first production of Cayenne was arnotto, a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achote*, and by the Indians *achiott*. The tree that yields this is from eighteen to twenty-four feet high, has large dark green leaves, a red bark, and is very bushy; it produces pods twice a year, nearly as large as a chesnut, which contain a pale red fruit or seed, about the size of a pea, which is made into cakes of arnotto, by undergoing fermentation and boiling; the scum taken from the liquor constitutes the dye. Cotton, indigo, and sugar, were next introduced, and in 1721 coffee was brought from Surinam. Twelve years after, they planted cocoa. In 1753, the population and production stood thus: 500 whites, who employed 1500 negroes and 1200 native Indians, and produced about 260,000 lbs. of arnotto, 80,000 lbs. of sugar, 18,000 lbs. of cotton, 27,000 lbs. of coffee, 22,000 lbs. of cocoa, and this was still nearly the situation of the colony in 1763. The cultivation of indigo, which at one time was carried on successfully, has greatly fallen off. The plant which yields indigo, grows up in about six months; when cut, it is placed in layers within a tub of water, and pressed down by weights. The water soon begins to ferment, then becomes opaque and green, and lastly acquires a putrid smell. After a certain length of ferment-

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tation, the leaves grow white; the green liquid is then poured off, and agitated until blue streaks appear; after this, fresh water is added, and a blue precipitate is formed, which, being drained in linen bags and dried in the sun-shine, forms the dying drug called indigo. Maize, cassia, varrilla, have succeeded, but not conspicuously, at Cayenne; with the cassia, however, a very transparent colourless *liqueur* is prepared from rum, which is in great request on the tables of the luxurious at Paramaribo and throughout these colonies. The Cayenne pepper, as it is called, is the fruit of the capsicum baccatum, gathered when ripe, dried in the sun, then pounded and mixed with salt. It is sometimes baked with a small addition of flour; and the biscuit rasped into powder, is sent to Europe. Several kinds of grapes have been lately introduced, and a wine is made there said to be peculiarly medicinal in fevers. The French have succeeded better than other Europeans in obtaining labourers from among the bucks, or native Americans, and are supposed to import them from near the river of Amazons, toward which an annual caravan marches, and holds along its route a circuit of fairs. The Portuguese have repeatedly attacked and massacred these caravans, for encroaching on their territory.

The extent of coast of this country is nearly three hundred British miles, bounded by the Oyapoco on one side, and the Surinam on the other; the navigation coastways is very dangerous, to strangers especially, as their course is frequently retarded by banks of sand and mud flats of considerable extent, which frequently shift. There is no harbour of any consequence except that which the island affords, and from an unpardonable neglect in the colonists, scarcely a place on the sea coast where a boat can land with safety; nay not approach it in spring tides, when the rollers and breakers are so heavy. From there being little or no cultivation here, the land is continually inundated. The smallest vessels cannot come within three or four miles in particular parts of the shore, without running imminent danger of being upset, or entangled with the forests of mangroves and other trees which rise up out of the very sea. By a proper method of cultivation, all this might have been rescued from inundation, and have secured to the mother country an inexhaustible tract of land. A vast capital, however, would have been requisite, and must have been permanently fixed there by the planters; the system of French commerce does not facilitate such advances to the dependent industry. Bourdeaux cannot supply to the concatenated sea-ports of

the colonies, the grand staple of exertion and thrift. A demand for produce instantaneous and uninterrupted, and long credits, to any extent which can be usuriously paid for, are essential in all new countries.

Soon after the peace of 1763, the court of Versailles, influenced by the Duke of Choiseul, made vigorous efforts to give importance to Cayenne. Twelve thousand men, engaged in France as labourers, were landed, some in the isle du Salset, and some on the banks of the Kourou; but alas! no habitation or proper provision had been made for them. To add to their calamities, they arrived at the commencement of a rainy season. Situated thus, without fit food and shelter, without employ from the heaviness of the rains, weary of existence from their deplorable situation, they abandoned themselves to shocking irregularities, which brought on contagious distempers, and soon terminated their wretched fate. Fifteen hundred men, who had escaped the mortality of disease, were washed away by the floods which assailed their ill-chosen settlement. Two thousand demanded to return to Europe, and were unwillingly brought back. About a million sterling was uselessly expended on the enterprise.

During the American war, the victory achieved by Admiral Rodney, in April 1780, offered to our ministry a favourable opportunity for ordering Cayenne and Paramaribo to be occupied by British forces. No steps of the kind were taken. Ignorance of the importance, which under our patronage these most valuable districts of South America were likely to acquire, was, perhaps, in part the cause of the neglect. But the statesmen of that day, if statesmen they can be called, appear to have laboured under a worse, because more incurable disease than ignorance, under prejudice. They both professed and fostered a culpable indifference to acquisition and empire, and voluntarily shook the cohesion of provinces, which they regarded as too extensive for a single seat of government. In order to bestow liberty on North America, it was not necessary to encourage independence; and thus to withdraw half the naval population of English sailors from the obligation to defend the mother country.

From the peace of 1783 to the French revolution, the government of Versailles was meritoriously attentive to the improvement of Cayenne. Botanic gardens were founded there, and the plants of the East Indies were brought at a considerable expence, and cultivated in a sort of nursery, for distribution among the planters; cinnamon trees have thus been propagated to some extent; the bamboo would have



been yet more valuable. These scientific establishments have not been perseveringly patronized; but they have been instrumental to the introduction of novel articles of cultivation into San Domingo; and, through the fugitive planters from that scene of insurrection and desolation, these new productions are likely to be naturalized in Jamaica.

Those French planters who are born in the West Indies, assimilate easily with the English planters. The patriotism of the soil is stronger than any hereditary or traditional allegiance. The manners of the climate, the notions of feudality, are common to both, and jar with the European catechism. In Dominique, Martinique, and other islands, which have been ceded to Great Britain, the creole French are good subjects, and form a faithful attachment for that metropolis which purchases their commodities, and supplies their wants. But those French who are natives of Europe, do not acquire this common feeling with the British planters; they are neither welcome nor safe colonists. In Cayenne and in San Domingo, many of these took part with the agitators, and sympathized with the proclamations of Victor Hugues. The mischief done in San Domingo is notorious. At Cayenne, the people of colour did not make common cause with the emissaries of jacobinism; the slaves could not read the eloquence of Brissot; and when it came to the lot of the original incendiaries to be transported to these districts which they had endeavoured to inoculate with the fever of rebellion, they found no employment adapted for their talents, and less hospitality than a wiser philanthropy would have secured. Some of them, however, have learned to cultivate land with the help of slaves, and may perhaps live to unteach the prejudices and errors, which they put into such destructive activity.

It is of no small importance to Great Britain to remember, that to the fear of these dangerous opinions, and of a servile war, was owing the first intimation of a disposition among the inhabitants of Essequibo, and the adjoining districts, to throw themselves under British protection. These colonies were *conquered*, as the acts of parliament phrase it, under the implied engagement to maintain subordination in opposition to anarchy; and I should much fear from the Dutch proprietors, the avowal of a disposition to resume their ancient allegiance, if Buonaparte and his dependent kings become the patrons of vassalage, and Great Britain of emancipation. The condition of the negroes is here the question which men have most at heart.

It was soon after the capture of Saint Lucia by the British, that a flag of truce arrived from Barbadoes with an Essequibo proprietor on board, who had very frequent conferences with the governor, the time he remained, which was only two days, and who was said to be the bearer of some communication, or terms, from the commanders in chief of the British forces. Thus far is certain, that, unless he came over in an official capacity, he could not have obtained passports, as a flag of truce, merely for his private concerns; and the universal silence maintained as to the object of his mission, no less than the event of it, justifies the general opinion. A guard was kept on board the vessel during her stay, and after her departure, reports began to circulate, which gained credit, as neutral vessels arrived from the West India islands, stating that an expedition was fitting out at Barbadoes, intended for the reduction of these colonies. The governor no doubt was acquainted with its destination; however, to keep up appearances, he made no relaxation in providing means for defence, his family and furniture were removed from town to the Rome estate, no doubt to preserve the one from the dangers and hardships of the seat of war, and the other from the destruction which would necessarily accrue to a town being stormed by the British ships of war; all these reflections were properly considered and weighed in the mind of his excellency, and were acted on with a visible degree of spirit, to impress on the minds of those under his government, opinions which he did not perhaps thoroughly entertain. Several of the Dutch inhabitants of Stabroek, actuated by the example set them by Mr. Meertens, also removed their books, papers, and articles of value, to places of greater safety.

A short time had elapsed since the departure of the flag of truce, when the river was blockaded by an English sloop of war, the *Netley*. A gentleman was landed from her on the east coast, who made arrangements with the planters for sending out their colony schooners to be captured for the time being: they were to remain under her orders, until the expedition, which had sailed from Barbadoes, should arrive, as they would be found essentially necessary for landing the forces, in case any opposition on the part of the Dutch rendered such a procedure necessary.

A great parade of determined resistance was now made, so much so, that the English inhabitants felt themselves awkwardly situated, and began to fear, there was more in it than

they were aware of; as the force the Dutch had, if properly arranged and commanded, could make it a matter of considerable doubt, whether the English force would be successful, owing to the bulwarks of defence which nature had provided, in the shallowness of the coasts, and the little effectual aid the colonists themselves could give, (though three fourths of them had been originally British subjects) on account of the oath of allegiance they had been obliged to take to the Batavian government.

These fears and doubts were soon expelled, for on the 18th of September a flag of truce came into the river from the fleet, which was still out of sight, with a summons to the governor and council to surrender the colonies. A council of war was again called, and a deputation sent off with full powers to capitulate.

The beneficial effects of British conquest, which immediately converts into a fair the place taken under protection, and enriches the inhabitants as rapidly as French conquest impoverishes, were soon apparent to all. The British capital now invested in the colonies made them of serious importance, and a grand object with the mercantile and monied interest of Great Britain to retain; the mere claims on them being estimated, at the time of the peace of Amiens, at ten millions sterling, for advances made by the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, since 1796. Several respectable men were ruined, and others severely felt the versatility of government in ceding, by that disastrous treaty, so much British capital to its natural enemy, for although the Batavian republic lent its name, the colonies were given up to enrich the French, under whose influence and principles they were governed. The British government taking colonies in time of war, is always an encouragement for the English inhabitants to extend their cultivation, and invest their capital in the purchase of estates already made, as was evidently the case during the anti-jacobin war; they, as well as the monied men in England, supposed the colonies would be retained at a peace. Under this idea seven-eighths of the cultivated estates belonging to Dutchmen and other foreigners, were purchased by spirited English adventurers, who, from motives of prudence, preferred settling in these extensive and flourishing continental provinces, to investing their capital in the West India islands, which are declining in fertility, and scarcely produce interest for the capital employed. These colonies were originally settled

by British industry and capital, and may date their second birth and fresh invigoration from their resumption by a British authority.

These colonies, where upwards of fifteen millions of British capital are employed, produce more than all the West India islands jointly, Jamaica excepted. These colonies, which consume so many British manufactured goods, employ such a proportion of shipping and seamen in their navigation, that they might have been looked up to as a never-failing resource against the declining state of our own islands. Besides raising taxes for the support of civil government, and paying certain dues and fees, styled sovereign's money, they have produced a revenue to the crown of Great Britain of two millions annually, yet they were unthinkingly given back at the peace of Amiens. If such a pernicious system as this continues to be followed, Bonaparte will soon gain one of his most ardent wishes—"Colonies, commerce, and ships." The first he will acquire ready made on a valuable and extensive scale by British gold, industry, and perseverance; and the others will follow of course. Enthusiastic ideas of liberty and equality, and mistaken notions of humanity, by striving at emancipating the negroes, severed from France one of the props of that republic; St. Domingo is alluded to, the devastation and ruin of which is severely felt to this day, especially by the merchants of Bourdeaux.—That dreadful example of bloodshed and slaughter, by a too sudden precipitation of the negroes into freedom, is equalled but by similar occurrences which took place in France at the same period; surely it ought to make the avowed friends to the emancipation of our colonial cultivators tremble at the idea of the misery which they have been tending to bring on our West India possessions.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Planters—Their Mode of obtaining Advances—The Discredit inflicted by the Peace of Amiens—Gallicanism of the restored Dutch Authorities—English Vessels assume Dutch Colours—New Rumours of War in Europe—Fresh Distress among the Planters and Merchants—Damages on returned Bills—Mischief of a Fluctuating Sovereignty—Orderly Character of the Negroes—Patience of the Blacks during Famine—Inhumanity punished—Regulations to prevent future Scarcity—Small Influence of the Settlements on the Surinam over those on the Demerary and Essequibo—Brief Account of the Rise of Paramaribo—A more intimate Communication desirable.*

THE planters are usually persons who possess a capital from two to twenty thousand pounds. With less than the former sum they cannot easily commence their career; nor do they care to forsake it with less than the latter. They are generally enabled to procure credit with their merchant in England for a sum proportionate to the value of their estate, by way of mortgage. This they draw for, as their necessities require, in bills at long dates. The Demerary planters at this time were held in high estimation and credit, from having had large crops and good prices for their produce. Speculation was run throughout the colony. Very large engagements were entered into by the planters, and the general method of drawing on their correspondents was resorted to, to fulfil them. These drafts were drawn previously to the account of peace arriving, but the fate of the colonies being too well known in England, they met with dishonour, and bills before noted for non-acceptance at long sights were finally protested for non-payment. Drafts to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds were returned in this state to the planters for re-payment, with an addition of twenty-five per cent. being the damages allowed by the Dutch laws on dishonoured drafts.

Such a procedure created a demand on the planters of six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, which they had every reason to think would have been discharged in England; they had also, relying on these engagements being ful-

filled, entered into others equally extensive. The merchants and manufacturers of England severely felt the loss of their remittances; the utmost confusion prevailed amongst the planters; and the only expedient which could be hit on to disembarass them, was to form connections with the agents of houses from Holland, who had now arrived in Demerary for that purpose.

On the 3d December, 1802, the colonies were taken possession of by the Batavian troops, and citizen Anthony Meertens, a man of avowed French principles, and ostentatious in his dislike to the British, was sworn into the office of governor in the presence of the military force, which consisted of two thousand men, under the command of Colonel De Melle; they were as fine a body of men as any person would wish to see, but upwards of seven hundred of them, within the short space of nine months, fell victims to the climate and other connected causes.

The intercourse with Holland being now completely established, all the shipments were made to that country, and a number of the English vessels revisited the colony under Dutch colours, established and possessed by British merchants, who had been induced to go and settle in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, from the claims they had on these colonies. Every thing thus appearing in its regular train, and the mercantile connections being re-established with Holland, the dishonoured drafts were renewed by others on that country, and one good crop was expected to bring the planters round to their former respectability. But it was decided otherwise; for in May, 1803, English newspapers were brought to the colony, describing the situation of affairs in Europe; in June, an embargo took place on all the shipping, except the American vessels, who were now admitted by virtue of the governor's proclamation to a free trade. Two British vessels were detained, and the cargoes of those under Dutch colours were ordered to be landed. From the non-arrival of vessels from Europe, the colonies were in the greatest distress, and in want of almost every thing.

It was soon known through the medium of neutral vessels, that war was declared between England and France; and through the same channel also, as the packet letters were regularly sent from Barbadoes, that the bills drawn on Holland, in renewal of those dishonoured, were noted for non-acceptance, and certainly would be protested at maturity, as no merchant in Holland would think of making any advances to Demerary, &c. in time of war. The situation of the mer-

chants and planters was really distressing ; bills returning on them every day, accompanied with pressing letters from England, praying that provision may be made for such bills. Under these teasing circumstances, suffering under a loss of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, so large was the mere damages on the bills without interest and other expences, which could not possibly be avoided, from the nature of the business between the colonies and mother country, accounts were daily reaching them of the capture of vessels homeward-bound, with valuable cargoes, the amount of which being insured at a peace premium only against the risk of sea and weather, could of course not be recovered from the underwriters. The governor and council, to preserve the planters against the torrent of dishonoured paper, and suits instituted by the merchants for the recovery of their demands, found it necessary to stop the progress of justice, and close the courts for a few weeks, which was accordingly done, for having no vent for their produce, how could the planters derive advantage from it ? and from there being no fixed colonial price, it would not there be taken in payment.

It is true, that an order from the king and council was given to restore all produce belonging to British subjects, which was captured on its way home ; but this was of little avail, as it was accompanied with such restrictions that few of the sufferers were enabled to benefit from it. One stipulation was the making an affidavit, wherein the deponent must make oath that he was a British born subject ; that it was his intention to leave the colony within three years, the time allowed by the treaty of Amiens for the English inhabitants to wind up their affairs ; and that, for this purpose, he or they had absolutely offered and made every attempt in their power to sell their estates. Now as this was far from the intention of most of the planters so situated, they could not consistently make the required deposition, by which means three-fourths of them totally lost their captured property. The other proportion, by acceding to the stipulation proposed, recovered their produce, but in such a mutilated state, that what with the expences and fees of office attending the recovery, one half of the amount was expended in recovering the other.— Under these circumstances, the total loss sustained by the peace of Amiens may be calculated as follows :

Damages on bills returned	- - -	£. 250,000
Expences of law suits, noting, protesting, postage, interest, &c.	- - -	10,000
Captures made by the British	- - -	1,000,000
		<hr/>
		£. 1,260,000
Recovered by order of the king and council		125,000
		<hr/>
		£. 1,135,000

This statement of facts, I should hope, will satisfactorily explain the causes of the late unpleasant situation of the colonies, and moreover, account to those connected with them, for the shortness of remittances which would in no way have been experienced had they remained under the British flag. But the repeated changes of their government proved of very serious detriment to them. The loss of upwards of one million one hundred thousand pounds sterling to an infant settlement, would naturally be felt a long time after. On the colonies capitulating to the British, in this present war, expectations were entertained that immediate remittances, to a large amount, would be made to Great Britain, but great obstacles occurred to prevent their accomplishment. From a drought, scarcely ever experienced before, in 1803-4, nearly the whole crop of plantains, the negroes' chief food, failed, and those that came to perfection, were purchased with avidity from three shillings and four-pence to five shillings per bunch, when the current price is only seven-pence halfpenny, and much better and larger in a good season, than those which now sold at such an extravagant price. The plantations which had a large quantity of ground provisions, such as yams, sweet cassada, and potatoes, ochres, callallieu, pease, beans, &c. found their account in it. To make up the deficiency, large importations were made from North America and the West India islands, of flour, rice, maize, &c. a quantity of the latter, however, was produced in the colonies, but not equal to the consumption. The importations within the twelve months, may be computed as follows:—30,000 barrels of flour, 6000 hogsheds of rice, 1000 puncheons of Indian corn; all of which sold at immense high prices, and for cash or present bill. Thus these large and unexpected demands consumed the available part of the planters' funds, intended for the liquidation of their debts.



Considerable praise is due to the negroes for their orderly and good conduct throughout the scarcity, or rather famine; the change of diet did not agree with them, though medical assistance, port wine, sago, &c. were administered with increased attention. The number of deaths was never equalled in the same space of time. On many estates, the negroes only worked half days, and were allowed the remainder of the time to fish, and attend to their own concerns.

A circumstance which redounds to the honour of the court of justice at Demerary, I will relate. A Dutchman, well known on the east sea coast of that colony for the vulgarity of his person, coarseness of mind, and litigiousness of character, and possessing two clear unincumbered plantations, worked by three or four hundred negroes, was the only person during the scarcity, convicted of ill treating them. It appeared that his negroes had been without provisions being served to them, a week or ten days, without any other cause being assigned for it than that flour was too dear. The poor fellows were continued at their work as usual, without any other food than that which they could pick up off their own grounds, or beg from their neighbours. Such was their situation, that incapable of subsisting any longer, they came to a determination to send a deputation to wait on the fiscal, at Stabroek, to lay before him a state of the case, and request immediate assistance for their fellow sufferers. The fiscal conferred with the governor, and an extraordinary court was called. The charges were made by the negroes, and supported by witnesses brought for that purpose; it was clearly proved that the proprietor might have purchased provisions for his negroes, but would not. The court declared him incapable, and an improper person to manage his own affairs; they therefore appointed curators, or trustees, to superintend the estates, and bound him under a severe penalty, and the displeasure of the court, to reside off the estate, and not interfere with the direction of the plantations, negroes, &c. the court making itself answerable for all the produce. A similar charge was brought against a Dutchman of Essequibo: suffice it to say, though he was a member of the honourable court of justice of that colony, he was fined fifteen thousand guilders. To prevent, if possible, ever such an occurrence again, the court of police revised and corrected the laws respecting provisions, and made the penalties and fines so high, as to insure their being attended to. Sworn surveyors were sent round the colonies to measure all the plantain walks, and those estates which had not

an acre of full grown plantains for every four negroes, had heavy penalties inflicted on them.

This scarcity was by no means equally grievous in the shire of Surinam, where longer experience of the casualties of this climate had taught the planters better to proportion their garden grounds to their farms. Yet it was not relieved and supplied by the spare produce of that district in the degree that might be anticipated, for want of roads and internal channels of communication, along which to carry cheaply the provender to be distributed. There is also a want of draught-cattle: but this would soon be remedied, if ways were cleared, and ferries established by the police.

Paramaribo has not produced all that effect on the contiguous settlements which might have been expected from its magnitude. It offers great resources not only to the merchant but to the artificer. It is already mature for that secondary order of settlers, who are no longer occupied in stocking plantations and raising produce, but in distributing the comforts and accommodations of domestic life. From a want of inland conveyance, and easy communications through the interior, the luxury of Paramaribo cannot diffuse itself over the adjoining country. Each separate river insensibly forms for itself a sea-port near its mouth, which becomes a market for produce and a warehouse of supply to all the estates upon its banks. But of cross country roads, of intercourse over the savannahs between one river and its neighbours, there is as yet little thought; although the district seems adapted for a chain of canals, which might unite far inland each river with the next, and make a second China of this most fertile and most improveable coast. A stable annexation to the British crown once accomplished, this country will become the pride of South America.

I do not know Paramaribo as yet more than cursorily; although I have some hopes of eventually settling there. It is built on a sand reef, well arranged, and the streets include beautiful alleys of orange and lemon trees. The houses are of wood, and have no chimnies; the kitchens, for coolness sake, are detached; it is a town far advanced in the arts of civilized life, above a mile in length, wide in proportion, and swarming already with an ever-thickening crowd of many coloured inhabitants. The population of Paramaribo is estimated at eighteen or twenty thousand persons. Of the larger half, at least ten thousand persons are negro and mulatto slaves. The free people of colour are supposed to be about four thousand. There are from two to three

thousand German and Portuguese jews, and about eighteen hundred English and Dutch Europeans. The number of temporary residents, as in all sea ports, varies with the season. Paramaribo is the Buenos Ayres of Guyana, the residence of all the native wealth, and the storehouse of what is most curious and precious among the productions of Europe. But in Buenos Ayres the catholic religion is exclusively established, and has splendid cathedrals and pompous processions to exhibit, in which the native Indians take great delight; while in Paramaribo an unlimited toleration prevails, the jew, the catholic, the protestant, the deist, the heathen, visit or neglect at pleasure their respective opportunities of worship, and view with a reciprocal and friendly complaisance, the varieties of their traditional observances. That political equality of all sects of opinion, which in Europe was unfortunately almost always confined to Holland, has been one of the great benefits conferred on Guyana by the laws of the United Netherlands. A congregation of French refugees, two sects of jews, a congregation of Labadists patronized by governor Somelsdyk, are among the earliest knots of settlers enumerated: Religious liberty has been the chief cause of the rapid colonization of the North American provinces, and if steadily preserved in Guyana, will no doubt bestow on it a like populousness and importance. Those ecclesiastical feuds which excite so much bitterness in the old world, are here unknown; nor is practical morality placed in the insignificant observance of Sunday gloom, of continence, and of not swearing, but in the liberal virtues of spirit and beneficence. There is perhaps a point of view in which a priesthood more numerous could be rendered useful, namely, as instructors of the young; the want of good schools renders it at present expedient to educate young men of family in Europe. This, however, preserves an attachment for the metropolitan country, and circulates its manners in the colonies.

One of the most remarkable places of worship in this town is a negro-chapel, supported by six German missionaries, called hernhooters, or moravians. They have translated the bible and a book of hymns into the talkee-talkee, or negro language, of which they have also composed a grammar. Service is performed on Tuesday and Friday evenings, and three times on a Sunday. I went one evening—the place was elegantly lighted up. There is an organ, and the rites began by music. Two lines of a hymn were read distinctly by the priest, which the whole congre-

gation repeated immediately after in full chorus, to a prepared tune; then two lines more, and so on till the poem was finished. Next followed lessons from the bible, another hymn, a prayer, a third hymn, and finally a sermon, which terminated in some devotional ejaculation, during which all the people kneeled. The audience, which was very numerous and very orderly, was dismissed by the organ's sounding unaccompanied. These moravians are the only religionists who have made any progress in converting the negroes herabouts. It is curious that the *taikée-talkee*, or patois of the blacks, though it includes many African words, should have for its basis the English language pared of inflections, and softened by a multitude of vowel terminations. That the mass of creole population here on the continent, and under foreign sway, should still have been reared and taught beneath English masters and overseers, is no slight proof of the superior enterprise of our colonists, and humanity of our slave-drivers.

The shore of Guyana may first have been seen by the Spaniards, but it can hardly be said to have been explored until sir Walter Raleigh's visits, which circulated a knowledge of the coast, and occasioned some English buccaneers to seek residences there. In 1634 about sixty persons, several of them Frenchmen, under the presidency of a captain Marshall, had constructed dwellings on the banks of the Surinam, where they grew tobacco. Like many actual planters of the Mississippi, they went great part of the year to sea, selling their produce, and making freight of their ships, but regularly returned to sow and to reap, and deposited here the collections of their industry. In the year 1650, this voluntary settlement was thought worthy of being attended to, and lord Willoughby of Parham was appointed governor, to whom certain chartered rights were given, in conjunction with the earl of Clarendon's second son. But in 1667, the Dutch took this settlement by surprise, and obtained the entire cession of it in 1764, by the treaty of Westminster, in exchange for the province of New York; an unwise, a deplorable commutation.

The first Dutch settlers at Paramaribo, or Middleburg, as it was then called, were from the province of Zealand; but the states granted the colony to the West India company, which in its turn sold a third share to the corporation of Amsterdam, and a third to Cornelius Van Aarsen, lord of Somelsdyk. This nobleman went out as governor, taking with him some convicts sentenced to hard labour, and about

three hundred voluntary emigrants. He was not a popular governor; he instituted indeed an elective court of police, but claimed a degree of power over his fellow settlers, which they were only willing to concede to him in the management of their exterior concerns. He treated skilfully with the Indians, but ruled the troops so despotically, and imposed fatigues so insufferable under a tropical sun, that he was massacred by the conspiracy of twelve soldiers, in the year 1688. About this time it is recorded there were six hundred Dutch families settled along the Surinam.

The widow of Somelsdyk offered to transfer her third of the colonial allotments to our king William III. but the offer was not accepted. A French admiral, Cassard, plundered this settlement in 1712; levying on Paramaribo a contribution of fifty-five thousand pounds sterling. He ascended the river beyond the town, and set fire to many estates. The confusion prevalent at this period facilitated the desertion of a great many negroes.

It is common in Africa, for negroes who dislike work to withdraw from their masters and live in the woods, like gipsies, or in a state of still greater wildness and privation. Near the Cape, there are kraals or villages of such, who are called bush-men, from their living in the thicket. Some desertions of this kind took place while the English possessed Surinam, and a regular settlement of maroons, or wild negroes, was formed between the Copenam and Sarameca rivers. But about the year 1725, these maroon or bush-negroes were become so numerous by the accession of fresh runaways, and by the natural fertility of their women, that they rendered the properties of the whites very insecure. They would go in bands to plunder an estate, to carry off powder and fire-arms, and to release such slaves as would join them. A great deal of land once under cultivation and very productive, has thus been conquered to liberty and desolation. Troops were sent for to Europe in order to quell these insurgents. In 1730, the ringleaders were taken and barbarously executed. Even women were tortured to death. Cruelty is always impolitic. A series of retaliations, at which humanity sickens, ensued. White planters were in their turns hooked on trees, or roasted alive. Property became valueless for want of security. The expedient of treating with the bush-negroes was at length resorted to by governor Maurice in 1749. A creole negro named Adoe, was the rebel chieftain. On certain conditions of tribute he agreed to make peace with the governor: and exacted as one stipulation, a re-

gular supply of powder and fire-arms. This treaty was ratified by an exchange of presents.

It appeared afterwards that Adoe was but a petty chieftain. Another rebel, called Zamzain, still continued to demand contributions. In 1753 baron Spoke, in 1757 Mr. Cromelyn, succeeded to the governorship: both adopted the system of pacifying the negroes by occasional presents. At length a chieftain, named Araby, acquired so extensive an authority, that he could influence the conduct of all the wild negroes. He was taken into pay by the whites, and in 1761 signed the treaty of Ouca, which was generally respected.

The plantations now began to recover some value, and many forsaken estates were again inhabited. The West India company renewed their charter, at the expence of advancing to the Dutch government about five millions sterling. In 1763, Paramaribo suffered from fire; the activity of the sailors alone prevented a general conflagration: fire is truly tremendous where the upper part of the houses is of wood. The distress occasioned by this accident obliged government to issue a sort of paper money, consisting of stamped cards: this first issue was for forty thousand pounds sterling; but there is now much paper money in the colonies, which is received in payment of the taxes, and is widely convenient.

A more remarkable and far more extensive conflagration than that of Paramaribo took place in 1769, when the whole coast was on fire progressively from the Surinam to the Demerary. The flames were supposed to have been unintentionally kindled by the rebel negroes; but they spread with marvellous continuity, licking up vast forests, and laying waste wide plantations.

In 1770 the house of Somelsdyk sold its portion of the colony to the city of Amsteldam, for sixty thousand pounds; but this is no exact criterion of the general prosperity. The administrative bodies often derive least from a country when it is internally thrifty and flourishing.

About 1772 the Cottica rebels began to collect; they were opposed by a rifle corps of picked negroes, bought of the planters for the purpose of being trained to arms. It was this alarming insurrection which gave occasion to the expedition narrated in so instructive and interesting a manner by captain Stedman. The general relaxation of severity in the treatment of negroes, the increasing proportion of creole vassalry, who are formed from their very birth to the

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habits and requisitions of the European planters, the growing knowledge of negro tempers, opinions, and dispositions, the more certain and wholesome system of nutriment, the more liberal allowances of tobacco, rum, and similar luxuries, and the real diminution of hard and unpleasant labour, which the progress of settlement and the introduction of machinery necessarily prepare, seem likely to put an end to these long hostilities.

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## CHAP. XVII.

*Extracts from Sir Walter Raleigh's Relation of his first Voyage to Guyana—Trinidad, or Cairi—The Essequibo Coast—The River Orinoko.*

I AM persuaded it will be agreeable to my readers, especially to my colonial readers, if I insert from sir Walter Raleigh's first voyage to these parts, an account of his discoveries along the coast of Guyana: it stamps a sort of Englishness on the shore, to have the first account of its rivers and inhabitants to seek in the relations of English navigators.

"On Thursday, February 6th, in the year 1595, we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the north cape of Spain, the wind for the most part continuing prosperous. We passed in sight of the Burlings and the rock, and so onward to the Canaries, and fell in with Fuerte Ventura the 17th of the same month, where we spent two or three days, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. Thence we coasted by the Gran Canaria, and so to Teneriffe, and stayed there for the Lion's Whelp, and for captain Amias Preston, and the rest. But when after seven or eight days we found them not, we departed, and directed our course for Trinidad, with mine own ship, and a small bark of captain Cross' only.

"We arrived at Trinidad, March 22d, casting anchor at Point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call Punto de Gallo, which is situate in 8°, or thereabout. We abode there four or five days, and in all that time we came not to the speech of any Spaniard. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh-water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spa-

niards Tierra de Brea. In the way between both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river that had store of oysters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oysters grow upon those boughs and sprays, and not on the ground; the like is commonly seen in the West Indies and elsewhere.

“At this point called Tierra de Brea, or Piche, there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith laden from thence. We made trial of it, in trimming our ships, to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sun as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for ships trading to the south parts it is very profitable. Thence we went to the mountain foot called Annaperima, and so passing the river Carone, on which the Spanish city was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, or Conquerabia.

“This island of Trinidad hath the form of a sheep-hook, and is but narrow; the north part is very mountainous, the soil is very excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yield. It hath store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl. It hath also for bread sufficient mais, cassavi, and of those roots and fruits which are common every where in the West Indies. It hath divers beasts which the Indies have not. The Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the rivers, but they having a purpose to enter Guiana (the magazine of rich metals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any farther. This island is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations; those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punto Carao are of the Arwacas, and between Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvaos, between Carao and Punto Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanish city term themselves Carinepagotos.

“The same evening there stole aboard of us, in a small canoe, two Indians, the one of them being a cassique, or lord of people, called Cantyman, who had the year before been with captain Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman we understood what strength the Spaniards had, how far it was to their city, and of don Antonio de Berreo the governor, who was said to be slain in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not. While we remained at Puerto de los Hispanioles, some Spaniards came aboard us to buy linen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company; all which I entertained kindly, and feasted after our manner. By



means whereof, I learned, of one and other, as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew.

"I sent captain Whiddon, the year before, to get what knowledge he could of Guiana; and the end of my journey, at this time, was to discover and enter the same. But my intelligence was far from truth; for the country is situate above six hundred English miles farther from the sea than I was made believe it had been.

"But because there may arise many doubts, and how this empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches, Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others, have written large discourses. For when Francisco Pacaro, Diego Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa, (which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to be slain), one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many thousands of those soldiers of the empire called Orciones, and with those, and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great rivers of Amazons and Baraquan, otherwise called Maranyon, and Orinoko.

"The empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru toward the sea, and lieth under the equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of Peru, and as many, or more great cities than ever Peru had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same laws, and the emperor and people observe the same religion, and the same form and policies in government, as was used in Peru, not differing in any part. And, as I have been assured by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, for the greatness, the riches, and for the excellent seat, far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded upon a lake of salt water of two hundred leagues long, like unto Mare Caspium; and if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco Lopez, and others, it will seem more than credible.

"Such of the Spaniards as afterward endeavoured the conquest thereof (whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this em-

peror now living is descended) took his way by the river of Amazons, by that branch which is called Papamene. For by that way followed Oreliano, (by the commandment of the marquis Pacaro, in the year 1542) whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called Maragnon, although Andrew Thevet doth affirm, that between Maragnon and Amazons, there are one hundred and twenty leagues. But sure it is, that those rivers have one head and beginning, and that Maragnon, which Thevet describeth, is but a branch of Amazons, or Oreliano, of which I will speak more in another place. It was also attempted by Diego Ordace, but whether before Oreliano, or after, I know not. But it is now little less than seventy years since that Ordace, a knight of the order of saint Jago, attempted the same, and it was in the year 1542, that Oreliano discovered the river of Amazons. But the first that ever saw Manoa was Johannes Martines, master of the munition to Ordace. At a port called Morequito, in Guiana, there lieth, at this day, a great anchor of Ordace's ship; and this port is some three hundred miles within the land, upon the great river of Orinoko.

"After Oreliano (who was employed by Pacaro\*, afterward marquis Pacaro, conqueror and governor of Peru), and the death of Ordace and Martines, one Pedro de Osua, a knight of Navarre, attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigantines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the southward of Quito, and is very great. This river falleth into Amazons, by which Osua, with his companies, descended; and came out of that province which is called Mutylones; and it seemeth to me, that this empire is reserved for her majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard success which all these and other Spaniards found in attempting the same.

"Although, as I am persuaded, Guiana, cannot be entered by the Maranyon, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of Amazons, and so it doth on every hand far from the country itself. For those Indians of Trinidad have plates of gold from Guiana, and those cannibals of Dominica who dwell in the islands by which our ships pass yearly to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting near about the mountains that run

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\* Sir Walter means Pizarro.—ED.

from Paria through the province of Vensuello, and in Maracapana, and of the cannibals Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) have plates of gold of Guiana. And upon the river of Amazons, Thevet writeth, that the people wear croissants of gold, for of that form the Guianians most commonly make them.

"I made enquiry among the most ancient and best travelled of the Oronoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the rivers between Orinoko and Amazons, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is believed, of others not.

"Berreo affirmed, that there fell one hundred rivers into Orinoko from the north and south, whereof the least was as big as Rio Grande, that passeth between Popayan and Nuevo Reyno de Granada (Rio Grande being esteemed one of the most renowned rivers in all the West Indies, and numbered among the great rivers of the world). But he knew not the names of any of these but Caroli only, neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led, for he had no means to discourse with the inhabitants at any time; neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west.

"Among many other trades, those Spaniards used in canoes to pass to the rivers of Barema\*, Pawroma, and Essequibo, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orinoko, and there buy women and children from the cannibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or four hatchets sell the sons and daughters of their own brethren and sisters, and, for somewhat more, even their own daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit; for, buying a maid of twelve or thirteen years for three or four hatchets, they sell them again at Marguerita in the West Indies, for fifty and a hundred pesos, which is so many crowns.

"The master of my ship, John Douglas, took one of the canoes which came laden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those he brought, there was one as well favoured, and as well shaped, as ever I saw any in England; and afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawny colour may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of cassavi, of which they buy one hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Marguerita for ten pesos. The also re-

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\* Probably Barema is the Demerary, and Pawroma the Pomeroon.

cover great store of cotton, brasil-wood, and those beds which they call hamacas, or brasil-beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards used to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we ourselves while we were there.

“ We could not learn of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches so far to the windward as it was impossible for us to recover. For we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong. So as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, and thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers, which John Douglas had last discovered, and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the south of Orinoko, between that and Amazons, whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema, laden with cassavi bread to sell at Marguerita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Orinoko, but indeed of that which we entered we was utterly ignorant.

“ But thus it chanced, that entering into a river, (which, because it had no name, we called the river of the Red-cross, ourselves being the first christians that ever came therein) the 22d of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which (by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars) I overtook ere they could cross the river. The rest of the people on the banks, shadowed under the thick wood, gazed on with a double conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to show themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffic with us for such things as they had. And as we drew near they all staid, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek which came from their town into the great river. Those people that dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called Tivitivas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Warawete.

“ These Tivitivas are a very goodly people, and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground as in other places. In the winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages. For between May and September the river of Orinoko riseth thirty feet upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty feet high above the level of

the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them; and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sown, and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of aught, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance. They have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

“And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seen or read. Of these people, those that dwell upon the branches of Orinoko, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoes, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinidad for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations. When their commanders die they use great lamentation, and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcass again, and hang it in the cassique's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the south of Orinoko (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was), are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks. After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward.

“That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers (the one was the river of Amana, by which we came from the north, and ran athwart toward the south, the other two were of Orinoko, which crossed from the west, and ran to sea toward the east) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of tortoises' eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring; so as our men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the fare, and nearness of the land of Guiana, which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down, according to promise, the lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could; at least he drank good Spanish wine, (whereof

we had a small quantity in bottles) which above all things they love.

I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonably pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs and fruits digested and purged. They keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to this town we found two cassiques, whereof one of them was a stranger that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife, encamped at the port where we anchored, and the other was of that country, a follower of Toparimaca. They lay each of them in a cotton hammock, which we call brasil-beds, and two women attending them with six cups and a little ladle to fill them out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they drank each of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other, and in this sort they get drunk at their feasts and meetings.

“The seat of this town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens, a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowocai; the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew their river most perfectly both by day and night.

“The next day we hasted thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for, after we entered Orinoko, the river lieth for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto Quito in Peru. This river is navigable with ships little less than one thousand miles, and, from the place where we entered, it may be sailed up in small pinnaces to many of the best parts of Nuevo Reyno de Granado, and of Popayan. And from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as hence. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, having on the left hand a great island which they call Assapana, which may contain some twenty-five miles in length, and six miles in

breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island. Beyond that middle branch; there is also another island in the river, called Iwana, which is twice as big as the Isle of Wight; and beyond it, and between it and the main Guiana, runneth a third branch of Orinoko called Arraroopana. All three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it; for afterward I sought also both the other branches.

"After we reached to the head of this island, called Asapana, a little to the westward on the right hand, there opened a river which came from the north, called Europa, and fell into the great river; and beyond it on the same side, we anchored for that night, by another island six miles long, and two miles broad, which they call Ocawita. From hence in the morning, we landed two Guianians, which we found in the town of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country, called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chief lord of Arromai, who succeeded Morequito. But his town being far within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we anchored again that night near the banks of another island, of bigness much like the other, which they call Putapayma, on the main land, over-against which island was a very high mountain called Ocope. We coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river, than by the main, because of the tortoises' eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like unto the best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be. Of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains, which border this river in many places.

"The next morning toward nine of the clock we weighed anchor, and the breeze increasing, we sailed away west up the river, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign, and the banks shewed very perfect red. And my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the cassique Toparimaca, told me, that those were called, the plains of the Saima; and that the same level reached to Cumana and Carracas in the West Indies, which are one hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The

first were the Saima, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black\* as negroes, but have smooth hair, and these are very valiant or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous of all nations. But by this time as well Orinoko, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream.

“When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plain adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli; and might from that mountain see the river, how it ran in three parts above twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town.

“I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand, easy to march on for either horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds toward the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons, of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to take up, promised either gold or silver by its complexion.

“Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithful promise of the principallest of those provinces to become servants to her majesty, and to resist the Spaniards if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawakeri, I then parted from old Topiawari, and received his son for a pledge between us, and left with him two of ours. To Francis Sparrow I gave instructions to travel to Macureguarai, with such merchandize as I left with him, thereby to learn the place, and if it were possible to go on to the great city of Manoa. Which being done, we weighed anchor, and coasted the river on

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\* That there were black nations aboriginally in America, is also affirmed in some Portuguese voyages.



Guiana-side, because we came up on the north side, by the lawns of the Saima and Wikiri.

"The next day we landed on the island of Assapana, (which divideth the river from that branch by which we went down to Emeria) and there feasted ourselves with that beast which is called armadilla, presented to us before at Winicapora. And the day following we recovered the galley, at anchor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same evening departed with very foul weather and terrible thunder and showers, for the winter was come on very far. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took captain Gifford, captain Calfield, and my cousin Greenville into my barge, and after it cleared up about midnight, we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by day light. And so being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly cheering another to show courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clock we descried the island of Trinidad; and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight."

Thus it happened that almost the same stations were taken for the purpose of exploring the land which empire must occupy, and in the same order for the purpose of colonizing and civilizing the region. At first a great permanent position is taken at Trinidad. Next, the mouths of the Pomaroon, of the Essequibo, of the Demerary, and of the Surinam, are noticed; and lastly the right bank of the Orinoko is to be undertaken, as far as the important and wealthy settlement of San Thomas.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Of Guyana in general—What can be done for Guyana?  
—Occupy Cayenne—Negotiate with Portugal for the  
cession of the Northern Bank of the Maranyo—Restore  
Buenos Ayres to Spain for the more valuable Districts  
along the Orinoko—Increase the Splendour of the In-  
terior Governmental Establishment—Survey the Country  
scientifically—Import Chinese Colonists.*

GUYANA has a form nearly triangular, and is computed to contain a quarter of a million of square miles. It is bounded on the north-east by the Atlantic ocean; on the south by the Maranyo, or river of Amazons, and on the west by the river Orinoko. In a journey through the interior of South America, performed in 1743, Condamine learned the singular fact, that the Orinoko sends several branch streams into the Maranyo, although their principal mouths are above seven hundred miles asunder. Of these branches, the Yupura is commonly considered as forming the western verge of Guyana, which is thus completely insulated, and is probably circumnavigable. This prodigious extent of river-coast is no less adapted for every variety of tropical production, than the brink of the Nile or Ganges. But some European colonies must be founded at the confluences of the chief streams, before those agricultural arts can be put in motion, to which the climate and the soil of this province are so admirably adapted. Millions of men might be fed and employed by the produce of its fertile savannas.

As yet the interior of the district has been little penetrated. A chain of mountains, called Mei, nearly parallel with the form of the coast, and a lake called Parima, whose extent varies with the seasons, form the only prominent objects of observation. From these mountains, rivers radiate in every direction: some, like the Essequibo, fall into the Atlantic; some, like the Caroni, or as sir Walter Raleigh calls it, the Caroli, join the Orinoko; and some, like the Rioblanco, unite with the river of Amazons. Savage tribes, resembling in manners the Caribbees, but whose dialects differ from each other, are thinly scattered over the whole district: they depend more on fishing than hunting, and prefer to frequent the edges of the waters; their labour is most easily obtained for purposes of navigation.

The climate of Guyana is the mildest and most wholesome of any tropical country hitherto inhabited by Europeans. This may be ascribed principally to its receiving the trade-wind fresh from the surface of a vast track of ocean. Thus a perpetual stream of cool air from the east overflows Guyana; while, on the opposite coast of Africa, the same equatorial wind, blowing over land, comes laden with the pestilential sultriness of sandy deserts. Beside the perpetual general flow of the whole atmosphere westward, it has a lateral fluctuation daily, termed the sea-breeze and the land-breeze. The sea-breeze, which is the cooler of the two, blows from the north-east during the day, and temperates its ardour; so that we have less heat at noon than at nine in the morning. The land-breeze, which is the warmer of the two, blows from the south-east during the night, and prevents too rapid a chillness. The weather is even, as well as temperate. The heavy dews, the sunshine, the clouds, the rains, which prevail especially from May to November, and water the lands for about three hours every afternoon, always happen according to expectation. The almanack maker, without being a wizard, is here a prophet. No hurricanes intervene to snatch from the planter his crops; nor do I recollect a drought being mentioned, except the remarkable one of 1803-4. The great superiority of the Guyana coast to the Caribbee islands, which are exposed to the tempestuous edge and border of the trade-wind, in point of wholesomeness and of security from casualties, is now so well known, that it operates as an increasing motive with the West Indians, to transfer their vassals and machinery to the continent. If the cheapness of sugar should continue, it can still be cultivated with a profit in Guyana, while the island planters will incur absolute ruin. The rapid mortality of their slaves, the capricious visitations of the hurricane, the great risk of drought, and especially the vast expence of removing, by means of mules, the produce from the field, which is here accomplished by water-carriage, operate as heavy drawbacks on their profits, which an interruption of their intercourse with North America may at any time annihilate. Earthquakes are sometimes felt in Guyana; but they are never formidable in the lowlands and flat regions, where alone there are settlements. Inundations are more frequent and more destructive accidents; but as the forests beside the rivers waste, these floods are observed to become seldomer. Pestilence is very rare.

The Caribbee islands, especially the more northern, are

as much overvalued in Great Britain, as the continent is undervalued. They have ceased to be of use : they have performed their appointed task in the civilization of the world. Without first undertaking the cultivation of sugar in small islands, whence the African labourers could not run away, there would have been no possibility of rearing and training a creole peasantry, adapted for the coasts of the West Indian archipelago. The blacks, whom it was attempted to inure on the continent to agricultural soil, deserted incessantly, as they do in the neighbourhood of the Cape, and formed their kraals, or gipsy villages, of bush negroes, who were always ready to harbour discontented slaves, and to conspire with them for plundering and burning the plantations, and murdering the persons, of the whites. This creole peasantry is at length reared. Innumerable negroes are now grown up in the West Indies, who have never known the satisfaction of sloth and independence, and who have no idea of any other possible manner of subsistence, than that of working regularly for the planter who issues their allowances. These home-born negroes, when transplanted to the continent, do not desert in'o the wilderness ; they prefer the regular task of moderate toil, and the certain and comfortable maintenance it insures, to the privations and hazards of the savage state. But the sooner this creole peasantry is transferred from the Carribbee islands to the continent of Guyana the better. For the same number of labourers can produce every commodity of the Carribbee islands more cheaply and abundantly, and with less exertion on the main land. While uncleared, the islands are rapidly depopulated by contagious disorders ; and when cleared, become barren from drought ; so that there is always a superfluous expence to incur for the waste of labourers, or for the deficiency of crops. These islands, therefore, should in preference, be ceded to France and Holland, if any thing must be restored ; or by the artificial discouragement of their agriculture, be induced to transfer to Guyana the mass of their population and capital. The central parts of Guyana not having been visited by any missionaries, the religion of nature still prevails there. Certain vapours, or spirits, to which the savages ascribe thunders and fevers, are the objects of their fear and propitiatory worship. They do not ascribe a human form to these divinities, but conceive them to have brought hither the first man, whom they call Longwo ; their heathenism is not yet advanced to idolatry. The catholic religion flourishes in the western and southern borders of Guayna ; and begins to

extend from the Spanish and Portuguese settlements into the Indian villages, the inhabitants of which flock on procession-days to the churches, with parrots' feathers stuck in their hair, to see the parade and listen to the music. The protestant religions are professed along the north-eastern, or Atlantic, coast. In these parts, however, there are many jews, whom the Dutch do not regard with a liberal benevolence: A Dutch lady from superstition will not visit a jewess. The wives of the richest jews were not invited to the official festivals and balls of the Dutch governors. Nor has the laudable example of the prince of Wales, in visiting the jew banker, Goldschmidt, been imitated by the chiefs of our own establishments. Such dramas as Cumberland's Jew, or Nathan the Wise, should be performed at Paramaribo. There is less of this religious repulsion in the catholic settlement at Cayenne. Intolerance is in every view a public misfortune; for the insulted sect has always its allegiance ready for a new sovereign, in the hope of future favour. If the French were in strength at Cayenne, they would, from this cause, perhaps be able to render the sway of Bonaparte acceptable to certain descriptions of men in the contiguous colonies.

The oriental historian, Hossein Khan, who had witnessed, in a very different quarter of the world, the needless and grievous evils of superstitious partiality, thus recommends equal indulgence: After all it must be remembered that, as princes and kings are reputed the shadows of God, they ought, in humble imitation of his divine attributes, to accommodate themselves to the dispositions and minds of their subjects, so as to carry an equal hand over them, without exception, without predilection, and without shewing a dislike, or hatred, to any species of men. Such impartiality is incumbent upon princes, if they intend to be the fathers and cherishers of the people intrusted to their care; and if they really wish that every man should look up to the monarch, as to his benevolent, forgiving father. This is a duty incumbent on them, if they wish that every one should think himself happy under their government; for the subject must be cherished in the very palm of the monarch's hand, if the monarch really intends to discharge his duty, and to let the world see that he feels all the meaning of these verses of Saadi:

"That beneficent Being, which, from its invisible treasury,  
Feeds with an equal hand, the believer,  
The unbeliever, the weak mind and the strong,  
Might, if it had so pleased him, have created men of one opinion,  
Or have converted them at one word  
To one and the same religion."

The first step to be taken for the security of what has been already acquired by the British government in Guyana, is certainly to occupy Cayenne. The value of the acquisition is less to be considered, than the expediency of displacing from the continent a powerful neighbour every way dangerous to the internal tranquillity and prosperity. In proportion to the progress of settlement and of purchase, a British interest grows up in the several administrative bodies. This interest insensibly becomes a party opposed to the old Dutch landed interest, and is its competitor for the distribution of patronage, for the favour of the sovereign, and for the direction of those various public undertakings, which so materially affect the local value of nascent properties. While the ascendancy remains in the old hands, or in fair equipoise, people are easy; but it may be expected that the British party will ere long, through the indirect aid of the governors and public officers, become every where the domineering influence. In such case discontent may arise; and the ancient proprietors, especially if irritated by inconvenient changes in the system of vassalage, may, through their connexions in Holland, concert with Bonaparte to have the settlements in Guyana re-demanded for the subsisting subordinate government in Holland, at the next negotiation of a peace. If any tendency to court a reunion with the old metropolis should make its appearance in Dutch Guyana, no doubt Cayenne would become the centre of intrigue. There, a powerful neighbour has a footing, who is always willing to accept, and as far as land-service goes, always able to support the allegiance of the discontented. A fleet off the coast is not a defence against troops marched through the interior. The French have many people of talent at Cayenne, quite adequate to stirring up sedition, and undertaking the administration of a colony: they are less rich in merchants of capital, or in patient and skilled agriculturists.

The civilization of countries is always proportioned to the density rather than to the number of the people. The same quantity of individuals distributed over a narrow surface, will each have more wants, and will each acquire a more various instruction, than if dispersed over a wide surface.—Whatever disbands and separates men, renders less necessary the acquirement of education, the social arts, the showy comforts, the domestic conveniences, and the cares of neatness. The natural indolence of every individual is found to bring him a grade nearer to savagism at every remove into a less thronged neighbourhood. No citizen can be long settled in

the country without rustication. No colonist can migrate toward the back settlements, without a sensible approximation of his habits to those of the wild man of nature. At every successive generation the progress is still more sensible; and but for the perpetual importation of Europeans at the sea-ports, the very memory of the refinement and civilization of their ancestors might die away among the land-owners of the interior.

In order to resist the perpetual tendency of the settled and native population to diverge and to degenerate, pretences for frequent assemblages of the people should be contrived. To the fairs instituted by the Dutch, and to the religious pageants founded by the Spaniards, might perhaps be added the attraction of public games and manly exercises, in which the savages could be induced to become competitors as well as spectators. When they visit our towns they bring some singularities from the interior, they learn to know what we prize, and they carry back several of our instruments and utensils, which will eventually become permanent articles of demand. A still more important cause of regular assemblage and reciprocal influence, is the representative character of those administrative bodies, to which the provincial police of all colonies may most expediently be intrusted. The honour of a power freely conferred by the choice of the proprietors, serves to stimulate and to recompense education throughout the whole body.

Not mere extent of dominion, but populous extent, is the cause of every improvement. The roads of intercourse, the canals of irrigation and traffic, nay, the very structure of every one's house, depend for their excellence on the crowdedness of the neighbourhood. It is far better to attract a million of men into a province, than to disperse them over an empire. But there are cases in which extent of empire is itself the condition of condensing the populousness of its parts. A toll-gate road from Stabroek to Paramaribo is within the competence of the established authorities: but the thoroughfare along that road would be doubled, if it extended in the one direction to San Thomas, and in the other to Cayenne. While Cayenne is French, the worse the communication by land with Paramaribo, the more agreeable to the European metropolis; if Cayenne appertained to the same sovereign, his interest is then to facilitate the communication. The like principle may be applied to the extension of a common interest across the French into the Portuguese territory.

\* What difficulty could Great Britain have to fear, in undertaking a negotiation with the court of Lisbon for the cession of that part of Guyana which lies between the Oyapoco and the Maranyo? A large grant of money, or a tribute for twenty years, would no doubt be thought an equivalent, for ceding a nominal right of sovereignty over a part of the Brazilian empire, to which the force of its protection, and the influence of its circulation, does not yet extend. The Maranyo, or river of Amazons, is the practical boundary of Portuguese ascendancy; the missionaries and pedlars, who visit its northern bank, have hardly, as yet, taught there the European name of a saint, or of a pair of scissors. But if, by that cession, the navigation of Maranyo could be opened to the West Indies; almost every thing now procured from North America, would be furnished more cheaply and no less expeditiously, by the southern river-coast of Guyana. Barley is singularly good there: for the culture of rice, it is better adapted than the Carolinas, or than Louisiana. Timber, shingles, hoops, and tub-staves may be collected with facility by establishing saw-mills on the streams that fall into the Maranyo. Wax and honey may be had in any quantity of the Indians. Hides cost only the labour of killing the cattle. An earth useful in pottery is thence procured by the Portuguese.

A curious instance of progress in the civilization of those savages that dwell in the Portuguese territory, is related by Coutinho, in his account of the commerce of Brazil. Domingo Alvarez Pesanka, who loved the Indians, and was desirous of their good will, caused to be erected for their exclusive use, a large and spacious building, which was fitted up according to their own taste. This edifice stands close to the water's edge, so that they may thence bathe, as is their custom, every morning and afternoon. This same building also serves them as a warehouse, or bazar, and is always crowded with strangers, who come well laden from beyond the mountains, to deal with the Portuguese inhabitants of the province. They bring birds, wax, honey, mats, fossils, and other things which they collect, and here barter them for swords and iron tools of different kinds. If they have not brought wherewith to make the purchases they covet, they will let themselves for so many days as wood-cutters, an employment in which they are expert.

The navigation of the Maranyo has one great advantage over that of the Mississippi, that the trade-wind perpetually



blows up-stream. Thus the wandering vessels have always a current either of water or of air, to move by. The shipping which comes down to New Orleans with produce seldom re-ascends : so laborious and incessant is the human effort requisite to quant the vessels back : they are commonly sold off as lumber in some of the Atlantic sea-ports. But the shipping built in the Maranyo will there become an attached property, and will contribute, no less than the stationary dwelling on its banks, to employ industry, to diffuse plenty, to promote consumption, and to bring prosperity to anchor.

All the British West Indies would be benefited by free access to the interior of South America. All the other parts of the British dominions would be benefited. Extent of empire answers the same purpose as the adoption of liberal principles of commerce. Could all nations trade with all, free from prohibition or restriction, without issuing a bounty, or levying a tribute at the custom-house, without making treaties of commerce in behalf of favoured nations, or excluding hereditary foes from the market of general competition, every thing would be grown where it can be produced cheapest, manufactured where the labour of men or of machines can be applied with the greatest advantage, and brought at the expedient season to the home of the consumer, with the smallest possible burden of expence and of profit. Among the parts of an extensive empire, this desirable equality of privilege usually prevails. The several provinces mostly enjoy one with another this equitable reciprocity of intercourse. In the different districts belonging to the same sovereign, there is seldom much locality of privilege. Industry is left to its natural walk, and prosperity to its natural seat. Great Britain is content alike to take her sugar and cochineal, her cotton and indigo, from Bengal or from Stabroek. If an inequality of privilege in some respects prevails, it is rather in her export than in her import trade ; and it is rather the East than the West Indies which have cause for complaint. But the inconvenience of chartered companies and of legalized monopolies is become so apparent from the more rapid progression of West Indian than of East Indian commerce, that even these distinctions will no doubt soon incur abolition ; and an universal toleration of private judgment in purchasing, and of the appropriate industry of each colony, will supersede the patronized establishments of a darker age.

Whenever this colonial equality, this communion of provincial rights, shall be thoroughly conceded by parliament, there are few portions of the inhabited earth, which will not have acquired a strong interest in becoming attached to the British empire. If, instead of employing the celebrated enthusiast of liberty, general Miranda, to agitate the Caraccas, his knowledge of the country, and his intelligence among the people, had been called in merely to direct the conquest of the western bank of the Orinoko, by a regular army whose presence and whose principles would have excited no apprehension of a servile war, and of a general insurrection of the working negroes, that strip of country might lately have been added to, and consolidated with our possessions in Guyana.

The bocas of the Orinoko are well worth the solicitude of the British admiralty. They now pour out in time of war a multitude of small privateers, picaroon boats, as we call them, which take petty prizes to a vast amount collectively among the West Indian shipping. These picaroon boats are not valuable enough to attract the notice of men of war; and our mercantile capitals are otherwise engaged in the colonies, than to be conveniently applicable for privateering. Prize-money, it seems, is not thought worth dividing on board the British fleets, unless when it amounts to a considerable sum. Hence it happens that this petty predatory warfare proceeds unmolested; and the colony craft which conducts our coasting trade, is snapped up by these sharks with a most teasing and ruinous voracity. The black sailors are mostly sold for slaves, and the produce on board finds its way through Tortola, into the English, or through some American ship-broker, into the European continental market.

A conquest of the province of New Cumaná is the only fundamental remedy. This fine district up to Ciudad-real might surely have been attained, without any greater expenditure of life and effort than was lately lent to general Miranda. But the enterprise should have been definite in its purpose and object, avowedly directed to the mere purpose of British conquest, and restricted to the eastern bank of the Orinoko. The assertion of independence is a far greater hazard to run than a ready submission to a British army. Subjects, who should take part in a rebellious change, would have to apprehend sudden severities from the governors of all those places which might persevere in allegiance; would have to apprehend the consequences of being shortly repressed by troops from Mexico, or from Cuba;

and would have to apprehend the eventual vengeance of the Spanish court, if Great Britain had to abandon their interests at a peace. But the worst that can happen, after a British conquest, is to be ceded back to the parent country, when war ceases in Europe, after tasting the profits of a freer trade, and forming some acquaintances in an heretical garrison.

A British military invasion proclaims a kind of fair, which is welcome in the West Indies. The variety of things arriving for sale, and the wider markets opened to produce, increase circulation, and raise the value of rentable property. Martinique has had every reason to rejoice, even in the temporary sway of Great Britain. And so would any Spanish settlement. But the Spaniards entertain perhaps as yet some prejudices against the religion of the English. Irish regiments, with a visible accompaniment of catholic priests, ought therefore preferably to be sent among Spaniards. Not many years ago, the protestant planters at Grenada made a conspiracy to pull down the catholic churches in that island. A similar intolerance is feared from any other heretical conquest. I believe that the English people are become very tolerant; I never saw an instance of insult offered to the religion of a neighbour: I never heard a murmur at the state's distributing in Canada its ecclesiastic patronage among catholics. But the government has, nevertheless, not the reputation of being tolerant; and this is what operates at a distance, and in colonial provinces. The repeated parliamentary refusals of Irish emancipation, and the declamatory indignation of the friends of the catholics, are the chief facts which reach the popish clergy of South America. To place ostentatiously a catholic archbishop, a domestic pope, in the house of lords, and to employ some Irish missionaries in visiting Guyana, are the expedient preparatory steps for acquiring the entire confidence of the ecclesiastic party in the Spanish settlements here. I rejoice much in the conquest of Buenos Ayres; but I doubt whether that conquest will prove to be so stable an acquisition as is expected, for want of any previous precaution to conciliate the religious portion of the people, which sways not only the great body of the Spaniards, but also of the contiguous Indian nations. Yet brilliant as the first seizure of Buenos Ayres may have been, and important as the emporium for all the produce which descends the Plata may appear; I am deliberately persuaded, that Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, and all the dependent provinces, would be well exchanged for the narrower eastern bank of the Orinoko.

The Orinoko is not subject, like the Plata, to those hurricanes from the Andes, which destroy, at a sweep, all the craft of navigation. The wonderful quantity of cattle is alike remarkable on the meadows of either river. The variety of accessible country, and the quantity of timbered shore, is greater on the Orinoko. And the peculiarity which this latter river offers, during the season of inundation, of supplying a navigable passage into the Maranyo, must give to it, for extent of interior communication, an advantage over the Plata. Its eventual importance, therefore, may rationally be expected to transcend that of a river, which is not of greater dimensions, which is no thoroughfare, and which does not open into a sea, so dotted with islands, and encircled with havens.

Nor is there perhaps so much difference as is commonly imagined, between the actual progress of settlement, of cultivation, and of populousness, on the banks of the two rivers. The Plata is best known in Europe; because Buenos Ayres figured in the red book, was the seat of a titled governor, and offered the hope of a large spoil of patronage to the courtiers. Besides, the vast silver tribute of Peru was often sent home through that channel. But the Spaniards not having created a privileged harbour within the Orinoko, the produce of the bordering provinces has habitually been carried for shipment to Trinidad, Goayre, or the Havanna. It has made no noise in the tariffs of the custom-house. A recent traveller estimates at 114,000 the settled colonial population of New Cumana and Spanish Guyana. The produce raised by such a number of employed individuals cannot be inconsiderable, or unimportant; particularly as it embraces some articles, such as chocolate, sarsaparilla, bark, and various dying-stuffs, in addition to tobacco, coffee, cotton, and sugar, so generally grown in these districts for exportation. To be sure the surplus produce of a colony of creoles of Spanish descent is by no means as great as the surplus produce of an equally populous colony under English guidance and management. For the Spaniards have progressively accommodated their habits so entirely to the country, the climate, and the gifts of the soil, that they consume at home a larger proportion of what they grow, and import from Europe a smaller proportion of what they use, than any other set of people. They are nearly self-sufficient. They have naturalized themselves in South America far more completely than any other Europeans. They are really more puzzled to send home their

taxes, than to supply their domestic consumption, whenever a war interrupts their intercourse with old Spain.

The Spaniards have come to America, because there is room to live with little labour. Their numbers expand with the quiet regularity of patriarchal families. They place wise conduct in actual enjoyment; not in the restless pursuit of riches to be displayed in old age among new acquaintance and in another hemisphere. Those who leave Spain, come to stay, and not to return; they consider their adopted country, not as a counting-house where they are to earn a fortune, but as an estate where they are to found a family. And thus, though each life is less productive of emolument to the individual, it bequeaths more to the prosperity of the region. The English build wooden houses very fast; the Spaniards very slow, but with brick and stone. Churches rise beside their dwellings; and so do schools and colleges. The Latin grammar of Nebrija may be inferior to the Eton grammar: but it is taught in the colonies. The English send home their children for the very elements of education.

Hence there is great value in a settled population of the Spanish breed; they are a pledge for enduring unremoving prosperity. They are adapted to consume works of the fine arts, engravings of religious pictures, candelabres, altarpieces, and costly vestments for the priesthood. They are adapted to civilize the servile population, which, if lazier, is certainly gentler, and less disposed to revolt, in the Spanish possessions. Even in San Domingo, the Spanish portion has been comparatively free from insurrection.

It is therefore greatly to be desired, that the English government should bend its attention toward protecting, according to their own wishes, the Spanish colonists. Those situate on the Orinoko could immediately be provided, under British protection, with every thing which renders an European connexion desirable to them; with better stores of supply, with wider markets of vent, and with Irish merchants of their own faith, to conduct their intercourse, and to amalgamate with their population.

In case a transfer of dominions should allow open intercourse between the West Indies and the provinces up the Orinoko, a vast many new settlers would domesticate there. The natural influence of the neighbourhood would pour into these colonies a truly British spirit. The additional planters, and the removed slaves, would soon bring in much of our habits and our dialect, would soon teach our activity and

our wants. Thus the mass of public force would shortly be distinguished for British sympathies and willing allegiance. But on the Plata, the creole power is truly American; it is an Indian force governed by the convents of the missionaries, which has occasionally bid defiance to the Spanish military commanders, and has efficaciously resisted several attempts to turn the monasteries into barracks. Such a population, almost wholly strange to European connexions and cares, will always be held in subjection by too frail a tenure, not to be wisely exchanged for the ruder but more plastic people of the Orinoko.

One mistake of the ancient English administrations has been, the not sending out their colonial governors sufficiently accompanied. The multiplication of places is not merely a convenience to the patrons; it is also a benefit to the subjects. Variety of ranks is but a distribution of political labour; it is favourable to subordination, to the collection of instruction, to the complete performance of duty, and to the advancement and recompense of merit. A splendid establishment, like all pomp, is adapted both to amuse and to overawe the multitude; and it tends to introduce a multiplicity of artificial wants, which furnish employ and nutriment to the different manufacturers of the mother country. The principal merchants and planters soon attempt to imitate the pagantry of the governor's entertainments. Utensils are sent for to London like those on his table, and furniture like that in his saloon. What he considers as accommodation becomes a general want.

The revenues necessary for an increase of splendour are not considerable; they might probably be found by selling the unappropriated lands to new colonists for a quit-rent, subject to be augmented a tenth every ten years, or in some other proportion; instead of selling them outright in lots, which require a sudden and inconvenient advance of capital for the fee-simple. Window-taxes, and other such assessments on fixed property, might, if necessary, be introduced. Money which is to be spent on the spot, is seldom grudged by the people. But care should be taken that places which require local knowledge, be given to local experience; and that those who acquit themselves well in a province, should have a chance for advancement to metropolitan consequence. North America was lost as much for want of opening a career of ascent to her native talent, as from any popular benefit that was to accrue by the assertion of independence.

It is fortunate when by a rare chance, the governor brings

HOLINGBROKE.]

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with him a wife. Few married English women, of rank and character, are at any time induced to make their appearance in these distant edges of the world, to exhibit the fashions of domestic elegance, and teach the graces of moral dignity. The female servants and humble companions of such married ladies **very commonly** attach themselves independently and advantageously in the colonies; and produce by their stay a great and lasting effect in civilizing the local manners, and transplanting those feminine arts of life, which our tawney wenches never saw exemplified. From imitating the dresses of the white ladies, they will proceed to imitate usages of a higher importance.

Several barristers, with the title of recorder, should be stationed in our principal towns. They might at first be eminently useful in compiling and translating the regulations of Dutch jurisprudence. Their next office would be to indicate and prepare the fittest way of assimilating the extant colonial laws with those of the British empire. Usage is of great value; it implies motion without friction. But in colonies, where an influx of additional inhabitants is continually going on; where the balance of Dutch population is declining, and the habit of connexion with Holland is interrupted; where incessant migrations produce, with greater speed than the ordinary flow of generations, a general renewal of the people; usage must undergo a rapid and considerable change, if it is to keep pace with the convenience of the stirring mass of society. In such circumstances, an obstinate retention of custom is itself a grievance; it occasions more friction than innovation would do. There is greater danger of complaint that the English laws are not introduced fast enough, than that the old land-marks are ploughed up too hastily. The more of legality and the less of usurpation there is in the introduction of new institutions, the better. Trial by jury, and an elective constitution of the provincial administrations, are the fundamental blessings which British conquest every where should aspire to bequeath. There are several minor changes in legislation, which resident lawyers would teach us to obtain at home. Unless the evil of laws is observed by professional men, the form of remedy can seldom be devised which will give least trouble, and amalgamate best with existing statutes. The intricacy of the British custom-house regulations is often injurious to trade; in nothing more remarkably than in the article of coffee, which is burdened with expense and injured in quality, by the processes adopted for securing the revenue.

Medical men, educated in Europe, are not rare in the colonies, especially surgeons, many of whom were formerly attached to regiments, or employed on board men of war, and obtained leave to remain. They make a fixed income, by farming the health of the slaves on contiguous plantations, at so much a head. By their free patients they are handsomely fee'd. Physicians are much less common; a few who had fixed at home in a neighbourhood too crowded with competition, or who, for professional reasons, have thought a hot climate necessary to their own health, have come out; but the number is inconsiderable. A governor ought, however, by no means to omit including some medical men in his household establishment.

But the most desirable service which a governor could render to this country, would be to carry out an assortment of philosophers, for the purpose of surveying it scientifically. It may sometimes happen that a single traveller (the Mr. Barrow who visited the Cape is an instance), combines in his own person the various requisites for an adequate survey, and is at once the mathematician, the naturalist, and the statesman. But in general a subdivision and distribution of labour is requisite, where comprehensive information is coveted. In order to meet the risks of climate, and to obviate the great loss of knowledge which ensues, if a man of science, while he is visiting an unfrequented part of the earth, perishes of disease or accident; it is desirable to send out a company of learned travellers, four or five in conjunction, with a party of Indians to carry their baggage. To one or two might be intrusted the task of mathematical survey, and of mapping the country; and on others might devolve the collection of facts relative to the natural history, the zoology, botany, and mineralogy of the district. The civil condition of the human population is better learnt by residence than by thoroughfare. Such a knot of young men of science would find considerable amusement in the enterprise itself; and would return able to satisfy a great deal of European curiosity about the region visited. The cost of such an expedition would be amply repaid by the knowledge which the statesman would gain, and the reputation for good-will which would result. It cannot be that this country should want to import lime from Bristol; but its mountains are yet unexplored.

Discoveries of what can be rendered useful, avail little without the human hands that are to turn the gifts of nature to a profit. The accounts given of the Chinese, and the astonishing rapidity with which they have got up in



Pulo-penang, all the parts of a perplexed and civilized society under British laws, and in a climate corresponding with that of Guyana, render it highly probable that Chinese colonists would form the most valuable accession to our present stock of labourers which could be introduced. They have those habits of body which can bear the exertions of industry between the tropics, and they have those habits of artificial society, which fit them for a variety of labours to which rude savages cannot be brought to attend. Above all, they have a rational foresight, and may be intrusted with the care of their own maintenance, without danger of that ruinous improvidence, that careless alternation of intemperance and sloth, that besets the African negro who is his own master. It is said that the Chinese will stay, but never settle in a strange land, and that when they have earned a little money they go home to live upon it; but if they should not generally prove to be settlers, their labour will still have prepared fields and created houses for the use of other successors, and they will become the teachers of a multiplicity of those arts and habits, which a long experience of hot climates has naturalized among the orientals. Guyana is adapted to become the China of the west, and maybest be instructed by the nation which ought especially to be its model.

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The following is a specimen of the negro English, or talkee-talkie, that has been alluded to, which is spoken by the creole ladies in preference to any other dialect:

<i>Da wan tieri somma</i>	That is a free person
<i>No mekie bawli bawli</i>	Don't make any noise
<i>Den de mekie too mooso bawli</i>	
<i>bawli</i>	They make too much noise
<i>Mekie hesie</i>	Make haste
<i>Loeke boen</i>	Take care, or look good
<i>Tantiere</i>	Stand still
<i>Loeke deeja</i>	Look here
<i>Pickienmoro</i>	A little more
<i>Onofo</i>	Enough
<i>Oe somma die da pree?</i>	Who's there
<i>Matie</i>	A friend
<i>Da mie</i>	It's me
<i>Da massa</i>	It's a gentleman
<i>Da misse</i>	It's a lady.

# TRAVELS

IN

## AMERICA,

PERFORMED IN THE YEAR 1806,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF

EXPLORING THE RIVERS

ALLEGHANY, MONONGAHELA, OHIO,  
AND MISSISSIPPI,

AND

ASCERTAINING THE PRODUCE AND CONDITION

OF

THEIR BANKS AND VICINITY.

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BY THOMAS ASHE, ESQ.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,

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BY B. McMILLAN, BOW STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1809.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IT is universally acknowledged, that no description of writing comprehends so much amusement and entertainment as well written accounts of voyages and travels, especially in countries little known. If the voyages of a Cook and his followers, exploratory of the South Sea Islands, and the travels of a Bruce, or a Park, in the interior regions of Africa, have merited and obtained celebrity, the work now presented to the public cannot but claim a similar merit. The western part of America, become interesting in every point of view, has been little known, and misrepresented by the few writers on the subject, led by motives of interest or traffic, and has not heretofore been exhibited in a satisfactory manner. Mr. Ashe, the author of the present work, and who has now returned to America, here gives an account every way satisfactory. With all the necessary acquirements, he went on an exploratory journey, with the sole view of examining this interesting country; and his researches, delivered in the familiar style of letters, in which he carries the reader along with him, cannot fail to interest and inform the politician, the statesman, the philosopher, and antiquary. He explains the delusions that have been held up by fanciful or partial writers as to the country, by which so many indivi-

duals have been misled ; he furnishes to the naturalist a variety of interesting information ; and to the antiquary he presents objects of absolute astonishment ; the Indian antiquities of the western world, here first brought forward to the public, must create admiration. It will be seen that the fallen race who now inhabit America, are the successors of men who have been capable of architectural and other work, that would do honour to any people or any age ; and the remarkable antiquities which he describes, cannot but induce a still more minute inquiry and investigation of objects of such great importance.

# TRAVELS

IN

## AMERICA.

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### LETTER I.

*General Character of the North-eastern States of America: Of the Middle States: The Southern—Town of Pittsburg—Alleghany Mountains—Lancaster—The Susquehanna—Harrisburg—Shippensburg, and Strasburg—Interesting Account of a Tavern and its Occupiers—Bedford—Sublimity and Horrors of a Night passed in a Forest—Thoughts on Natural History: St. Pierre.*

*Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, October, 1806.*

DEAR SIR,

I THOUGHT that you knew my heart too well, to attribute my silence to a decay of affection; and I had hopes that you entertained too just an opinion of my head, to expect from me extraordinary discoveries in philosophy or politics. At the same time, I hope to convince you that my supposed neglect has operated to the advantage of my correspondence.

The American States through which I have passed, are unworthy of your observation. Those to the north-east are indebted to nature for but few gifts: they are better adapted for the business of grazing than for corn. The climate is equally subject to the two extremes of burning heat and excessive cold; and bigotry, pride, and a malignant hatred to the mother-country, characterize the inhabitants. The middle States are less contemptible: they produce grain for exportation; but wheat requires much labour, and is liable to blast on the sea-shore. The national features here are not strong, and those of different emigrants have not yet

composed a face of local deformity : we still see the liberal English; the ostentatious Scotch, the warm-hearted Irish, the penurious Dutch, the proud German, the solemn Spaniard, the gaudy Italian, and the profligate French. What kind of character is hereafter to rise from an amalgamation of such discordant materials, I am at a loss to conjecture.

For the southern States, nature has done much, but man little. Society is here in a shameful degeneracy : an additional proof of the pernicious tendency of those detestable principles of political licentiousness, which are not only adverse to the enjoyment of practical liberty, and to the existence of regular authority, but destructive also of comfort and security in every class of society ; doctrines here found by experience, to make men turbulent citizens, abandoned Christians, inconstant husbands, unnatural fathers, and treacherous friends. I shun the humiliating delineation, and turn my thoughts to happier regions which afford contemplation without disgust ; and where mankind, scattered in *small* associations, are not totally depraved or finally corrupt. Under such impressions, I shall write to you with pleasure and regularity ; trusting to your belief, that my propensity to the cultivation of literature has not been encouraged in a country where sordid speculators alone succeed, where classic fame is held in derision, where grace and taste are unknown, and where the ornaments of style are condemned or forgotten. Thus guarding you against expectations that I should fear to disappoint, I proceed to endeavour at gratifying the curiosity which my ramblings excite in your mind.

The town of Pittsburg\* is distant rather more than 300 miles from Philadelphia ; of which space, 150 miles are a continued succession of mountains, serving as a barrier against contending seas ; and as a pregnant source of many waters, which take opposite directions, and after fertilizing endless tracts, and enriching various countries, are lost in the immensity of the Mexican Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean. Knowing the road to be mountainous and stony, I preferred travelling on horseback to going in a stage-coach, that is seven or eight days on the road ; and the fare in which, for the whole journey, is twenty-four dollars. The first sixty miles were a turnpike road ; and my horse, which cost me only eighty dollars, arrived tolerably fresh at the end of them in twelve hours.

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\* Situated in latitude 40° 26' north, and longitude 79° 48' west from London.

The place at which I stopped was Lancaster, the county-town of Pennsylvania. The inhabitants are chiefly Dutch and Irish, or of Dutch and Irish extraction: they manufacture excellent rifle-guns and other hardware. The town is large, clean, and well built; but in spite of these attractions, I quitted it the next morning by sun-rise. Dr. Johnson was never more solicitous to leave Scotland, than I was to be out of the Atlantic States.

In hurrying along the next day, my career was interrupted by the rapid Susquehanna. The peevishness and dissatisfaction which before possessed me, were now compelled to yield to contrary sensations. The breadth and beauty of the river, the height and grandeur of its banks, the variation of scenery, the verdure of the forests, the murmur of the water, and the melody of birds, all conspired to fill my mind with vast and elevated conceptions.

Harrisburg, a handsome Dutch town, stands on the east bank of this river. I did not stop, however, but pursued my course to Carlisle; which has a college, and the reputation of a place of learning. This may be so, but I have the misfortune to dispute it; for though indeed I saw an old brick building called *the university*, in which the scholars had not left a whole pane of glass, I did not meet a man of decent literature in the town. I found a few who had learning enough to be pedantic and impudent in the society of the vulgar, but none who had arrived at that degree of science which could delight and instruct the intelligent.

Having thus no motive for delay here, I passed on to Shippensburg and Strasburg, both German or Dutch towns; the latter at the foot of the stupendous mountains before alluded to, and which are called the Alleghany. During the first and second days, I met with no considerable objects but such as I was prepared to expect; immense hills, bad roads, and frightful precipices: I drove my horse before me most of the distance. On the evening of the third, about dusk, I arrived at the tavern where I meant to repose: it was a miserable log-house, filled with emigrants who were in their passage to the Ohio; and a more painful picture of human calamity was seldom beheld:—old men embarking in distant arduous undertakings, which they could never see realized: their children going to a climate destructive to youth; and the wives and mothers partaking of all these sufferings, to become victims in their turn to the general calamity. This scene held out no very strong temptation to me for passing the night here, but there was no alterative;



for my horse was tired, the wolves were out, and the roads impassable in the dark: the fire-side too, and all the seats, were occupied, and the landlord was drunk. I was too much engrossed however with the distress round me, sensibly to feel my own. I stood in fact motionless, with my arms folded, and fell into a reverie; from which I was roused by a meteor crossing the room, or at least my surprise was as great as would have been occasioned by such a phenomenon. It was a beautiful young woman,

—————" Fitted or to shine in courts  
With unaffected grace; or walk the plain,  
With innocence and meditation join'd  
In soft assemblage."

She spoke to her father, and then addressed me with infinite grace: lamenting that their accommodation "was so bad for a gentleman;" and offering to make a fire and serve supper up stairs, and strive to make me as comfortable as the situation and circumstances would permit. In a short time she was as good as her word; and invited me to a small room, clean and warm, with supper already served. In all this proceeding; in her conversation, actions, and manners; there was a merit which could not be the result of a common mind. Her person was tall and elegant: her eyes were large and blue: her features regular and animated; and expressive of a pride and dignity which the meanest clothing, and the strongest consciousness of her humble circumstances in life, could neither destroy nor conceal. I desired her to sit down, and then questioned her on local subjects: her answers were neat and sensible. I extended my inquiries to a wider range: talking of natural curiosities in the neighbourhood, the face of the country, manners, books, &c. and to these particulars also her replies were judicious, intelligent, and unassuming. She had read much; and the impression which this had made on her, appeared favourable to her retired life, to virtue, and to feeling: too much so to the latter; for when I exclaimed, "By what accident has one so lovely in person, so improved in understanding, and so delicate in mind, become the inhabitant of these terrific mountains, these gloomy woods?" she burst into tears, and left me. I then rose from table, called the ostler, and saw my horse fed; and this man explained the mystery. The young lady's father, it seems, was an Irishman; who, having been once opulent, gave his children the most refined education which his country could afford. He was respected and

happy: they were admired and beloved. In an evil day, some jealous demon infused into his heart disaffection to his king: he associated with misguided characters, was implicated in their guilt, and with them banished from his native land. His amiable and suffering family followed him to America; where, soon after his arrival, some swindlers stripped him of most of his money. He took refuge in profligacy and drink; his wife died of a broken heart; his child is fading in unmerited misery; and he is left to drag on a wretched existence, which in the moments of reason must be embittered to a degree too painful to hear, or almost to think of.

I saw Eleanor (for that was the name of this interesting creature) the next morning, when she had returned to her usual duties and apparent serenity. I had an elegant edition of Thomson in my pocket, which attracted her notice as it lay on my supper-table the night before. I now wrote a romantic but just compliment on a blank leaf in it, and then presented to her the book: after which I instantly mounted my horse, and resumed my journey; deprecating the revolutionary politics which had brought this family, and thousands of others, into such ignominy and distress.

The town of Bedford is next to Strasburg, and consists of about two hundred well built houses. It is natural to inquire into the motives which could tempt men to settle in a region so remote from commerce and the world: iron-mines, and some fine *interval land* (as it is here called), were the original attractions. Bedford is but a short day's ride from the highest mountain of the prodigious chain; and which, by way of distinction, is called exclusively "the Alleghany:" the others having received names from local events, or something remarkable in their features; as *Conococheque*, or Bloody Mountains, the Three Brothers, the Walnut, and the Laurel Hills, &c. I travelled along so attentive to the objects round me, and wasted so much time in visionary speculations, that I was overtaken by night on the summit of the mountain; where the road was narrow and bounded by frightful precipices. If I attempted to advance, a sudden and rapid death was unavoidable; or if I remained where I was, wolves, panthers, and tiger-cats, were at hand to devour me. I chose the latter risk, as having less of fatal certainty in it: I thought I could effect something by resistance; or that fortune might favour me by giving a more suitable supper, and a different hunting-ground, to the ferocious animals.

ASHIE.]

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The progress of night was considerably advanced ; and the powerful exhalations of the preceding sun, for want of wind to disperse or waft them to other parts, were returning to their parent woods. They at first hovered, in the form of transparent clouds, over small creeks and rivulets in the intervals of the mountain ; and then assumed a wider range, spreading over the entire valley, and giving to it the appearance of a calm continued sea. This beautiful transfiguration took place several hundred feet below me ; while the summit of the hill had no mist, and the dew was not sensible. The moon shone, but capriciously : for though some places were adorned with her brightest beams, and exhibited various fantastic forms and colours, others were unaffected by her light, and awfully maintained an unvaried gloom ; a "darkness visible," conveying terror and dismay.

Such apprehensions were gaining fast on my imagination, till an object of inexpressible sublimity gave a different direction to my thoughts, and seized the entire possession of my mind. The heavenly vault appeared to be all on fire : not exhibiting the stream or character of the aurora-borealis ; but an immensity vivid and clear, through which the stars, detached from the firmament, traversed in eccentric directions, followed by trains of light of diversified magnitude and brightness. Many meteors rose majestically out of the horizon : and having gradually attained an elevation of thirty degrees, suddenly burst ; and descended to the earth in a shower of brilliant sparks, or glittering gems. This splendid phenomenon was succeeded by a multitude of shooting-stars, and balls and columns of fire ; which, after assuming a variety of forms (vertical, spiral, and circular), vanished in slight flashes of lightning, and left the sky in its usual appearance and serenity. "Nature stood checked" during this exhibition : all was

"A death-like silence, and a dread repose."

Would it had continued so for a time ! for I had insensibly dropped on my knees ; and felt that I was offering to the great Creator of the works which I witnessed, the purest tribute of admiration and praise. My heart was full : I could not suppress my gratitude, and tears gushed from my eyes.

These pious, these pleasing sensations, were soon forced to yield to others arising out of the objects and circumstances round me. The profound silence maintained during the

luminous representation, was followed by the din of the demon of the woods. Clouds of owls rose out of the valleys, and flitted screaming about my head. The wolves too held some prey in chase, probably deer: their howlings were reverberated from mountain to mountain: or, carried through the windings of the vales, returned to the ear an unexpected wonder. Nor was the panther idle; though he is never to be heard till in the act of springing on his victim, when he utters a horrid cry. The wolf, in hunting, howls all the time; certainly with the view of striking terror: for, being less fleet than many of the animals on which he subsists, they would escape him if he did not thus check their speed by confounding their faculties. This is particularly the case with the deer: at the hellish cry, the poor animal turns, stops, and trembles; his eyes fill; his flanks heave; his heart bursts; and he dies the moment before the monster rushes upon him. The tiger-cat was busily employed close by me. Like our little domestic creature of the same species, he delights in tormenting, and is admirably skilled in the art. He had now caught an opossum, as I understood by the lamentations, but was in no haste to kill it. By the action and noise, he must have let it escape his clutches several times, and as often seized and overpowered it again; dropping it from the tree, and chasing it up the trunk, till the wretch being wearied at length with his vagaries and cruelty, he strangled and devoured it.

The intervals between these cries and roarings, were filled by the noise of millions of other little beings. Every tree, shrub, plant, and vegetable, harboured some thousands of inhabitants, endowed with the faculty of expressing their passions, wants, and appetites, in different tones and varied modulations. The most remarkable was the voice of whip-poor-will: plaintive and sad, "Whip poor Will!" was his constant exclamation; nor did he quit his place, but seemed to brave the chastisement which he so repeatedly lamented. The moon, by this time, had sunk into the horizon; which was the signal for multitudes of lightning-flies to rise amidst the trees, and shed a new species of radiance round. In many places, where they rose and fell in numbers, they appeared like a shower of sparks; and in others, where thinly scattered, they emitted an intermittent pleasing ray.

At length the day began to dawn: both the noisy and the glittering world now withdrew, and left to Nature a silent solemn repose of one half-hour. This I employed in reflec-

tions on the immensity and number of her works, and the presumption of man, in pretending to count and describe them. Whoever dares to compose the history of Nature, should first pass a night where I did : he would there be taught the vanity of his views, and the audacity of his intentions. He would there learn, that though gifted with a thousand years of life, and aided by ten thousand assistants, he still would be hardly nearer to his purpose ; neither the time nor the means would be sufficient for him to pourtray, with their properties, the herbs under his foot, and, with their affections, the insects that dwell among them. Yet every country has its natural historian ! A residence of three weeks, and a daily walk of two hours for that period, are deemed an ample qualification for the discovery and character of the productions of some of the finest regions on the globe. Such was not the disposition of St. Pierre : after passing many years in the laborious search of natural objects, and many years more in investigating their laws and principles, as a preparation for writing the history of Nature, he abandoned the pursuit as impracticable and impious ; and favoured the world merely with his Studies, which are beautiful, intelligent, and unassuming.

I conclude for the present ; again entreating you to observe, that in my letters you are not to look for the graces of style, or peculiar accuracy of detail. I write from the heart ; from the impulse of the impressions made by real events ; and this will, I hope, sufficiently gratify your tender and amiable feelings.

T. A.

## LETTER II.

*Sun-rise in a deep Valley—Breakfast at an Inn—American Forests generally free from Underwood—The Author kills a large Bear in the Forest: its deliberate precaution on being Shot—An Indian Camp: gradual Expulsion of the Indians into the Interior, and their near Extermination—Grandeur and beautiful Tints of an Autumnal Scene—Laurel-Hill—Delightful Vale leading to Pittsburg—Expences at the American Inns—Comfort, a Term of very various Application.*

*Pittsburg, October, 1806.*

AS day approached from the east, I recommenced my journey. The sun soon after coloured "in gay attire" some of the summits of the mountains, but his luminous body was not visible for a considerable time; and when it did appear in all its majesty, its rays were for several hours too oblique to penetrate the depths of the valley, and disperse the ocean of vapour which the preceding day had formed. It was interesting to observe with what reluctance the mists dissipated. Till touched by the magic beam, they were one uniform sheet: they then assumed a variety of forms; clouds representing grotesque and lively figures, crowning some of the highest trees. Some descended to the bosom of the stream, and followed the windings of the waters; others hovered over fountains and springs; while the larger portion rose boldly to the mountain-tops, in defiance of the sun, to gain the higher atmosphere, and again descend to the earth in dew or showers.

The birds, with the first dawn, left the recesses of the valleys; and taking their elevated seats, "joined in one universal choir." At least, nothing had more the resemblance of a general thanksgiving, or oblation of praise, to the Author of life and light; and though it might have been but a burst of exultation for the return of morn, I preferred thinking it a grateful expression of worship, which said to me: "Go thou and do likewise."

It was near ten before I had descended the mountain, and reached a place of refreshment. You may conceive how much I was exhausted; and how much I felt for my horse,

who had fasted all night after a tedious journey. In recompense I now took good care of him, and resolved to let him rest the remainder of the day. Indeed I was prepossessed in favour of this inn: for it was clean, the landlady civil, and her husband sober; three extraordinary circumstances, and which I little expected to meet on that road. My breakfast consisted of Indian bread, wild pigeons, and coffee made of native pease; nothing could be more conformable to the place and to my appetite. During the repast I conversed with my host on subjects which I supposed within the range of his information and capacity. I was mistaken: he was entirely unacquainted with the country round him. He never went west, because he had no business; on the east, he was bounded by the mountain, which he was determined never to ascend; and on his right and left was a wilderness which he feared to penetrate, as it abounded with wild beasts, snakes, and reptiles of all kinds.

I borrowed his gun and ammunition; and having set the house with a pocket-compass, took a north-west course through the woods. The American forests have generally one very interesting quality, that of being entirely free from under or brush-wood. This is owing to the extraordinary height, and spreading tops, of the trees; which thus prevent the sun from penetrating to the ground, and nourishing inferior articles of vegetation. In consequence of the above circumstance, one can walk in them with much pleasure, and see an enemy from a considerable distance. I soon felt the advantage of this; for I had not been long out, before a bear fell from a tree, and rose erect, about twenty yards before me. He was in the act of looking up to the branch from which he had slipped, when I fired, and lodged a ball in his groin. He staggered, and leant against a tree: but recovering a little from the pain and surprise, he deliberately stooped to pick up a quantity of clean leaves; which with the utmost precaution he stuffed into the wound, and thus stopped the flood of blood. I was prepared to fire a second time, but my heart failed me: I was overcome by the firmness which he shewed on receiving the shot, and the means he employed to correct its injury. He tried to climb the tree once more, but could not: the vital stream again rushed out; he fell to the ground, uttered a deep cry, and almost immediately expired. He was a very large animal; his tusks being five inches long, and his paw fifteen inches by five.

I continued on my way, till I came to a wood of younger

growth, interspersed with spots entirely clear of timber and marked by traces of former cultivation. I examined the place with care: it was an Indian camp; such as is often seen from the borders of the Atlantic to the great western waters, and even to the Pacific Ocean. Not that the Indians originally took this situation, or any other inland one, from choice; on the contrary, their pursuits and their happiness lay on the coasts of the sea, and the banks of navigable rivers; where they could lead a life congenial to the climate, adequate to their few wants, and suitable to their propensities. Thus they lived, regardless of the wealth and beauty of the interior, till the overflowing population of your country, and the religious and political tyranny of others, inspired a love of emigration, and brought on the shores a flood from which the native inhabitants were obliged to recede; renouncing at once their habits, their accustomed aliments and pleasures, the burial-places of their fathers, and the residence of their gods. So great was their respect to "white men," that they retreated without making any opposition; and with bleeding hearts began to settle in the back-grounds, to live on meat instead of fish, to build *tumuli* for their dead, and sanctuaries for the "Great Spirit" who they hoped had followed them into the wilderness. Innocent intentions! unassuming views! yet these too were frustrated. Wave after wave followed the first inundation; each gaining new ground, and forcing this devoted people into the plains; where they were only permitted to live long enough to form habits, and improve the land, and then were driven to the mountains, to feel the vicissitudes of other climates, range amid barren rocks, and combat for food with beasts of prey. Even this state of miserable existence was still to be denied them. They were hunted from these dreary haunts, and compelled to descend the mountains: not on their own native eastern side, but on the western, which was the soil of their enemies, other savage nations who lived on the margins of the great waters, and who were at eternal war with the rest of mankind. The remainder of their history is obvious: mutual and repeated hostilities, the alteration of climate and mode of life, and disease and intemperance introduced among them by the whites, have nearly annihilated the whole race. From the Atlantic to the Mississippi, a distance of two thousand miles, ten thousand Indians (out of twenty millions) do not at this day exist.

The camp which I was contemplating, therefore, was oc-



occupied as a last refuge in the hour of melancholy and despair. It is hid in the depth of the valley, amidst the profoundest gloom of the woods; and at the period of its first establishment, must have been nearly inaccessible. I spent three hours in exploring it; and found it to consist of, 1. A regular circle, a hundred paces in diameter, the perpendicular rise of the circumference of which is at least four feet; 2. The site of about two hundred huts, placed at regular distances between the circle and the foot of a steep hill; and 3. The mounds of the dead. The space contained in the circle was used according to the exigencies of the times. In peace it was the forum where their wise men and elders met to deliberate on the affairs of the nation; distribute impartial justice; exercise their youth in various combats; and instruct them in religious worship, of which dancing constituted a considerable part:—in war it was the assembly of their fighting-men; where they debated on measures of prudence, and stratagems of ingenuity. If the enemy attacked them in the camp, the old men, the wives, and children, with their effects, were placed in the centre of the circle; while the warriors surrounded them as an impenetrable barrier, guarding the wall entirely round, and shouting defiance to the assailants. Nearly two hundred years have now elapsed since England sent her fiery zealots and furious bigots to one part of America; while France, regurgitating robbers and prostitutes, colonized another. Was this a means to improve a people and reclaim a country; and can its original inhabitants be condemned for not accepting even a gospel and laws offered them at the point of the sword? Are they to be reproached for indolence, vice, and drunkenness, when most experienced instructors came among them to teach these baneful practices? Had the first settlers been animated by the principles of an enlightened humanity, how different would now be the face of society and nature here! population would abound; agriculture flourish; the wide desert be a smiling plain, loaded with waving corn; commerce would have opened extensive roads, the arts and the sciences following in her train; and the cross, that holy emblem which is now disfigured by violence, blood, and corruption, would be seen elevated on myriads of temples, and glittering through all the parts of the new world.

At four o'clock the sun had left the valley, and I had to hasten away so as to reach my tavern before night. This I effected, to the surprise of my hosts; for, from the length

of my stay, they began to imagine me to have lost myself, or been devoured by wild beasts. An American has no conception of a person's being able to derive pleasure from a walk, or information from solitude; his sluggish faculties require palpable and active objects to give them exercise. I mention this to account for the astonishment of my landlord at my delay, and his insensibility to the enjoyments which a contemplative walk would every day present. Finding that I could derive no information from such a man (who knew nothing of the camp, and, as his wife said, "did not heed such things—not he"), I hastily took some refreshment, retired to rest, and departed next morning, with a fine sun, and the promise of a delightful day.

Autumn had already begun to shed a varied tint over the numerous subjects of her rich domain. I amused myself in endeavouring to count and classify the colours which she employs to diversify Nature, and distinguish her reign from that of the other seasons: but I made little progress; for the scene was too grand, extensive, and sublime, to come under the confined controul of human calculation. I was on a vast eminence, commanding a view of a valley in which stood millions of trees, and from which many millions more gradually rose in the form of an immense amphitheatre. It appeared as if every tree, though many were of the same class, had shades, hues, and characters, peculiar to itself; derived from individual attitude, growth, and soil; and presentation to heavenly bodies, and the emanations issuing from them. It was one of those scenes on which the mind could dwell with infinite rapture; but which can never be described with justice and truth, except by one inspired by Him,

"Whose breath perfumes them, and whose pencil paints."

But

—————"Who can paint  
Like Nature? Can imagination boast,  
Amidst her gay creation, hues like these?"

THOMSON.

Between this spot and Pittsburg I passed two flourishing little towns; first crossing the celebrated Laurel-hill, so called from its ridge being for several miles crowned with trees of that kind. This hill is remarkably steep and stony. Nothing worthy of mention struck my notice till I arrived

ASHE.]

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within three miles of Pittsburg, when I descended into the beautiful vale which leads into that town. It was impossible to behold any thing more interesting than this : it extended three miles on a perfect level, cultivated in the highest degree; bounded by a rising ground on the left, and a transparent river on the right; and leading to a well inhabited town, where I meant to repose after a journey of 320 miles, 150 of them over stupendous mountains and barren rocks. Such a sight could not fail of gratifying and enchanting me; giving serenity to the mind, and gratitude to the heart; and awakening in the soul its most amiable and distinguished affections.

In sending you this sketch, I have not stopped to detail the inferior particulars of the journey. It is of little consequence where a traveller sleeps, where and what he eats, and whether he was comfortable, &c. In travelling along this and every other road in America, a stranger is furnished with a route indicating the best inns, and their distances from each other: as to the expence, it seldom varies; being a quarter of a dollar for lodging, the same sum for every meal, and half a dollar a night for a horse. With regard to *comfort*, that favourite British word is too vague for general explanation; as it relates to comparison, habit, and sensibilities. If the English miss cleanliness, the French coffee, the Dutch tobacco, the Germans beer, the Russians oil, the Italians chocolate, the Spaniards garlic, the Turks opium, the Tartars milk, the Indians rice, and so on through every nation, they never consider themselves *comfortable*; and hence we hear the same house praised by one guest, and vilified by another.

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### LETTER III.

*Situation and Description of Pittsburg—Its Manufactories, Ship-building, and Population—State of Education here—Character and Persons of the Ladies—Religious Sects—Schools—Market-house, and Prices of Provisions—Price of Land—Amusements.*

*Pittsburg, October, 1806.*

I AM afraid I tire your patience: three letters from this place, and yet it remains undescribed! Excuse me: I now commence.

No inland town in the United States, or perhaps in the world, can boast of a position superior to this, both as to its beauty, and also the many advantages with which it is attended; it being delightfully situated at the head of the Ohio, and on the point of land formed by the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela rivers. The site of the old French garrison Duquesne, which was taken by general Forbes in the year 1758, is immediately at the confluence of the two streams; and commands a charming view of each, as well as of the Ohio. The British garrison Fort Pitt (so called after the late earl of Chatham, and erected near the former post), higher up on the Monongahela, was once a place of some consequence as a frontier settlement, but fell into decay on being given up by its founders. As it was included in one of the manors of the Penn family, it was sold by the proprietaries; and now makes a part of the town of Pittsburg, and is laid out in town-lots. Fort Fayette, built a very few years since, is also within the limits of the town, on the bank of the Alleghany: a garrison is at present kept there; and for the most part, it is made headquarters for the army of the United States.

The spot on which this town stands, is so commanding (in the military phrase) that it has been emphatically called the key to the western country: and its natural situation is peculiarly grand and striking. Blest as it is with numerous advantages, there is nothing surprising in its having increased rapidly within the last few years. It contains about four hundred houses, many of them large and elegantly built with brick; and above two thousand inhabitants. It abounds with mechanics, who cultivate most of the different manufactures that are to be found in any other part of the United States; and possesses upward of forty retail *stores*\*, which all seem continually busy. To this place most of the goods conveyed in waggons over the mountains in spring and autumn, and destined for the Kentucky and Louisiana trade, are brought, to be ready for embarkation.

Many valuable manufactories have been lately established here; among which are those of glass, nails, hats, and tobacco. The manufacture of glass is carried on extensively, and that article is made of an excellent quality. There are two establishments of this sort; one for the coarser, and the other for the finer kinds.

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\* The common name for the places of sale in America and the colonies; differing from *shops* in being generally larger, and always dealing in a vast variety of articles, including every thing that can be expected to be asked for.

Ship-building is practised to a considerable extent in and near this town, and several vessels of from 10 to 350 tons are now on the stocks. They are frequently loaded here with flour, hemp, glass, and provisions; and then descend with the stream to the sea, a distance of 2300 miles; the only instance of such a length of fresh water inland navigation, for vessels of such burthen, known in the world.

The principal inhabitants of Pittsburg are Irish, or of Irish origin: this accounts for the commercial spirit of the place, and the good breeding and hospitality which in general prevail throughout it.—Colonel O'Hara, and majors Kirkpatrick and Grey, have been long distinguished for the liberality of their character, and their generous attention to strangers. I am indebted to them for much information and kindness; and whenever my mind wants a subject capable of affording it the most pleasing contemplation, it shall revert to the many happy hours which I enjoyed in their society, and that of their amiable families. The influence of these and many other gentlemen of similar sentiments, is very favourable to the town; and has hindered the vicious propensities of the genuine American character, from establishing here the horrid dominion which they have assumed over the Atlantic States.

Education is not attended to by the men, so much as by the ladies. The former enter into business so early, that they are obliged to abandon their studies before they are half completed; but the latter, having no other view than the improvement of their faculties, pass many years in pursuit of solid information and fashionable attainments. Hence they acquire a great superiority over the other sex. The ladies of Pittsburg manifest this superiority in a very high degree, but do not abuse it. Modest and unassuming, they conceal for a considerable time their embellishments; and when they permit them to shine out, it is to please a husband, father, or acquaintance, and not for the gratification of ambition or the humiliation of friends. None of their sensations appear to be violent: their character exhibits more of a serene repose than of a boisterous energy. Their form is slender, person tall, and voice melodious; the hair light; the eye mild; the gesticulation easy; and in a word, the whole of their manner, action, and appearance, denotes a temperate soul, an excellent heart, and an improved mind. I am happy to say that these are the leading features of many American women: it gives me great pleasure to render this justice to them; and to assure you,

that when I expressed the supreme disgust excited in me by the people of the United States, the ladies were by no means included in the general censure. Indeed it is a highly interesting fact, that the character of women is in every country more fixed and stable than that of men: the polished females of your court, the innocent ones of your fields and villages, and the females (cultivated or savage) of the most distant regions, have one universal indelible obligation impressed upon them: to be the entertaining companions, the charming associates, the bosom friends, and the faithful comforters, of man. This obligation they obey throughout the world. The vicissitudes of life, which cause a deplorable difference in the conduct of men, exercise no power over *their* affections; except that their love is strengthened by our adversity, and their friendship increased by our calamities. When the yellow fever is preying on the exanimate wretch; when the vital stream urges a passage from every pore; when his servants, and the nearest and dearest of his own sex, fly the dread contagion; who stays to check the crimson effusion, to offer the last sad remedy, to cool the burning tongue, to correct the putrid air, to receive the solemn parting injunction, and the last agonizing embrace? who but the wife of his bosom, or the favourite of his heart?

Happily for this place, religion is not extinct, though the professors of it are employing the best possible means for effecting its destruction. They are frittering it into a thousand ceremonies, a thousand absurd and eccentric shapes. In fact, religious worship is expressed here by every vagary that can enter into a disturbed mind. Some sit still, and appear to commune with themselves in silence and solemnity: others, on the contrary, employ themselves in violent gesticulation, and shouting aloud. Some, in mere obedience to the *letter* of the apostle's instruction, to "become as little children," think it right to play and roll on the floor, tumble, dance, sing, or practise gymnastic and various other juvenile games. Others deny the necessity of at all frequenting the house of the Lord: and accordingly turn out into the wilderness; where they fast, pray, and howl in imitation of the wolves. I did not inquire into the arguments by which the *merits* of these contradictory proceedings are supported: I was content on being assured that the better kind of people frequent the protestant church and the Romish chapel.—I cannot omit mentioning, that even the

dress and the costume of the hair and beard, are made subservient to religious opinions. Yesterday, while walking with an intelligent acquaintance, there advanced toward us out of a wood, a being that appeared to me a bear in disguise, wrapped in an immense cloak; and a hat like an umbrella unfurled, covering its head. Under this impression, I could not help exclaiming: "What the deuce is that?" My friend laughed, and told me it was a *Mennonite*: "a harmless creature," continued he, "belonging to a sect who never inhabit towns, nor ever cut their beard, hair, or nails; wash or clean themselves; and whose dress, habits, and general mode of life, are at variance with those of the rest of mankind." Pity now succeeded the error which I at first entertained.

I am sorry that I cannot make a favourable report of the scholastic establishments of this town. There is but one of a public nature; which is called an academy, and supported by the voluntary munificence of the place. It is under the direction of a number of trustees; who employ themselves so much in altercation whenever they meet, that they have not yet had time to come to any mutual understanding on its concerns. There is, however, a master appointed, who instructs about twenty boys in a sort of transatlantic Greek and Latin, something in the nature of what the French call *patois*, but which serves the purpose of the pupils as well as if their teacher were a disciple of Demosthenes or Cicero.

There are a few private schools where the principles of grammar, rhetoric, and a sound English education, may be acquired: the young ladies, while day-scholars, generally attend a *master*, and the present minister of the English church is principal of a school for the fair sex. His course of study is very liberal, philosophical, and extensive. Some of his scholars compose with great elegance, and read and speak with precision and grace. He makes them acquainted with history, geography, and polite literature; together with such other branches of instruction as are necessary to correct the judgment and refine the taste.

The market-house, which stands in a square in the centre of the town, is frequented almost daily, but more particularly on two stated days of the week, by vast numbers of country-people, who bring to it provisions of every description.

The beef is excellent, and is often sold as cheap as three

cents a pound\*; good veal, at seven cents; and pork at three dollars a hundred weight. Remarkably fine fowls cost about a shilling a couple. Quails, partridges, pigeons, and game of various kinds, are abundant, and sold at prices equally reasonable. Venison and bear-meat also are often brought to market; a haunch of the former may be bought for half a dollar, and a flitch of the latter for about twice as much. Vegetables and fruit are plentiful, but rather higher in proportion than other articles. Butter is generally fourteen cents a pound; eggs, five cents a dozen; and milk, three cents a quart. From this statement you will readily perceive that living here must be extremely cheap: the best taverns charge half a dollar a day for three meals and lodging; and there are boarding-houses on the terms of only a hundred dollars a year for board, lodging, and washing. The great towns on the Atlantic are vastly dearer; in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charlestown, the average price of decent accommodation being ten dollars a week. Those places however have the advantage in respect to foreign manufactures, wine, and liquor: for their Madeira is a dollar a bottle, but here it is a dollar and a half; and spirits of course are in the same rates. This is the natural effect of the dangerous, difficult, and expensive, land-carriage. As these latter are articles of luxury, their weight falls alone on the affluent: the other classes of society have excellent porter brewed in the town at a very cheap rate, and whiskey is to be had for two shillings a gallon.

The price of land varies with the quality, the distance from the town, and other causes. Farms on the margins of navigable waters are 300 per cent. dearer than those lying behind them. Good land on the banks of a river, and near a market-town, is not to be had under ten dollars an acre; but land under contrary circumstances brings only from one to two, or five dollars. Such land yields from twenty to thirty bushels of wheat, and from forty to sixty bushels of Indian corn.

As for the amusements here, they are under the dominion of the seasons. In winter, *carrioling* or *slewing* predominates: the snow no sooner falls, than pleasure, bustle, and confusion, banish business, speculation, and strife; nothing is seen but mirth, and nothing is heard but harmony. All young men of a certain condition provide themselves with

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\* A hundred cents make a dollar.



handsome carioles and good horses, and take out their favourite female friends, whom with much dexterity they drive through the streets; calling on every acquaintance, and taking refreshment at many an open house. For the night, an appointment is generally made by a large party (for instance, the company of twenty or thirty carioles) to meet at a tavern several miles distant; to which they go by torch-light, and accompanied by music. On arriving there, the ladies cast off their fur pelisses, assume all their beauties, and with the men commence the mazy dance. This is followed by supper, songs, catches and glees. When the voice of Prudence dispels the charm, they resume their vehicles, and return delighted with the moments which they have thus passed: this is repeated frequently during the snow. The summer amusements consist principally of concerts, evening walks, and rural festivals held in the vicinity of clear springs, and under the shade of odoriferous trees. On the latter I shall dwell in some future letter; at present I must conclude with the usual sentiments of attachment and regard.

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#### LETTER IV.

*The Subject of Emigration from Britain considered—  
History of an Emigrant Farmer—Kentucky peopled  
by a puffing Publication—Lord Selkirk's Colonizations  
—District least pernicious for Emigrants.*

*Pittsburg, November, 1806.*

AS the portrait which I gave you in my last, of this town and its vicinity, might dispose some minds on your side of the water to emigration, it will be but fair and honest for me to consider that subject rather minutely, and shew you how far such a measure would tend to their happiness or otherwise. For this purpose, let us suppose an individual determined to abandon the land of his nativity, and to break the chain of early attachments and maturer friendships, to go—whither? To a country of which scarcely any but unfaithful delineators have written; to regions described by persons who meant to impose on the public, by giving lavish and flattering details of which they themselves

had only heard. One place is said to be "a paradise, where man enjoys the felicities of the golden age;" and another is represented as "a fit residence for gods." Alas! these are the reports either of travellers who conceive that they must not speak the truth, or perhaps of indigent writers who never were out of London. Such compositions are a kind of romance, intended to amuse, not to instruct; to please, but convey no intelligence: and this is the dangerous effect of an opinion, that the public taste would not endure a work destitute of false colouring and meretricious embellishments; and that an author adhering to the simplicity of truth, would be condemned as a gloomy pedant who represented nature in a dark disguise. To illustrate these observations, it may be useful to state a fact.

Only a few years have elapsed since a gentleman farmer, residing within three or four miles of Lewes, in the county of Sussex, began to entertain unfavourable notions of his country; and to believe that he was a mere slave, subject to the caprice of an arbitrary government. Perhaps you will suppose that a course of unmerited adversity had reduced him to poverty and distress, and thus given this unhappy turn to his thoughts; on the contrary, his farm was his own; it enabled him to support a large family, to enjoy the comforts and even luxuries of life, and the delight of performing acts of generosity among his relations and neighbours. Under what delusion then did he labour? That which arose from an extravagant admiration of the French revolution, and the French *patriots*! He extolled all that they did, and trusted to all they said. They declared that the people of England were not free, but in a state of infamous servitude: he believed this; and to amend his wretched condition, resolved to emigrate. He fixed on America as his destination; and to obtain all the necessary information for this purpose, bought up every publication which professed to describe that extensive country. He had before read every one that abused and censured his own; and even his children were familiar with Jefferson's flights on Independence, the blasphemies of Tom Paine, and the political reveries of Priestley. Thus equipped, thus admirably prepared for the completion of his project, he sold his stock and all his possessions, and embarked without any other regret than what he patriotically felt for the *calamities* and *degeneracy* of his countrymen.

You need not be told, that on leaving the land, and encountering storms and dangers of every kind, a variety of

recollections must have recurred to the minds of our emigrants, and torn their hearts with the anguish of recollected and endearing sympathies. Such must have been the state of their feelings till they arrived in sight of America, but these sensations were then diverted by a succession of new and unknown objects. They first saw land to the north-east of Portland, in the district of Maine; and then coasted along the shore to Boston in Massachusetts. During this period, the father was anxiously looking for that prospect of fields and villages, that general shew of improvement and abundance, which his *reading* had instructed him to expect; but what was his surprise when he found that he could observe nothing but immense forests, covering an endless succession of mountains which penetrated to the interior of the country, and lost their summits in the clouds! He was not aware, that from the vast extent of America, the industry of man cannot for centuries effect a visible change in the general and primitive face which it bears. The improvements are but as specks scattered here and there, and can only be perceived by particular researches: the survey from a distance represents a continued immeasurable tract of woods, apparently occupied by beasts of prey, and incapable of affording accommodation to man.

This unexpected sight engaged and astonished him; nor were his reflections on it interrupted till he arrived in Boston harbour, where other scenes gave him fresh cause for wonder. A swarm of custom-officers were in an instant on board; and began their work of search, extortion, and pilage. Having escaped from these, and landed, he found himself surrounded by a number of persons who, without any kind of ceremony, crowded on him with the most familiar and impertinent inquiries: such as why he left England, whether he intended to settle among them, what were his means, what line of life he meant to follow, &c. One of them could let him have a house and store, if he turned his thoughts to merchandise: another could supply him at a low price, with the workshop of a mechanic, a methodist-meeting, or a butcher's shop, if either of these articles would suit him. Some recommended him to become a *land-jobber*; and to buy of them a hundred thousand acres on the borders of the Genessee country, and on the banks of *extensive* rivers and *sumptuous* lakes. This speculation was opposed by others, who offered him the sale of a parcel of *town-lots*, from which, by building on them, he could clear 500 *per cent.*; or if he had not means to build for the present, he

could cultivate the lots as cabbage-gardens, clear the first cost in a few years, and sell the whole at an advanced price! Finding, however, that none of their advice had any effect, these sordid speculators gradually dispersed; forming different conjectures of the stranger's intention, and lamenting that he was not simple enough to be made their dupe.

At length he reached a tavern; where he had not been long before a succession of swindlers and impostors intruded on his privacy, asked him a new set of questions, and harassed him with proposals varying according to the particular interests of the parties. If he had a desire to become a banker, he could purchase a share in a *capital house*; or he might buy a *land-lottery*; take a contract for building a bridge; place his funds in a manufactory of *weavers' shuttles*; buy up unpaid for British goods, twenty *per cent.* under prime cost; sell them by auction, and then buy a patent for making *improved fish-hooks*, and *cut iron nails*. As he did not approve of any of these plans, he was fortunately left to his little family: but not till his intruders gave him to understand that they suspected him to be a poor fellow without either money or spirit; and who came among them to become a schoolmaster, lawyer, parson, or doctor. "These professions," they added, "already abounded among them, but in the interior of the country he could not fail to succeed; and they hoped he would soon remove to those parts, as people of his kind were hardly held in repute among *them*."

When they were again alone, his wife and himself could no longer suppress their astonishment and horror. One short hour had dispelled the reveries in which they had so long indulged, and changed the *liberal, independent, amiable* Americans, of whom they had read so much, into a race of impudent, selfish, sordid individuals, without either principle or common humanity. Still, however, he was not inclined to judge rashly of them; but deliberately to examine the country, and act from his own observations.

At last, after spending much of his time and property, his conclusions were these: that the high price of labour renders it impossible for a gentleman farmer to make any thing of land there; that no man can succeed on a farm unless he himself attends the plough, and has a wife and children capable of performing the other mean and hard work; that the market prices are too low to defray the expence of hired labourers, and that one of his own flocks of sheep in Eng-

land yielded a greater profit than any farm which he had examined or seen here. Taxes too, he found, were numerous and increasing; yet trade was unprotected, and persons and property were insecure. As to religion, he saw it in some parts established by a rigid ecclesiastical tyranny, compelling him to go to a church on a Sunday or pay a fine; and in others so much neglected and disregarded, that every house of worship was in a state of dilapidation and decay.

Unwilling to renounce the prejudice which had led him to prefer America to his own country, he travelled southward, passing through the malignant ordeals of the middle States: through the burning fevers which annually claim their thousands; and depopulate the great towns of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. He did not, it is true, find these dreadful scourges prevailing in the southern States, but he soon learnt that they too were regularly visited by periodical diseases. Slavery also reigned here; and consequently tyranny, sloth, avarice, and licentiousness.

He had now visited the whole of *settled* America; and at length awoke from those dreams in which he had so long indulged, and which ruined a considerable part of his fortune. His present reflections indeed were sound and salutary: they brought to his mind new ideas of his native land, and of its constitution. What he had seen in America, led him to recollect the undisturbed security and wealth which he once so eminently enjoyed at home. To change his own mild and paternal government, for the wild principles of the American federal system; to renounce the honour of being a British subject, for the degradation of becoming a citizen of *such* States; now appeared to him absurd and contemptible: he accordingly prepared with eagerness to return to his native home, and is at this moment the *tenant* on the farm which was originally his *inheritance*. And yet he is happy, because he now sees all the objects of his former discontent in a rational view. Tithes, which formerly excited his disgust and uneasiness, he now owns to be necessary (till some equivalent can be substituted in their stead) for the support of religious worship; the neglect of which, as he has strikingly seen in America, renders a country infamously licentious. Taxes he allows to be essential for securing public order, public wealth, and individual prosperity and happiness. He admits that commerce *must* be protected by a navy; and that foreign possessions, which

supply that commerce, *must* be maintained by a standing army: and concludes, that to expect riches and prosperity without taxes, is to expect the return of the fabulous golden age; a thing that may be wished even by the wise, but which fools themselves can never hope for.

Such is this gentleman's history! You will ask me why others do not follow his example; and when they find America contrary to their sanguine notions, return to their native home. I reply, that they either want means, or are deficient in strength of mind; that they either involve their fortunes in vague speculations from which they cannot retire, or fear to encounter the contempt and derision of their former acquaintance. Some are even so base as to write, in the midst of their disappointment, flattering letters for the purpose of enticing others to follow their steps (which must inevitably lead them into the same errors and calamities) only for the sake of having companions in misfortune and ridicule.

But a more powerful cause producing emigration is, that it becomes the business of those who make large purchases of land, to exert all their eloquence and other means for inviting people to settle on it. The first explorer of Kentucky hired an author residing in Philadelphia, to write an animated and embellished description of that country. The narrative was in a florid, beautiful, and almost poetical style: in short, the work possessed every merit except truth. However, the land speculator succeeded: in the course of seven years, the book drew forty thousand inhabitants into that State; but this instrument of their delusion is now read only as a romance. Such were the views also which accomplished lord Selkirk's extensive colonizations: yet the first settlers nearly perished from want, owing to the general devastation of vermin destroying the seed before it took root in the ground; and the next fell victims to the flux and fevers, generated in the immense swamps on the lakes of the west. Priestley, under the same delusive influence, strengthened by his peculiar political and religious principles, settled in another inhospitable region; but he was soon obliged to draw a sad contrast between this and his native land: he fell into a deep melancholy, and died of a broken heart.

I cannot think it necessary to say much after this detail of facts. I ask you, could *you* dream of coming to this country, from so gloomy yet so *true* a representation of it? Though many of these facts do not operate against this town and its neighbourhood, still there are enough to deter me from encouraging any person to remove hither. But I do

not hesitate, however, to declare, that if a friend of mine were resolved on emigration, I would recommend these waters in preference to any place that I have seen east of the mountains; and as I have carefully travelled from Georgia to the district of Maine, you may depend on my opinion as possessing the advantages of experience.

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### LETTER V.

*Morgantown—The Monongahela River—Cheat River, and George's Creek—New Geneva, and Greensburg—Brownsville—William's Port—Elizabeth Town—Mackee's Port, and Braddock's Defeat—An Indian fortified Camp described, and interesting Object discovered near it—Ancient Indian Barrows, or Burial-places—Remains of Arms, Utensils, and Instruments.*

*Morgantown, Pennsylvania, Nov. 1806.*

THIS, which is a flourishing town pleasantly situated on the east bank of the Monongahela river, contains about sixty dwellings; and is a county town for the counties of Harrison, Monongahela, and Randolph. As it may be considered as at the head of the Monongahela navigation, I shall here give you a sketch of that river.

The Monongahela takes its rise from the foot of the Laurel-mountain, in Virginia: thence meandering in a direction west by east, it passes into Pennsylvania; receiving in its course Cheat and Youghiogheny rivers from the south south east, and many other small streams. It unites with the Alleghany at Pittsburg; and the two rivers, as I have before remarked, form the Ohio. The settlements on each side of it are extensive, and much of the land is good and well cultivated. The appearance of the rising towns and the regularly disposed farms on its banks, is truly delightful to passengers. In autumn and spring it is generally covered with what are here called trading and family boats; the former loaded with flour, whiskey, cider, apples, peach-brandy, bacon, iron, glass, earthen-ware, cabinet-work, &c. all being the produce and manufacture of the country, and destined for Kentucky and New Orleans; and the latter carrying furniture, utensils, and tools for the cultivation of the

soil. No scene can be more pleasing to a philosophic mind than this: which presents to view a floating town, as it were, on the face of a river whose gentle rapidity and flowered banks add sublimity to cheerfulness; and the sweet harmony of the songsters of the woods, to the hoarseness of the falling cataract or the murmur of the quiet stream.

Eight miles below this town is Cheat river, the mouth of which is obstructed by a long and difficult shoal: a pilot should always be taken to guide a stranger through this. Twelve miles from this shoal, and on the east side, is George's creek: below the mouth of which is situated New Geneva, a thriving town, and distinguished for extensive manufactories in its vicinity, which make and export large quantities of good glass. Kentuckey and other boats are built here. A little below, and on the opposite side of the river, lies Greensburg; a small village, of which nothing favourable can be said.

Thirty-one miles from this last place is Brownsville, formerly called Redstone. This town is well known to those who *migrate* down the rivers. It is handsomely situated, but somewhat divided: a part lying on the first bank, but more on a second and higher one; both the banks being formed by the gradual subsidence of the water. It is a place of much business, and contains about a hundred houses and six hundred souls. The settlement round it is excellent, having some of the best mills to be found in the country; and among them an extensive paper-mill, which is the only one at this side of the mountains except that lately erected in Kentucky. A variety of boats are built here; and an extensive rope-walk is carried on, with various other valuable manufactories. The inhabitants are principally German and Dutch; and this accounts at once for the wealth, morals, and industry of the place.

William's Port lies nineteen miles below Brownsville. The town is small, but well situated; and is increasing in business; as it has a fine settlement, and lies on the direct road from Philadelphia to Whelan on the Ohio, and other places of conveyance.

Beautifully situated, eleven miles further down the stream, stands Elizabeth Town; where considerable business is done in the boat and ship building way. A ship called the *Monongahela Farmer*, and several other vessels of considerable burthen, were built here; and, loaded with the produce of the adjacent country, passed from the midst of the mountains to the bosom of the sea, through circuitous fresh-water



streams that enrich provinces for an extent of nearly 2400 miles.

Mackee's Port, also pleasantly situated, lies eight miles still lower, and just beyond the junction of the Yougheogheny and the Monongahela. Many boats are built here; and on that account, *migrators* to the lower country generally choose this place for embarking. It is increasing in business, and indicates a likelihood to rise to some importance. A spot on the east side of the river, and eight miles from Mackee's Port, is called Braddock's Defeat, in commemoration of the melancholy destruction of that British general and his force by the Indians in the American war. Nine miles further down stands Pittsburg, which I have already described.

As I did not stop to interrupt my rapid sketch of this river by mentioning a variety of interesting particulars which occur on its banks, I shall now return to a few of them.

The neighbourhood of Brownsville, or Redstone, abounds with monuments of Indian antiquity. They consist of fortified camps, barrows for the dead, images and utensils, military appointments, &c.

A fortified camp (which is a fortification of a very complete nature, on whose ramparts timber of five feet in diameter now grows) commands the town of Brownsville, which undoubtedly was once an Indian settlement. This camp contains about thirteen acres, enclosed in a circle, the elevation of which is seven feet above the adjoining ground. Within the circle, a pentagon is accurately described; having its sides four feet high, and its angles uniformly three feet from the circumference of the circle, thus leaving an unbroken communication all round. Each side of the pentagon has a postern, opening into the passage between it and the circle; but the circle itself has only one grand gateway, which directly faces the town. Exactly in the centre stands a mound, about thirty feet high, hitherto considered as a repository of the dead; and which any correct observer can perceive to have been a place of look-out. I confess that I examined these remains of the former power of man with much care and veneration; nor could I resist reproaching those writers who have ignorantly asserted, "We know of no such thing existing as an Indian monument of respectability; for we would not honour with that name arrow-points, stone hatchets, stone pipes, half-shapen images, &c." I ask those writers, what opinion they entertain of

the object which I now describe: and I request them, when they are again disposed to enlighten the world with their lucubrations, to visit the countries which they profess to delineate; and diligently search for materials there, before they presume to tell us that such have no existence.

At an inconsiderable distance from the fortification, was a small rising ground; on the side of which I perceived a large projecting stone, a portion of the upper surface of which was not entirely concealed in the bank. If the perceptible portion of it had been marked with the irregular traces that distinguish the hand of Nature, I might have sat on this stone in silent meditation on the objects which it immediately commanded; but I conceived that the surface had that uniform and even character which exhibits the result of industry and art.

Animated by a variety of conjectures, I hastened to the town to engage assistance; and quickly returned to clear away the earth; which bore strong indications of having fallen on the stone, and not having primitively engendered it. In proportion as I removed the obstruction, I paused to dwell on the nature of the discovery: my heart beat as I proceeded, and my imagination traced various symbols which vanished before minute investigation. The stone was finally cleared in a rough manner, and represented to our view a polygon with a smooth surface of eight feet by five. I could not immediately form any conclusion, yet I persisted in the opinion that the hand of man had been busy in the formation of this object; nor was I diverted from this idea by the discouragement of the persons whom I employed, and the laughter of the multitude that followed me from the town to gaze on my labour and delight in my disappointment. Though the earth was now cleaned from the general surface of the stone, small quantities of it remained in certain irregular traces; and this I determined to remove before abandoning expectations which I entertained with so much zeal. I accordingly commenced this operation, to the no small amusement of the spectators, and with considerable anxiety: for none of the indentions traversed the stone in right and parallel lines; but they lay scattered without any apparent order, and I cherished the hope of decyphering a systematic inscription. With a pointed stick I followed the nearest indention, and soon discovered that it described a circle which completed its revolution at the spot where I had commenced clearing it. A ray of triumph now shone in my countenance: the people no

longer ridiculed me, but a silent expectation manifested a desire that I might be crowned with further success. On continuing, I cleared a right line which made a segment on the circle, though it did not touch the circumference at either end. I cleared in succession four other lines of this description; and the general view then presented a circle inclosing a regular pentagon, whose angles were two inches from the circumference. The multitude shouted applause: some of them even entered into the spirit of my design, and returned to their homes for water and brushes to scrub the stone. When this task was effected, there appeared a figure of the head of an Indian warrior etched in the centre. Each side of the pentagon was intersected by a small bar, and the circle was also cut by one bar immediately opposite to a right line drawn from the head of the man. Near each line were an equal number of little dots: and the circle was surrounded by many more; all uniform in their size, and in their distance from the circle and from each other.

The deductions from this very interesting spectacle, did not however give me the pride and delight that I ought to have felt; for in reality they destroyed my most favourite conceptions,—that the predecessors of the Indians were not only enlightened by the arts and sciences, but were a different sort of men from the present race, superior both in corporeal structure and mental endowment, and equal in the latter respect to the inhabitants of polished Europe. I was obliged to allow that the fact before my eyes abolished my theory entirely, for the representation on the stone was nothing more than a rude sketch of the adjoining fort which I have just described. The bars on the lines in the etching, designated the posterns and gateway; the dots denoted the length of the lines, and the extent of the circumference of the circle; and the warrior's head justified the opinion which I had entertained, that the mound in the centre of the fort was a place for a sentinel of observation. The etching is deep, and executed with considerable accuracy; yet the whole has an Indian air: the head is indelibly marked with savage features, and resembles many which the modern tribes carve on their pipes and tomahawks.

Two barrows or burial-places lie contiguous to the fort. I perforated them in many places, to discover whether the bones lay in positions which announced any particular religious or customary injunction; but could discover nothing on which to form an opinion with any certainty: though I was influenced by a tradition extant among the native In-

dians, that when their ancestors settled in a town, the first person who died was placed erect, and earth put about him so as to cover and support him; and that when another died, a narrow passage was dug to the first, against whom he was reclined, and the cover of the earth then replaced; and so on. Most barrows hitherto discovered have been of a spheroidal form, which favours this tradition. The one which I here opened, might have been originally a parallelogram, sixty feet by twenty, and thirty feet high, whose upper surface and angles have been rounded by the long influence of time and accident; for we are not to conceive that the form of ancient works is exactly similar to that which they first possessed. Such indeed as are built of stone, and have not been exposed to dilapidation, do not experience any material change: but all those monuments (and they are by far the most numerous) which are composed of earth, must have undergone considerable alteration and waste; and therefore afford a very scanty evidence of their original dimensions, or (except where bones are found) of their purpose.

The bones in the barrows of this neighbourhood were directed to every point, without any regard to system or order. This surprised me the more, as I am well convinced that in general, most of the ancient aboriginal nations and tribes had favourite positions for their dead, and even favourite strata with which to cover them; as I shall have occasion to explain to you when on the spot where the primitive Indian tribes resided. Perhaps the irregularities in the barrows of this place may arise from the bones deposited in them, having been those of persons killed in battle, and collected by the survivors in order to be buried under one great mound. This conjecture is the more probable, as there is abundant testimony that Indians dying naturally have been always interred with great pomp, and certain rites and positions existing to this day among them, which they are instructed to maintain by their most respected traditions.

At the same time and place I found in my researches a few carved stone pipes and hatchets, flints for arrows, and pieces of earthenware. I cannot take upon me to say that the workmanship of any of these articles surpasses the efforts of some of the present race of Indians; but it certainly destroys an opinion which prevailed, that the inhabitants in the most remote times had the use of arms, utensils, and instruments, made of copper, iron, and steel. The discovery

however of these objects mixed with the bones of the dead, proves the high antiquity of the custom of burying with deceased persons such things as were of the most utility and comfort to them in life.

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## LETTER VI.

*Town of Erie—Description of the Alleghany River—Trade on it—Its Rise and Progress—Towns and other remarkable Places in its Course—Watersford, and Journey thence to Meadville—Bigsugar Creek, and Franklin—Montgomery's Falls—Ewall's Defeat—Freeport—Sandy Creek—The Navigation of the Alleghany Dangerous—Bituminous Well—Alleged Virtues of the Water of the River—Onondargo Lake, and Salt Springs round it—Fondness of the Animals here for Salt—Buffaloes: interesting Narrative respecting the Destruction of those Animals—Destruction of Deer—Birds frequenting the Saline Waters:—Doves—Unhealthiness of the Climate, and Cautions on that Subject—The most Salubrious Situations—Details of the Manner in which the Commerce of the two Rivers is conducted—Immense Circuitous Journey performed by those chiefly engaged in it—Every thing done without Money—A Store described, and its Abuses:—Anecdote.*

*Erie,\* December, 1806.*

THIS town, at the head of a portage† communicating with the river (the Alleghany) which I mean in the present letter to describe, was a few years since *laid out* by direction of the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania. From a view of its important and commanding situation, it was planned on a very large scale; and every encouragement was given to settlers, in order to advance its progress. It now enjoys an extensive trade through the lakes; and this circumstance would render it of the highest consequence to the country, but for the fevers which check its population in a considerable degree.

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\* Formerly called Presqu'isle.

† An establishment communication by land, to a navigable water,

Few rivers exceed the Alleghany in clearness of water and rapidity of current. It seldom fails to mark its course across the mouth of the Monongahela, in the highest *freshes* or floods. This is easily observed by the colour of the water; that of the latter being very muddy, and the others clear. In high floods the junction of these rivers presents a pleasing view: the Monongahela flowing sometimes full of ice, but the Alleghany transparent and free. It is delightfully interspersed with cultivated farms and increasing towns on its banks, and bids fair to be settled from its mouth to its source. The trade up and down this river has become an object of much importance to the lower settlements; there being a great demand for flour, whiskey, apples, cider, beer, bacon, glass, iron, &c. at the different ports on the lakes, and among the inhabitants of the surrounding country. The quantity of salt which comes from Onondago, in the state of New York, through the lakes, and thence down this river, is so immense as to be sufficient for the supply of all the western country.

The Alleghany rises near Sinemahoning Creek; a navigable stream that falls into Susquehanna, to which there is a portage of only twenty-three miles. Thence it meanders, receiving many tributary streams; and in about a south-westerly direction joins Monongahela at Pittsburg; where these two rivers lose their names, and together form the Ohio.

Waterford (originally called *Le Bœuf*) is fifteen miles from Erie: it was laid out by the state of Pennsylvania, and is now increasing. This is one of the western ports which were evacuated only a few years ago. In my way hence to Meadville, a distance of forty-two miles, I had to pass through the *Le Bœuf* Lake, Muddy Creek, and Dead-water: a passage void of any lively interest; and dangerous in respect to shallows, *rapids*, and stagnated vapours rising out of ponds near its banks and their immediate neighbourhood.

Meadville is pleasantly situated on French Creek: it is in a prosperous condition; and is a seat of justice for the counties of Erie, Warren, Venango, and Crawford, in the last of which it stands. This town carries on a considerable trade: it contains about fifty houses, and several stores.

The distance from Meadville to Bigsugar Creek and Franklin, is thirty miles. From the mouth of the creek there is a considerable fall, all the way to Franklin. That

town is seated just below the creek, where it joins the Alleghany; is a post-town, containing about forty houses and several stores; and is the principal place of Venango county. Twenty-five miles from it is a very dangerous spot called Montgomery's Falls. The channel of the river is on the left side of a large rock, directly in the middle of the falls; by keeping this in view, there is no danger; though the descent is rapid, and the boat difficult to steer. Three miles lower is a very rocky place, called Ewalt's Descent: the channel is on the east side, near the shore. Thence to Freeport, a distance of eighty miles, the river is full of eddies, *ripples*, rapids, rocks, and other dangers, which it requires the utmost attention to avoid. In some of the ripples, the water runs at the rate of ten miles an hour; and a boat will go at the rate of twelve without any other assistance than the steering oar. Freeport lies at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, which falls into the river on the west; and opposite to it are received the waters of the Kiskeminetas. Sandy Creek is thirty-two miles from Freeport: at its mouth a vessel of 160 tons burthen was lately launched, filled with a cargo, and thence sailed for the West Indies. This creek is but ten miles distant from Pittsburg.

The river is interspersed with several small islands, which have a very pleasing effect: though they interrupt the navigation, and render it particularly dangerous at night; as the current has a tendency at times to cast a boat on the points of islands, and on the sand-bars which project from them. I could hear of but few objects of curiosity worth observing: I visited indeed the seat of some old Indian settlements, but did not find them distinguished by the fine features which characterize the ruins near Brownsville. Not far from Pittsburg is a well which has its surface covered with a bituminous matter resembling oil; and which the neighbouring inhabitants collect, and use in ointments and other medicinal preparations. This vapour rising from this well is inflammable; and has been known to hang in a lambent state over the orifice, being fed by fresh exhalations, for several hours together. The medical men of Pittsburg profess to have analyzed this oil; and to have discovered in it a variety of virtues, if applied according to their advice. They also extol the water of the Alleghany, and send their patients to bathe in it when the season permits; to this water is ascribed the faculty of strengthening weak stomachs, and aiding digestion. Those who are afflicted with habitual vomitings too (a complaint not uncommon here),

are said to find relief from drinking it. Such persons resort to Pittsburg for this purpose, and make a favourable report of the effects of their libations: though I am of opinion, that the amendment which they experience is to be attributed to their refraining from spirituous liquors, the primitive cause of their malady; and not to any peculiar virtue in this beautiful flood, which is supplied by effusions of melted snow from the mountains, and the waters of lakes, neither of which sources is by any means healthy.

The Onondargo, which (as I observed) has a portage-communication with this river, is a fine lake of brackish water, surrounded by springs, from two to five hundred gallons of the water of which make a bushel of salt. It appears as if Nature expressly intended this region to be populated; and, as a strong temptation, placed this treasure in the bosom of hills and woods. Had it not been for these and similar springs dispersed through the western country, salt must have been at such a price as to deter persons from settling there. All the animals of those parts have a great fondness for salt. The cattle of farmers who give this substance to their stock, prove superior in value by 25 per cent. to such as are not supplied with an article so essential, not only to their general improvement, but their health. The native animals of the country too, as the buffalo, elk, deer, &c. are well known to pay periodical visits to the saline springs and lakes, bathing and washing in them, and drinking the water till they are hardly able to remove from their vicinity. The best roads to the Onondargo from all parts, are the buffalo-tracks; so called from having been observed to be made by the buffaloes in their annual visitations to the lake from their pasture-grounds: and though this is a distance of above two hundred miles, the best surveyor could not have chosen a more direct course, or firmer or better ground. I have often travelled these tracks with safety and admiration: I perceived them chosen as if by the nicest judgment; and when at times I was perplexed to find them revert on themselves nearly in parallel lines, I soon found it occasioned by swamps, ponds, or precipices, which the animals knew how to avoid: but that object being effected, the road again swept into its due course, and bore towards its destination as if under the direction of a compass.

An old man, one of the first settlers in this country, built his log-house on the immediate borders of a salt-spring. He informed me that for the first several seasons, the buffaloes paid him their visits with the utmost regularity: they



travelled in single files, always following each other at equal distances; forming droves, on their arrival, of about three hundred each. The first and second years, so unacquainted were these poor brutes with the use of this man's house or with his nature, that in a few hours they *rubbed* the house completely down; taking delight in turning the logs off with their horns, while he had some difficulty to escape from being trampled under their feet, or crushed to death in his own ruins. At that period he supposed there could not have been less than ten thousand in the neighbourhood of the spring. They sought for no manner of food; but only bathed and drank three or four times a day, and rolled in the earth; or reposed, with their flanks distended, in the adjacent shades: and on the fifth and sixth days separated into distinct droves, bathed, drank, and departed in single files, according to the exact order of their arrival. They all rolled successively in the same hole: and each thus carried away a coat of mud, to preserve the moisture on their skin; and which, when hardened and baked by the sun, would resist the stings of millions of insects that otherwise would persecute these peaceful travellers to madness or even death.

In the first and second years this old man with some companions killed from six to seven hundred of these noble creatures, merely for the sake of the skins, which to them were worth only two shillings each: and after this "work of death," they were obliged to leave the place till the following season; or till the wolves, bears, panthers, eagles, rooks, ravens, &c. had devoured the carcasses, and abandoned the place for other prey. In the two following years, the same persons killed great numbers out of the first droves that arrived, skinned them, and left the bodies exposed to the sun and air; but they soon had reason to repent of this; for the remaining droves, as they came up in succession, stopped, gazed on the mangled and putrid bodies, sorrowfully moaned or furiously lowed aloud, and returned instantly to the wilderness in an unusual run, without tasting their favourite spring, or licking the impregnated earth, which was also once their most agreeable occupation, nor did they, or any of their race, ever revisit the neighbourhood.

The simple history of this spring, is that of every other in the settled parts of this western world: the carnage of beasts was every where the same. I met with a man who had killed two thousand buffaloes with his own hand; and

others, no doubt, have done the same. In consequence of such proceedings, not one buffalo is at this time to be found east of the Mississippi; except a few domesticated by the curious, or carried through the country as a public show. The first settlers, not content with this sanguinary extermination of the animal, also destroyed the food to which it was most partial; which was cane, growing in forests and brakes of immeasurable extent. To this the unsparring wretches set fire in dry seasons; in order to drive out every living creature, and then hunt and persecute them to death.

Deer, which also abounded in this country, have nearly shared the same fate as the buffaloes; and they too would be entirely annihilated, if they were not capable of subsisting in places almost inaccessible to man. The small number that remain, frequent the mountains: their desire for the water of the saline springs, however, occasionally brings them into the plains, where they do not want for enemies; there being no settler who would not abandon the most important business, in order to pursue this species of game. What was formerly common to all, in consequence of the multitude of herds daily passing backward and forward, can now only gratify a few; for they esteem the death of this fine animal a triumph, and neglect no opportunity of thus distinguishing themselves over their associates. On killing a deer, he is immediately skinned, even while yet palpitating; nor are the bowels taken out, lest the hide should shrink. The haunches alone are valued as food: the rest is either given to the dogs, or left for beasts of prey or vermin, which every where abound.

The salt lake and springs are also frequented by all the other kinds of beasts, and even by birds: and from the most minute inquiries, I am justified in asserting, that their visitations were periodical; except doves, which appear to delight in the neighbourhood of impregnated springs, and to make them their constant abode. In such situations they are seen in immense numbers, as tame as domestic pigeons, but rendered more interesting by their solitary notes and plaintive melody.

In descending the river, and traversing immense tracts of meadow and woodlands which are in a state of nature, I have found the atmosphere, after a hot day, so mephitic and offensive, as to give me vomitings and head-aches, which undoubtedly would have terminated in a yellow or intermittent fever, if I had not previously fortified my blood with bark and other preventives. I recommend the same precau-

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tion to every person visiting this part of the world, and also to avoid studiously the night air. I have been wet with a dew so strong and palpable as to feel its effects for several days, in a general chill through my body, and a pain through particular bones. Yet in consequence of the violent heat of the day, people frequently defer their journies and most of their pleasures till the night; but a sad experience exposes the danger of the practice, in the strong language of rheumatism, consumption, and mental debility and distress.

You will ask me perhaps, what parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rivers which I have described, are likely to secure the blessings of health. I answer at once, though in direct contradiction to various writers, that no part of the western country is healthy; and I have already detailed my motives for this assertion. For if the air is impregnated (as is undoubtedly the case) with a poisonous exhalation, so offensive to the constitution of the brute creation as to compel them to migrate several hundred miles annually in search of an antidote (which I conclude to be the real cause of their visits to the salt lake and springs), what must be its operation on man, whose organization is much more feeble; and whose blood, from the manner of his subsistence, is more subject to be polluted by the climate, and the various other elements of disease!

I allow that there are situations less dangerous than others; for hills and eminences are evidently more favourable than plains and valleys: yet the Americans universally build in valleys, and on *bottoms*, as they call them; which latter are plains formed by subsiding waters and from putrid ingredients, and subject to occasional overflows and partial stagnation. But this too can be accounted for: the borders of rivers and navigable streams are the theatres of business; and the Americans are too indolent to live on the high grounds, and to have the trouble of descending daily for the purpose of pursuing their avocations. They every moment see the consequences of this conduct; they see their friends fall off, their wives and children languish, and their own constitutions fail: still they persist; and prefer inactivity and disease to health and comfort, when the latter are to be purchased by exertion.

Before I leave the subject of these two rivers, I must give you some few particulars of the manner in which their commerce is conducted.

I do not conceive that I assert too much, though it may

be surprising to you, in saying, that the entire business of these waters is conducted without the use of money. I have already enumerated the produce ; consisting chiefly of flour, corn, salt, cyder, apples, live hogs, bacon, glass, earthenware, &c. I have also mentioned the little towns and settlements along them. To such places persons come from Baltimore and Philadelphia with British goods, which they exchange for the above productions ; charging on their articles at least 300 *per cent.* and allowing the farmer and manufacturer but very low terms for theirs. Some of these prices are as follows : whiskey, two shillings a gallon ; live hogs, two dollars and a half a hundred weight ; bacon, three dollars a hundred weight ; flour, three dollars a barrel ; corn, a quarter-dollar a bushel ; butter, an eighth of a dollar a pound ; cyder, four dollars a barrel ; native sugar, a sixteenth of a dollar a pound ; and so on in proportion, for any other produce of the country. The store-keepers make two annual collections of these commodities ; send them down the rivers to New Orleans ; and there receive an immense profit in Spanish dollars, or bills on Philadelphia at a short date. They then purchase British and West Indian goods of all kinds ; send them by waggons, over the mountains, to their stores in the western country, where they always keep clerks ; and again make their distributions and collections ; descend the waters ; and return by the same circuitous mountainous route, of at least 5650 miles, as nearly as can be calculated on an average between the extreme head of the waters and Pittsburg, thus :

	<i>Miles.</i>
From each station to New Orleans, - - -	2300
From New Orleans to Philadelphia by sea, - - -	3000
From Philadelphia back to each station, by the way of the } Alleghany mountains, - - -	350
Total, - - -	5650

A few, on receiving their cash at New Orleans, return by land through the wilderness, Tennasee, and Kentuckey, to their stations at and above Pittsburg ; but this is seldom done. The distance which is thus performed is only 1300 miles.

These storekeepers are obliged to keep every article which it is possible that the farmer and manufacturer may want. Each of their shops exhibits a complete medley : a magazine where are to be had both a needle and an anchor, a tin pot and a large copper boiler, a child's whistle and a piano

forte, a ring-dial and a clock, a skain of thread and trimmings of lace, a check frock and a muslin gown, a frieze coat and a superfine cloth, a glass of whiskey and a barrel of brandy, a gill of vinegar and a hogshead of Madeira wine, &c. Hence you will perceive that money is not always necessary as a circulating medium: however, as farmers and manufacturers advance in business, and find their produce more than equal to the wants of their families, they contract with the storekeeper to receive the annual balance of the latter either in cash, or in land to an equal amount; for though no person cultivates a tenth part of the land that he possesses, every one is animated with the rage of making further accessions. Thus the great landholders ultimately absorb all the hard money; and as they principally reside in the large towns in the Atlantic States, the money finds its way back to those, and leaves many places here without a single dollar. This is productive of distressing incidents to small farmers who supply the markets with provisions: for whatever they have to sell, whether trivial or important, they receive in return nothing but an order on a store for the value in goods; and as the wants of such persons are few, they seldom know what articles to take. The storekeepers turn this circumstance to advantage, and frequently force on the customer a thing for which he has no use; or, what is worse, when the order is trifling, tell him to sit down at the door and drink the amount if he chooses. As this is often complied with, a market-day is mostly a scene of drunkenness and contention, fraud, cunning, and duplicity; the storekeeper denying the possession of a good article, till he fails in imposing a bad one. I have known a person ask for a pair of shoes, and receive for answer, that there were no shoes in the store, but some *capital gin* that could be recommended to him. I have heard another ask for a rifle-gun, and be answered that there were no rifles, but that he could be accommodated with the best *Dutch looking-glasses* and *German flutes* in the western country. Another was directed by his wife to bring her a warming-pan, smoothing-irons, and scrubbing-brushes: but these were denied; and a *wooden cuckoo-clock*, which the children would not take a week to demolish, was sent home in their stead. I could not help smiling at these absurdities, though I believe they deserve the name of *impositions*, till an incident reduced me to the condition of those whom I have just described. I rode an excellent horse to the head of the waters; and finding him of no further use, from my

having to take boat there, I proposed selling him to the best bidder. I was offered in exchange for him, salt, flour, hogs, land, cast-iron salt-pans, Indian corn, whiskey,—in short, every thing but what I wanted, which was money. The highest offer made, was cast iron salt-pans to the amount of a hundred and thirty dollars. I asked the proprietor of this heavy commodity, how much cash he would allow me instead of such an incumbrance: his answer was, without any shame or hesitation, *forty dollars* at most. I preferred the pans; though they are to be exchanged again for glass bottles at Pittsburg, become tobacco or hemp in Kentucky, and dollars in New Orleans. These various commercial processes may occupy twelve months; nor am I then certain of the amount, unless I give 30 *per cent.* to secure it.

The words *buy* and *sell* are nearly unknown here; in business nothing is heard but the word *trade*. “Will you trade your watch, your gun, pistols, horses? &c.” means, “Will you change your watch, gun, &c. for corn, pigs, cattle, Indian meal? &c.” But you must anticipate all this from the absence of money.

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## LETTER VII.

*Traces of a General Deluge—Other great Natural Phenomena, difficult to be accounted for—Peculiar Wonders of the Vegetable and of the Fossil Kingdom—List of Native Plants, classed into Medicinal, Esculent, Ornamental, and Useful—Vegetable Products of the Earth—Important Inquiries and Suggestions concerning some of them—Abundance of Vegetable and Mineral Productions here, which might be turned to great Account, if properly explored—American Warriors: Statesmen: and Debates in Congress: Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, and Philosophers—Buffon's Assertion correct, that both Man and inferior Animals degenerate in America.*

*Pittsburg, January, 1806.*

BEFORE I leave this place, it may be interesting and profitable to take a general survey of the face of the country, and to describe some of its primitive productions.

That Moses gave an account worthy of credit, of the

primeval state of the globe, this part of the world fully demonstrates. It abounds in irresistible proofs of a general deluge, of a miraculous effusion of water from the clouds and from the great abyss : or such an effusion may possibly have originated from the great Southern Ocean ; running, from interruptions, a south-east course, and driving every object before it to the north-west ; where it deposited remains now entirely unknown, or appertaining to regions at a distance of several thousand miles. Whether we inspect the plains, penetrate the cavernous mountains, or climb their broken sides, the remnants of organized bodies are every where found, buried in the various strata which form the external surface of the earth. Immense collections of shells lie scattered or sunk around, and some on elevations of fifteen thousand feet above the present level of the sea. Fishes are frequently found in the veins of slate, and all kinds of vegetable impressions occur at heights and depths equally astonishing. Trees of different sorts, and various plants, are found in the greatest depths or on the loftiest mountains, mixed with marine remains. Trees have also been deposited on the summits of mountains, where, from the degree of cold which prevails there, they could not now possibly grow ; therefore they must either have grown there at a time when the temperature of these summits was warmer, by being less elevated above the sea, or have been deposited there by its inundations. It appears by the general face of the country, that the retreat of the sea was gradual. Large plains of different and successive elevations, a uniformity and regularity in the strata, and a variety of other circumstances, indicate the departure of the waters to have been governed by a cause whose action was regular, uniform, and long continued. Hence numerous objects which are now viewed as curious exotics, might have been indigenous at the period of a milder clime. This idea is justified by our knowledge of the effects of elementary conflicts in other situations. The country near Ararat is now unfit to bear the olive-tree, as it did\* when the Caspian and Euxine seas were joined ; the soil having been since chilled by its distance from the sea, and having suffered from the absence of matter with which it was accustomed to be impregnated.

Independently of the appearance given to this portion of the globe, by the progress of the invasion of the waters from the great abyss, and their subsequent retreat, it presents

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\* Genesis, chap. 8, verse 11.

features which must have been the result of causes difficult to be accounted for. These features manifest themselves in the extraordinary character and form of the mountains : in the beds of the rivers, which are not excavated by the constant flow of their water, but seem rent asunder (as it were) to give them instant passage ; and by other phenomena which must have proceeded from violent earthquakes ; igneous fusion ; or elementary fire (the principle of heat coeval with the creation of matter) acting upon metals, sulphur, carbonic and bituminous substances, and thus occasioning vast eruptions which split the face of the earth, and gave it eccentric and new characters. Huge rocks cast from off the summits of hills, make room for lakes ; entire ridges of stony mountain separate, and yield a passage to the pressing floods ; immense caverns resound beneath the feet ; and Nature, in disorder, chaos, and confusion, seems pleased to exhibit stupendous monuments of her power, the principles of which she has endowed us with faculties to comprehend.

This country, in consequence of its high antiquity, the immensity of its mountains, and the impossibility of its being affected by the violation and ravages of man, presents a field extremely favourable for the investigations of philosophy and the discoveries of truth. Here, free from any artificial garment, Nature is exhibited in her primitive state. The first productions of the earth were probably the winter mosses : they are here in such variety of form, that they hardly yield to herbs in number ; and though extremely minute, yet of so admirable a structure, that nothing can excel them in beauty or variety. These mosses are dried up in summer ; but in winter revive, and serve for the food of deer and other animals. The widely disseminated herbs, flowers, and fruits, also decorate the earth in the most charming manner. Trees grow here to an excessive magnitude ; and by weaving their branches together, defend the ground from excessive heat and cold, and afford shelter to animals against the injuries of the weather. The hills, vales, and caverns, also supply numerous subjects for contemplation. There may be seen the laborious and unremitted *industry* of the fossil kingdom : the manner in which water deposits clay ; how it is crystallized into sand near the shore ; how it wears down shells and other substances into chalk, dead plants into vegetable mould, and metals into ochre ; from all which matter, according to certain laws of nature, stones are formed. Thus from sand originates whetstone ; from mould, slate ; from chalk, flint ; from shells and earth, marble ; and from



clay; talc. In the cavities of these are formed concrete pellucid crystals; which, consisting of various sides opposed to each other, compose a number of regular figures, and emit brilliant and prismatic colours. Here also may be, *in formation*, ponderous and shining metals; iron in abundance; some lead; silver; and even the ductile gold, which eludes the violence of fire, and can be extended in length and breadth to a most astonishing degree. It is said that the magnet too has been found here; the magnet, respecting which no mortal has hitherto been able to learn the secret law of its mutual attraction with iron, or of its constant inclination to the poles. None of these metals, however, except iron, are found in such quantity, or are so common, as to be worth the labour of search; but mineral coal abounds so generally, that an opinion prevails, that the whole tract between the Laurel-mountain, Mississippi, and Ohio, would yield it in the greatest plenty. The mountain immediately opposite to this town is principally composed of coal, from the base to the summit. It is worked with little comparative trouble, about half-way up; and rolled down to boats which lie below for its reception. It is of a very superior quality, and costs the citizens about two-pence halfpenny a bushel.

As I do not conceive it interesting to you to receive a complete catalogue of trees, plants, fruit, &c. I shall only sketch out those which principally attract notice, as being, 1. Medicinal; 2. Eculent; 3. Ornamental; 4. Useful; adding (from Mr. Jefferson's list) the Linnean to the popular name. I confine myself to native plants.

#### *Medicinal.*

<i>Popular Name.</i>	<i>Linnean Name.</i>
Senna.	Cassia Ligustrina.
Arsmart.	Polygonum Sagittarum.
Clivers, or Goose-grass.	Galium Spurius.
Lobelia, several sorts.	
Palma Christi.	Racinus.
James's Town Weed.	Datura Stramonium.
Mallow.	Malva Rotundifolia.
Syrian Mallow.	Hibiscus Moschentos.
	Hibiscus Virginicus.
	Sida Rhombifolia.
Indian Mallow.	Sida Abutilon.
	Napæa Hermaphrodita.
Virginia Marshmallow.	Napæa Dioica.

<i>Popular Name.</i>	<i>Linnean Name.</i>
Indian Physic.	<i>Spiræa Trifoliata.</i>
Euphorbia Ipecacuanha.	
Pleurisy Root.	<i>Asclepias Decumbens.</i>
Virginia Snake Root.	<i>Actæa Racemosa.</i>
Seneca Rattle-snake Root.	<i>Polygala Senega.</i>
Valerian.	<i>Valeriana locusta radiata.</i>
Gentian.	<i>Gentiana, Saponaria, Velloso,</i> <i>et Centaurium.</i>
Ginseng.	<i>Panax Quinquefolium.</i>
Angelica.	<i>Angelica Sylvestris.</i>
Columbo Root.	
Tobacco.	<i>Nicotiana.</i>

*Esculent.*

Tuckahoe.	<i>Lycoperdon Tuber.</i>
Jerusalem Artichoke.	<i>Heliopsis Tuberosus.</i>
Long Potatoes.	<i>Convolvulus Batatas.</i>
Granadellas.	<i>Passiflora Incarnata.</i>
Panic.	<i>Panicum, many species.</i>
Indian Millet.	<i>Holcus Laxus.</i>
Wild Oat.	<i>Zizania Aquatica.</i>
Wild Pea.	<i>Dolichos of Clayton.</i>
Lupine.	<i>Lupinus Perennis.</i>
Wild Hop.	<i>Humulus Lupulus.</i>
Wild Cherry.	<i>Prunus Virginiana.</i>
Cherokee Plumb.	<i>Prunus Sylvestris fructu ma-</i> <i>jori.</i>
Wild Plumb.	<i>Prunus Sylvestris fructu mi-</i> <i>nori.</i>
Wild Crab Apple.	<i>Pyrus Coronaria.</i>
Red Mulberry.	<i>Morus Rubra.</i>
Persimmon.	<i>Diospyros Virginiana.</i>
Sugar Maple.	<i>Acer Saccharinum.</i>
Scaly-bark Hickory.	<i>Juglans Alba, cortice Lyu-</i> <i>moso. C.</i>
Common Hickory.	<i>Juglans Alba, fructu minore</i> <i>rancedo. C.</i>
Paccan, or Illenois Nut.	<i>Unknown to Linnaeus.</i>
Black Walnut.	<i>Juglans Nigra.</i>
White Walnut.	<i>Juglans Alba.</i>
Chesnut.	<i>Fagus Castanea.</i>
Chinquapin.	<i>Fagus Pumila.</i>
Hazel Nut.	<i>Corylus Avellana.</i>
Grapes.	<i>Vitis. various sorts.</i>

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<i>Popular Name.</i>	<i>Linnean Name.</i>
Scarlet Strawberries.	Fragraria Virginiana.
Whortleberries.	Vaccineum Uliginosum.
Wild Gooseberries.	Ribes Grossularia.
Cranberries.	Rubus Oxycoccos.
Black Raspberries.	Rubus Occidentalis.
Blackberries.	Rubus Fruticosus.
Dewberries.	Rubus Cæsius.
Cloudberries.	Rubus Chamæmorus.
Maize.	Trea Mays.
Round Potatoes.	Solanum Tuberosum.
Pumpkins.	Cucurbita Pepo.
Cymlings.	Cucurbita Verrucosa.
Squashes.	Cucurbita Melopepo.

*Ornamental.*

Plane Tree.	Platanus Occidentalis.
Poplar.	Lerisdendron Tulipifera.
Black Poplar.	Populus Nigra.
Yellow Poplar.	
Aspin.	Populus Tremula.
Linden, or Lime.	Tilia Americana.
Red flowering Maple.	Acer Rubrum.
Horse Chesnut.	Æsculus Pavia.
Catalpa.	Bignonia Catalpa.
Umbrella.	Magnolia Tripetala.
Swamp Laurel.	Magnolia Glauca.
Cucumber Tree.	Magnolia Acuminata.
Portugal Bay.	Laurus Indica.
Red Bay.	Laurus Barbonia.
Dwarf-rose Bay.	Rhododendron Maximum.
Laurel of the western country.	Many species.
Wild Pimento.	Laurus Benzoin.
Sassafras.	Laurus Sassafras.
Locust.	Robinia Psuedo-acacia.
Honey-locust.	Gleditsia.
Dagwood.	Cornus Florida.
Snow Drop.	Chionanthus Virginica.
Barberry.	Buberis Vulgaris.
Red Bud, or Judas Tree.	Cercis Canadensis.
Holly.	Ilex Aquifolium.
Cockspur Hawthorn.	Cratægus Coccinea.
Spindle Tree.	Euonimus Europæus.
Evergreen Tree.	Euonimus Americanus.

<i>Popular Name.</i>	<i>Linnean Name.</i>
Elder.	<i>Itëa Virginica.</i>
Papaw.	<i>Sambucus Nigra.</i>
Candleberry Myrtle.	<i>Annona Triloba.</i>
Dwarf Laurel.	<i>Myrica Cerifera.</i>
Ivy.	<i>Kalmia Angustifolia.</i>
Trumpet Honeysuckle.	<i>Hedera Quinquifolia.</i>
Upright Honeysuckle.	<i>Lonicera Sempervirens.</i>
Yellow Jasmine.	<i>Azalia Nudiflora.</i>
American Aloe.	<i>Begnonea Sempervirens.</i>
Sumach.	<i>Calythanthus Floridus.</i>
Poke.	<i>Agave Virginica.</i>
Long Moss.	<i>Rhus. many species.</i>
	<i>Phytoloca Decandra.</i>
	<i>Tellandsia Usneoides.</i>

*Useful, for fabrication.*

Reed.	<i>Arundo Phoagmitis.</i>
Virginia Hemp.	<i>Acneda Cannabina.</i>
Flax.	<i>Lenum Virginianum.</i>
Black, or Pitch Pine.	<i>Pinus Tæda.</i>
White Pine.	<i>Pinus Strobus.</i>
Yellow Pine.	<i>Pinus Virginica.</i>
Spruce Pine.	<i>Pinus Foliis Singularibus. C.</i>
Hemlock Spruce Fir.	<i>Pinus Canadensis.</i>
Arbor Vitæ.	<i>Thuya Occidentalis.</i>
Juniper.	<i>Juniperus Virginica.</i>
Cypress.	<i>Cupussus Disticha.</i>
White-Cedar.	<i>Cupussus Thyoides.</i>
Red Cedar.	<i>Quercus Nigra.</i>
Black Oak.	<i>Quercus Alba.</i>
White Oak.	<i>Quercus Rubra.</i>
Red Oak.	<i>Quercus Phellos.</i>
Willow Oak.	<i>Quercus Prinus.</i>
Chesnut Oak.	<i>Quercus Aquatica.</i>
Black Jack Oak.	<i>Quercus Pumila.</i>
Ground Oak.	<i>Quercus Virginiana.</i>
Live Oak.	<i>Betula Nigra.</i>
Black Birch.	<i>Betula Alba.</i>
White Birch.	<i>Fagus Sylvatica.</i>
Beach.	<i>Fraxinus Americana.</i>
Ash, several species.	<i>Ulmus Americana.</i>
Elm.	<i>Salix.</i>
Willow, several species.	<i>Liquidambar Styracifera.</i>
Sweet Gum.	

There are numerous plants, flowers, &c. which I have omitted: you will find a scientific account of them in the *Flora Virginica* of the celebrated Dr. Clayton, published at Leyden, in 1762.

After this enumeration, it is unnecessary to tell you that the farms of the country produce wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, broom-corn, Indian corn, &c. This neighbourhood also cultivates hemp, flax, and hops; but is not favourable to cotton, indigo, rice, or tobacco. Those articles, however, are to be had down the Ohio, and are brought hither at an expence of about two-pence *per pound*. All kinds of vegetables and fruit grow in great luxuriance; the former especially are superior to those of Europe; but in consequence of the high price of labour, and the little attention paid to so interesting a branch of rural economy, they are not quite so cheap.

Much has been written and said respecting the arrack-tree: may it not be the same as the American cocoa; or perhaps rather the sugar-maple; which for many years successively yields a large quantity of rich sweet sap, whence a fine sugar is made and spirit is distilled? It also might be worth inquiry, whether the cotton of the country, which is different from that raised in the islands, be not the same as that of which the Chinese make their fine calicoes and muslins. It might be ascertained whether the common Indian hemp be not the same as the Chinese herba; and whether the silk gathered on the trees in China, be any other than the cocoons which are to be found in great plenty in many situations here on trees and bushes. The manufactured silk of the Chinese appears to be of different sorts, from which it is likely that they have different species of silk-worms. In this country, more to the southward, various sorts of cocoons are found on trees and shrubs, but those on the mulberry are the best: the cocoons of some of them, particularly such as feed on the sassafras, are large; and the substance which they produce, though not so fine, is much stronger than that of the Italian silk-worm. Thus, in my opinion, there is reason to believe, that if experiments were made with these indigenous silk-worms, and if such as are most useful were propagated, this country might produce abundance of silk.

Here are also many trees, plants, roots, and herbs, to the medicinal virtues and uses of which we are total strangers. It is perhaps true, that the fruit of the presemmon tree has been used in brewing of beer; but it is hardly known

that one bushel of this fruit will yield above a gallon of proof spirit, of excellent quality and flavour. To what other uses in pharmacy the gum, bark, and roots of this tree, which are very astringent, may be applied, the public is also ignorant. The virtues of the magnolia, calalpa, and spice-wood, whose odours extend several miles, are not sufficiently ascertained, though they have been used by the Indians, who consider them as excellent remedies in several disorders. There is another tree called the *zanthoxylum*, the bark of which is of such a peculiar quality, that the smallest bit of it, on being chewed, stimulates the glands of the mouth and tongue, and occasions a flow of saliva equal to that of a salivation, while its action continues, and yet no rational experiments have been made to ascertain the advantages to be derived from such extraordinary properties. A variety of other trees might be mentioned, such as the sassafras, the wild cinnamon, the magnolia *akissima*, whose fragrant smell and aromatic taste, prove that they possess medicinal qualities with which we are unacquainted. The sumack likewise requires examination. Perhaps its seed or berries, if not the wood itself, might be used in dyeing. The Indians mix its leaves with their tobacco, to render it odorous and pleasant in smoking. There is a species of it which yields a gum, that nearly, if not exactly, resembles the gum copal. Indeed, there is reason to believe it is the very same.

Wines and raisins are imported from foreign parts at an extravagant price, while nature points out that few countries can be more proper than this for the production of the grape. Where lands are not cleared and the grape-vines not extirpated, it is impossible to resist observing and admiring the quantity which those natural vineyards present to the view. Farther down the Ohio, in the Indian territory and elsewhere, hills, vales, and plains, exhibit them in luxurious abundance. They grow spontaneously in every soil, and almost every climate in America; yet they are neglected, or unskilfully encouraged on a small scale.

It would be endless to recount all the other articles of the vegetable kingdom which are not investigated, though, with a little care and attention, they might become articles of commerce, and be of infinite use to the country. I must mention one plant, a native of this place, and which grows in many places, known commonly by the name of Indian hemp. Its bark is so strong, that the Indians make use of it for bow-strings. Could a method be found for separating

and softening its fibres, so as to render it ductile and fit to be spun into thread, it might serve as a substitute for flax and hemp. This plant deserves to be cultivated on another account: the pod it bears contains a substance, that, from its softness and elasticity, might be used instead of the finest down. Its culture is easy, inasmuch as its root, which penetrates deep into the earth, survives the winter, and shoots out fresh stalks every spring. With the roots of plants, nearly unknown to us, the Indians stain wood, hair, and skins, of a beautiful colour, and which preserves its lustre for years, though exposed to all extremes of the weather. With the juice of herbs they relieve many diseases, heal wounds, and cure the bite of the most venomous snakes. A perfect knowledge of these simples, and of many others with which this country abounds, might be of great utility to mankind. Perhaps they are in as great abundance here as in China. The resemblance is manifest in the weather, the climate, and possibly in the soil and produce. Tobacco, phitolacca, the presemmon tree, the mulberry, with several others, are natives of China as they are also of most parts of America. Ginseng is gathered to the westward of Pekin, and has not been found in any other part of the world, except within the same degrees of latitude in this country; where ship-loads may be had at a short notice. These observations give grounds to believe, that, if proper inquiries were made, many more of the native plants of China, and very possibly, the tea, so much in use, and now become so necessary a part of diet, might be found in America.

Nor are the bowels of the earth sufficiently explored, notwithstanding the great encouragement received from the few experiments which have been made. There is here a great variety of clays, many of them so valuable as to induce a hope that, in time, porcelain, equal to that brought from China, may be manufactured at home. The lands to the S. W. are so replete with nitre that, in various places, it appears like a hoar frost on the surface of the ground, and it is known that there are mines of saltpetre in the mountains. Besides the minerals I have mentioned, I have seen specimens of tin, antimony, bismuth ores, and many others, the nature, use, and properties of which are not sufficiently ascertained. What you have heard of the country originates from the narratives of hunters, the reports of ignorant travellers, and the dreams of persons who never left their native homes. Whereas it richly merits, that a society of learned naturalists should visit it, under the pa-

tronage of government, explore with care, analyze with skill, and return enriched with useful knowledge and profitable erudition, derived from the great book of Nature, and not from uncertain information, or false hypotheses.

From these remarks concerning the riches yielded by its soil, I shall make rather an abrupt transition to what should rank as the far nobler produce of America, its inhabitants : I now speak only of its civilized parts, the United States ; but on this subject, alas ! it may be said with the greatest truth :

“ Man is the only growth that dwindles here.”

You may perhaps have heard so much of great American warriors, statesmen, politicians, churchmen, lawyers, physicians, astronomers, &c. that you are astonished to hear any one bold enough to dispute the fact. I say the fact, because in my correspondence with you, you may have already perceived my determination of making no general assertion, but such as I can establish by actual evidence and decisive testimonies. I know of no great warriors in America. I cannot honour by that name even the men who overwhelmed a handful of British, and after several years combat obtained an unprofitable victory. In like manner I have known a shoal of herrings run down a whale on the coast of Cornwall, but it did not follow that I was to attribute this accident to the *individual prowess* of *any* of such contemptible animals, or to the absence of strength and capacity in the whale. This is so just a picture of the American war and its close, that I harken to the statesmen of whom your papers speak so much : and who are they ? I admit there are two in the country ; the one, after many years of public life devoted to a democratic party, had the good sense again to become an apostate to monarchy, though he might have predicted that it would occasion his fall from the head of the government, and expose him to the most intemperate abuse of the jacobinical faction. He met these events soon after with a manly fortitude, and Mr. John Adams, now leads a private life, beloved by the admirers of good sense, and sound and practical political economy. There is no doubt but that he is the first statesman in America, for I trust you do not mean me to distinguish by that name, the swarm of politicians who clog the wheels of the government, and who affect that they alone are competent to the direction of national affairs. The next statesman to



Mr. Adams, is Mr. Jefferson. This gentleman has more theoretical talent than sterling political ability. And yet, to shew some respect to the cry of the world, I call him a statesman, though he certainly has betrayed more dereliction and tergiversation than ought to be accorded to so high and eminent a name. During the whole of his two presidencies, he has been fluctuating between the interests of his country and his prejudice and attachment to the French government. The remains of good sense and the *loud* admonitions of others, have at length prevailed, and though he continues his affection to the Gallic cock, still he ceases to hate and bully the British lion. There are in America no real politicians; the speeches you see in papers are made by Irish and Scotch journalists, who attend the congress and senate merely to take the spirit of their proceedings, and clothe it with a language interesting to read. Attending the debates of Congress on a day when a subject of consequence was to be discussed, I left the house full of contempt of its eloquence, and the paucity of talent employed for the support or condemnation of the question. Notwithstanding this, I read in the next morning's gazette, "that a debate took place in the house last night, of the most interesting nature; that it was agitated by all the talent in the country, —particularly by Messieurs Dayton, Morgan, Otty, and Dawson, whose brilliant speeches we lay before the public." Here followed certainly eloquent orations, a sentence of which never passed in the house. I had the misfortune to attend the congress at another time, when the scene was more noisy and turbulent than at any of your electioneering hustings.—A Mr. Lyon, of Vermont, now of Kentucky, not being able to disprove the arguments of an opponent, spit directly in his face: this the other resented, by running to the fire and catching up a hot poker, and in a short time nearly killed his opponent, and cleared the house. I suppose this is sufficient on this head; from it you can readily learn that the congress is a violent, vulgar assembly, which *hired* persons attend, to debate on state affairs, and that the public newspapers are conducted by foreign editors, who amplify such debates, and give them something of a polished and interesting character.

Nor has the church any brighter ornaments than the state. The members of it have no conception of eloquence. Mr. Smith, of Prince Tower College, has the highest reputation as a divine and orator. I went to hear him preach, and

had the mortification to find a transposed sermon of Blair, delivered in a strain of dull monotony.

As the exposition of all law, and pleading of all facts is confined to the province of attornies, I was not surprized to find a want of ability and eloquence in that department. The late general Hamilton, a West Indian by birth, was the first attorney, and pleaded in America. The celebrated Mr. Burr was his rival at the bar; and since the death of the former, and retreat of the latter, a Mr. Livingstone and a Mr. Emmet, alone enjoy repute.

The physicians of eminence are very few. Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, and Wilson, of New York, monopolize all the character in the country, of a medical nature; and yet the yellow fever rages and carries off their annual thousands, though these gentlemen have written themselves into the name of infallibility itself. There is no profession in America, so shamefully neglected as that of physic, or more destitute of able practitioners.

As to the department of science, I am told that there has been a Franklin and a Rittenhouse; the former shone in electricity, and the latter constructed an orrery on true principles. I will allow this; I have no disposition to detract from the merits of such gentlemen, but I cannot admit that these two instances, after the mediocrity of genius, are sufficient to justify Mr. Jefferson, in saying that America is the most *enlightened country in the world*, and that M. Buffon was guilty of a gross error, when he asserted that man and beast degenerated in America, and became in time, inferior to those of Europe. M. Buffon was perfectly right in his assertion and principle, but wrong in the proof he adduced. Mr. Jefferson took advantage of this error; all his followers have taken his ground, and nothing is heard through the whole union, but "America is the most enlightened nation in the world." This cry has spread abroad; is believed at home, and M. Buffon is condemned. This is the natural fate of flattery and truth—Mr. Jefferson is held up as a great statesman and profound philosopher, while M. Buffon is held in contempt as a prejudiced reasoner, jealous of the pride and honour of the quarter of the globe which gave the former birth! The reflections likely to arise in your mind out of this, I shall not interrupt.

## LETTER VIII.

*General Views of the River Ohio, and its Beauties: its Advantages: its Course: its Islands: its Depth and Navigation: its Obstructions might easily be removed.—Advice to Persons wishing to descend the Ohio.*

*Wheeling, Virginia, on the Ohio, April, 1806.*

YOU will perceive, much to your satisfaction, that I have left Pittsburg, whence I sent you so many tedious letters, and am about to descend the Ohio.—Before, however, I commence that river's minute details, I must give you its general description.

The Ohio commences at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and there also commences its beauty. It has been truly described as, beyond competition, the most beautiful river in the universe, whether it be considered for its meandering course through an immense region of forests; for its elegant banks, which afford innumerable delightful situations for cities, villages, and improved farms; or for those many other advantages which truly entitle it to the name originally given it by the French, of "*La belle riviere*." This is the outline of a description given several years since, and it has generally been thought an exaggerated one. Now, the immense forests recede, cultivation smiles along its banks; numerous villages and towns decorate its shores; and it is not extravagant to suppose, that the day is not far distant, when its whole margin will form one continued series of villages and towns.

The reasons for this gratifying supposition are many: the principal ones are, the immense tracts of fine country that have communication with the Ohio by means of its tributary navigable waters; the extraordinary fertility, extent, and beauty of the river-bottoms, generally high, dry, and productive; and the superior excellence of its navigation, through means of which the various productions of the most extensive and fertile parts of the United States must eventually be sent to market.

At its commencement at Pittsburg, it takes a north-west course for about twenty-five miles, then turns gradually to west-south-west, and pursuing that course for about five hundred miles, winds to the south-west for nearly one hundred and sixty miles; then turns to the west for about two

hundred and sixty miles ; thence south-west for one hundred and sixty, and empties into the Mississippi in a south-east direction, about eleven hundred miles below Pittsburg, and nearly the same distance above New Orleans, in lat.  $36^{\circ} 43'$  north.—It is so completely serpentine, that in several places a person taking observations of the sun or stars, will find that he sometimes entirely changes his direction, and appears to be going directly back ; but its general course is south, sixty degrees west. Its width is from five hundred to fifteen hundred yards ; but at the *rapids*, and near the mouth, it is considerably wider.

The numerous islands that are interspersed in this river, add much to the grandeur of its appearance, but they very much embarrass the navigation, particularly in low water, as they occasion a great many shoals and sand-bars. The soil of those islands is, for the most part, very rich, the timber luxuriant, and the extent of some of them considerable. Where fruit trees have been planted, they are found to thrive, to bear well, and seldom fail of a crop. Indeed this is the case wherever fruit trees have been tried on the river bottoms, the soil of which is very similar to that of the islands, though not quite so sandy.

In times of high freshes, and during the effusion of ice and snow from the Alleghany and other mountains, vessels of almost any tonnage may descend ; and it is never so low but that it may be navigated by canoes and other light craft, not drawing more than twelve inches water. The highest floods are in spring, when the river rises forty-five feet ; the lowest are in summer, when it sinks to twelve inches on the bars, ripples, and shoals, where waggons, carts, &c. frequently pass. Many of the impediments, however, which are to be met with when the water is low, might in a dry time be got rid of, and at no very considerable expence : at least the expence would be by no means beyond the advantages which would accrue from the undertaking, if properly managed. Rocks, that now during the dry season, obstruct or render dangerous the large flat bottomed, or what are called Kentucky boats, might be blasted ; channels might be made through the ripples ; and the snags, and fallen timber along the banks, entirely removed.

These improvements, together with many others that might be enumerated, must undoubtedly, sooner or later, be carried into effect, as they are a national concern of the first importance. In the mean time, some general instructions respecting the present navigation, and which I have collected

from the most experienced watermen, will be found useful to those who may hereafter propose descending the river, and who are unacquainted both as to the manner this voyage is to be undertaken, and with the nature and channel of the different rivers. Do not let it be said notwithstanding, that I mean to encourage any person to follow my steps, or to reside on these waters. I repeat, that the *parts* of the river's banks, *favourable* for towns, villages, farms, &c. are without exception, unhealthy—exposing all descriptions of inhabitants, especially new comers, to annual visitations of dysentery, flux, pleurisy, and various species of intermittent fevers. This is to be expected of rivers which experience such extraordinary and great vicissitudes: at one period sufficient to carry a first rate man of war, and at another, barely capable of floating a canoe; at one period running at seven miles an hour, and at another nearly stagnate in an unruffled bed.

The first thing to be attended to by emigrants, or traders, wishing to descend the river, is to procure a boat, to be ready so as to take advantage of the times of flood, and to be careful that the boat be a good one; for many of the accidents that happen in navigating the Ohio and Mississippi, are owing to the unpardonable carelessness and penuriousness of the boat builder, who will frequently slight his work, or make it of injured plank; in either case putting the lives and properties of a great many persons to manifest hazard. This egregious misconduct should long before this time have been rectified, by the appointment of a boat inspector at different places on the Monongahela. But as this has never been done, it belongs to every person purchasing Kentucky boats, which is the sort I allude to, to get them narrowly examined before the embarkation, by persons who may know a little of the strength and form of a boat suitable to a voyage of this kind. He must also remember this, that a boat destined for the Mississippi, requires to be much stronger timbered, and somewhat differently constructed, from one designed only to descend the Ohio.

Flat-bottomed boats may be procured almost every where along the Monongahela river, and in some places on the Youghiogheny; very few are as yet built on the Alleghany, as the chief places of embarkation are confined to the Monongahela and Ohio. Keel-boats and vessels of burden are also built at Brownsville, Elizabeth's-town, and many other places on the two last mentioned rivers.

The best seasons for navigating the Ohio are spring are

autumn. The spring season commences at the breaking up of the ice, which generally happens about the middle of February, and continues good for about three months. The autumn generally commences in October, and continues till about the first of December, when the ice begins to form. But the alternations of high water can scarcely be called periodical, as they vary considerably, according to the wetness or dryness of the season, or earliness or lateness of the setting in, or breaking up of winter. The winter of 1802 was even an exception to every other, the Monongahela not having been closed at all with ice, so that there was nothing to impede the passage of boats into the Ohio, &c. This circumstance is the more extraordinary, the winters in general being very severe, some of which a few years past, kept the rivers blocked up for more than two months at a time. The cause of these sudden and great changes may usefully occupy the philosophic mind.

Nor are freshes in the rivers entirely confined to the spring and autumn: it does not unfrequently happen that a considerable quantity of rain falls in the Apalachian ridges, whence the rivers and creeks that supply the Monongahela proceed, during the summer months; a swelling of the currents of the Alleghany and other rivers, sometimes also happens, and occasions a sufficient supply of water during the same period to render the navigation of the Ohio perfectly eligible. These rains, or freshes, however, are not to be depended on, and when they occur, must be taken immediate advantage of, as the waters subside rapidly.

When provided with a good boat and strong cable of at least forty feet long, there is little danger in descending the river in high freshes, using due precaution, unless at times when there is much floating ice. Great exertion with the oars is at such times, generally speaking, of no manner of use: in fact, it is rather detrimental than otherwise, by often throwing the boat out of the current in which she ought to continue, and which will carry her along with more rapidity, and at the same time always take her right. By trusting to the current there is no danger to be feared in passing the islands, as it will carry the boat by them in safety. On the other hand, if persons row, and by so doing happen to be in the middle of the river, on approaching an island, there is great danger of being thrown on the upper point of it before they are aware, or have time to regain the true current. In case they get aground in such a situation, become entangled among the aquatic timber,

which is generally abundant, or be driven by the force of the water among the *tops* or trunks of other trees, they may consider themselves in imminent danger; and nothing but *presence of mind* and great exertion can extricate them from such a dilemma.

Persons should contrive to land as seldom as possible: they need not even lie by at night, provided they trust to the current and keep a good look out. When they bring to, the strength of their cable is their principal safeguard. A quantity of fuel, provisions, and other necessities, should be laid in at once, and every boat should have a skiff or canoe alongside, to land on shore when necessary.

Though the labour of navigating this river in times of fresh is very inconsiderable to what it is during low water, when continual rowing is necessary, it is always best to keep a good look out, and be strong handed. The winds sometimes drive boats too near the points of the islands, or on projecting parts of the main shore, when considerable extra exertion is necessary to surmount the difficulty. Boats most commonly meet with head winds, as the river is so very crooked, that what is in their favour one hour will probably be against them in the next, and when a contrary wind contends with a strong current, it is attended with considerable inconvenience, and requires careful and circumspect management, otherwise the boats must be driven on shore in spite of all the efforts of their crews. One favourable circumstance is, that the wind commonly abates about sunset in summer.

Boats have frequently passed from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Ohio in fifteen days. However, twenty days is a good spring passage. In summer, six, eight, and even ten *weeks* are often required to effect the same voyage.

Descending the river when much incommoded with floating ice, should be as much as possible avoided, particularly early in the winter, as there is a great probability of its stopping the boats: however, if the water be high, and there be an appearance of open weather, they may venture, unless the cakes of ice be so heavy as to impede their progress, or injure their timbers;—the boats will in such case make more way than the ice, a great deal of which will sink, and get thinner as it progresses; but, on the other hand, if the water be low, it is by no means safe to embark on it when any thing considerable of ice remains.

If at any time boats are obliged to bring to on account of the ice, great circumspection should be used in the choice

of a spot to lie in. There are many places where the shore, projecting to a point, throws off the flakes of ice towards the middle of the river, and forms a kind of harbour below. By bringing to in such a situation, and fixing the canoe above the boat, with one end strongly to the shore, and the other out in the stream, sloping down the river, so as to drive out such masses of ice as would otherwise accumulate on the upper side of the boat, and tend to sink her and drive her from her moorings, a boat may lie with a tolerable degree of safety. This is a much better method than that of felling a tree on the shore above, so as to fall partly into the river; for if in its fall it does not adhere in some measure to the stump, or rest sufficiently on the bank, the weight of accumulated ice will be apt to send it adrift, and bring it down, ice and all, on the boat, when no safety can be expected from it; nor any means of extrication from so great a dilemma.—The reflection here naturally occurs, how easy it would be, and how little it would cost, in different places of the river where boats are accustomed to land, to project a sort of pier into the water, which inclining down the stream, would at all times ensure a place of safety below it. The advantages accruing from such projections, to the places where they might be made, would be very considerable, bring them into repute as landing places, and soon repay the trifling expence incurred by erection. There is however no hope that any improvement of this kind will take place at least for a number of years, as the inhabitants of the present settlements and towns, appear to have delighted in rendering their landing places difficult, by felling the timber on the banks into the river, and by not leaving as much as a shrub to which a boat can be made fast. The settlements themselves frequently suffer by this their shameful prodigality and want of foresight, as boats on making them, and not finding an immediate fastening and safe landing, drop below the settlements, never again to return: for it would take a flat boat and forty hands ten days to make good five miles against the stream. You must understand from the stress I have laid on the necessity of a fastening on shore, and a good landing place, that flat boats never carry an anchor. The method to run the boat ashore is, jump hastily out, and fasten a line or cable round a stump, tree, &c.; or hold on till a stake be cut and driven in the ground for the same purpose.

Observing the Ohio from Pittsburg, and remarking in the



mind its general course, it is bounded on the *right hand side* in this manner :

1st, Part of the state of Pennsylvania, extending about fifteen miles down the river.

2dly, The whole southern boundary of the Ohio state, formerly called the North-west Territory. This state extends along the river about five hundred miles.

3dly, The Indiana territory extends to the mouth of the Ohio, making five hundred and fifty miles more along its banks ; which added to the two former numbers, make the entire course about eleven hundred miles.

Observing the river under the same circumstances from Pittsburg, it is found to be bounded on the *left-hand* ;—

1st, By part of the state of Pennsylvania, extending forty-two miles down the river.

2d, By part of Virginia, extending two hundred and ninety-six miles along a high shore ; and

3d, By the state of Kentucky, which extends to the mouth seven hundred and sixty-two miles, and forms the entire distance of eleven hundred miles or thereabouts.

The recapitulation of this is, that the right-hand side of the Ohio is bound by Pennsylvania, the Ohio state, and the Indiana territory : and these provinces, or their proper proportions of them, are bounded on the north by the lakes and by the British possessions in Canada ; on the south, of course, by the Ohio river : on the west by the Mississippi ; and on the east, by parts of Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New York.

The *left-hand* side of the Ohio is bounded by Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky ; and these provinces, or their proper proportion, are bounded on the south by the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee ; on the north of course by the Ohio river ; on the west by the Mississippi ; and on the east by the Atlantic seas.—On a map, these general boundaries would naturally have to undergo modifications, and be divided into particular bearings and points. By stating them as I have, I only mean to give you a general idea of them. This great river contains near one hundred islands, and receives as many rivers, creeks, or navigable streams.

In my next I shall examine them step by step. That they may afford you information and amusement, is my most ardent wish ; but you must be patient, and bear with my usual wide digression and extraneous matter.

## LETTER IX.

*Proper Season to descend the Ohio—A Monongahela, or Kentucky Boat described—Confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany waters—Sublime Scenery—Hamilton's Island—Irwin's Island—Difficulties in the Course—Hogs' and Crows' Islands—Macintosh's Town—Warren's Town—Young's Town—Grape Island: its Inhabitants: Cause and Manner of their Settlement: its Grape-vines—George Town—A Spring producing an Oil similar to Seneca Oil: Experiments to discover its Cause: Deductions from them.*

*Wheeling, Virginia, April, 1806.*

I LEFT Pittsburg just before the waters had entirely subsided. The winter broke up about the tenth of February, since which time, the flood has been seeking the sea with an unwearied assiduity. I might have taken advantage of its first force, but I declare to you, fond as you may think me of diligence and enterprise, I have no fancy to be dragged by day down the river, by force, nor to bring to against the trunks and in the tops of trees, from night till morning: this is the fate of all those who depart on the immediate dissolution of the ice; on they must proceed, and often in spite of every exertion, or bring up in situations wild, dangerous, and inhospitable. Being conscious then of all the disagreeable circumstances attending those who hurry away with the earliest floods, I waited till this season, when the waters run a little more than three miles an hour, allowing a boat, with small exertion, and not meeting a head wind to make between forty and fifty miles in a day of twelve hours.

This town, which is ninety miles from Pittsburg, I reached on the evening of the second day. The water in some places was very shallow, and in others rocky and dangerous. But I believe I promised you to be minute: let me then make a complete beginning. I purchased for forty dollars on the Monongahela a Kentucky boat. I must describe such a thing to you, for it is no more like an English boat of any description than it is like a church. An oblong frame is first made perhaps forty feet long by sixteen wide. The four pieces forming this frame are generally from fourteen to eighteen inches square, mortised so as to receive a number of bars across, on which are fastened

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thick planks with wooden pins—this forming the flat bottom of the boat. From the solid beams of the frame rise several uprights six feet high, to which boards are attached to form the ends and sides; after which the boat is roofed over, except a small space through which the hands can drop or enter. The whole represents an oblong apartment—both ends perfectly square, and nothing indicates the bow but the small open space in the roof, and holes in the sides, through which the oars work. Boats of this sort are steered by a large oar balanced on a pivot, issuing from the middle uprights of the stern. This is preferred to a tiller, which, by sinking too deep in the water, would risk being carried off by logs and shoals. I divided my boat into two apartments; that next the stern for my own accommodation; that next the head for my servants to cook, row, and keep a look out in: the roof served for the helmsman, and as a quarter-deck, on which to parade. When I add to this, that I had a good chimney built in my boat; four windows made; that I laid in two coopful of chickens, other kinds of stores, spirits, coffee, sugar, &c. I need not tell you how comfortable I set off, and how able I was to endure the vicissitudes of my intended voyages. My servants were Mindeth, my old follower, and Culi, a mastee, of the Pandan nation; the former a strong laborious creature; the latter a fellow without any other character than that he knew something of the waters, was a good shot, and well acquainted with haunts of wild turkeys, game, and beasts. I could have got another hand, for fifteen dollars a month; but as I was determined to steer myself, and be active in other respects, I departed with but two men. I cannot recommend this temerity to others: four hands are always necessary, and sometimes more.

In turning into the stream from Pittsburg I found the scene instantaneously changed, and become peculiarly grand. In ten minutes I got into the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany waters. For half an hour I steered my boat in this confluence, being able to dip up whitish water on one side and perfectly green on the other. The hills on the right hand were near twelve hundred feet high—those on the left something less lofty—each clothed with sumptuous and unceasing timber from the base to the summit, the garb of many thousand years; each tree perishing in an imperceptible progression, and each as imperceptibly renewed! The whole and the individual still appearing the same, always conveying a grand idea of the

munificence of Nature, and the immutability of all her works. This view was sufficient to lead the mind into a serious contemplation which assumed a character of melancholy, when I reflected on the endless scenes of the same nature, only more pregnant with danger, vicissitude, and death, through which I had to pass. The river, for nine hundred miles, with the exception of a few intervals, chosen in general for the seats of towns, villages, and farms, is bounded by lofty banks and high mountains, which shed a gloom on its surface, and convey less of pleasurable sensation than that of sublimity and surprize. I reflected, too, that I was lengthening the chain of all my former friendships; that I was to pass through countries where death attacked man in a variety of new and alarming shapes; that I was proceeding to New Orleans, a city two thousand two hundred miles off, where fate uniformly demands nine out of ten of every visitant; and that, should I escape this destiny, I should still be six thousand miles from home, and have, in that distance, to meet with other numerous dangers, presenting themselves under every form that could manifest a terrific appearance. A small immediate difficulty put a quick conclusion to these gloomy meditations. We had dropt down near three miles when an island appeared a-head—the channel was on the right side, and the wind, from that quarter, had set me too much to the left. I instantly put the boat's head across the river, and with infinite exertion of oars gained the true current; but not till the water changed colour, indicating soundings of three feet on the bar which stretched out of the head of the island. I had to learn from this the necessity of moralizing less, and of keeping a better look out. It was Hamilton's island, which I was passing at the rate of seven miles an hour.—The island, by contracting the breadth of the channel, gives more impetuosity to the current, and forces a boat along with double its rapidity in the ordinary and open parts of the river.

Four miles from Hamilton's island, and seven from Pittsburg, is Irwin's island. The channel is about one-third from the right hand shore. The first ripple is just below the head of the island, where I had to leave a large breaker, or rock, close to my right hand. The second, or Horse-tail ripple, is a small distance below the first, and the channel, which is not twice the length of the boat, lies between a bar and some large breakers. The third ripple is within half a mile of the lower end of Irwin's island; the channel is about

one-third of the width of the river from the right side, and close to the upper end of the bar. From this to a little town called Macintosh, I met with a series of these ripples, which required the most exact look out, and two islands called Hogs' and Crows' island, the former on account of its acorns inviting the periodical visits of hogs, and the latter from being perceived to be the favourite resort of rooks and crows. I cannot think that you would conceive it of any profit or pleasure to receive from me my exact notes of the causes, &c. of the river and channel, I shall therefore content myself with transmitting you such remarks as may have something of interest above the contents of communications meant as a mere pilot to the river. I neglect this detail the more willingly, as I understand "a Pilot for the rivers" is now in the press, and will shortly be published at Pittsburg. Thus are we relieved from the necessity of much dull detail.

Macintosh is situated on the right side of the Ohio, about a quarter of a mile below Big Beaver creek; the situation is beautiful and commanding, as there is at present a considerable, and in some time must be a very great trade up and down this creek, the sources of which nearly reach the borders of lake Erie. The town is increasing rapidly, and contains many *stores*, where the merchants exchange their goods for the produce of the back country, whose market is New Orleans or the isles. Fifty miles in the interior of this place, and on the bank of Mahoney creek, the town of Warren is pleasantly situated. Fourteen miles below, on the same creek, is Young's town, a small place, but said to be progressing rapidly.

Just below Macintosh, which is twenty-eight miles from Pittsburg, is an island called after the same name, a second island not named, and a third called Grape island. On this last I landed, and soon discovered the propriety of the name: the passage through it in every direction was rendered intricate, by the multitudes of vines, which extended from tree to tree, rising to the tops of some, and closely embracing the bodies of others. Having passed through a great deal of toil during the day in avoiding a variety of danger, I was very well pleased to make the pretence of curiosity a motive to myself, for stopping the remainder of the day and night in this little tranquil insulated world. I no sooner made this intention known, than all was bustle among us. The men with joy took to their oars: we soon gained the bank, and made fast to a tree, which bade defi-

ance to the impotent though constant efforts of the current. The next step was to make "an encampment." Take care that you are not misled by this high sounding term. Formerly, indeed, the making an encampment, in this country, bore affinity to the notions you attach to that act at home: it was for the purpose of protection against Indians and wild beasts; but now it consists of nothing more than clearing a spot on which to make a large fire; stretch a blanket or piece of cloth on two bent poles to windward, and there make a shew of comfort, satisfaction, and repose. This done, we each had his separate employment. Munch commenced preparations for dressing dinner, Cuff patiently sat on the side of the boat catching fish, and I took my gun and dog into the woods. I pierced to the left side of the island, a beautiful portion of which I found cleared, planted with Indian corn, and very promising wheat. A neat loghouse soon appeared in view: I knocked; the door was opened by an old woman, about whom hung three children, the whole emaciated by sickness, and stained by the languid colours of death. They betrayed more fear than surprise on beholding me. I banished this impression as soon as possible, by persuading the mother that I did not come to rob the house, or do her any manner of injury; that I was not a Kentuckey man, and that mere chance, not a disposition to plunder, brought me her way. On this she assumed some serenity, and told me that the Kentuckey men so often landed on her island to steal her fruit, fowls, hogs, &c. that she was alarmed at the sight of others, from an apprehension of their coming with the same design. The husband, who soon after came in, I found to be a German, who had lived long enough in Virginia to pick up some Negro-English. He informed me, that coming down the river four years past in his family boat, for want of keeping a good look out, or of knowing the river, he took the wrong channel, and stove his boat within two hundred yards of the spot where his house now stands. The water being shallow he got his goods ashore, and thinking the island possessed as good land as any he could procure elsewhere, he determined to proceed no farther, but to pitch his tent where Providence had cast him, and set with a good heart about building a loghouse, and clearing ground for maize, in the first instance, and then for wheat and other objects of agriculture. He effected this laborious purpose to admiration. His house was comfortable; his garden neat: and he had six acres of land under a crop which appeared perfectly

thriving. He had bought a male and female pig, which had multiplied in the woods prodigiously, and nothing appeared to interrupt his happiness but *the people of Kentuck*, as he called all those who occasionally made a descent on his island, either to pursue game or to injure him. Robinson Crusoe never stood in more dread of an Indian invasion than this poor German did of his own fellow-citizens and inhabitants of a neighbouring state. It was this apprehension it seems which hindered him from making his settlement on the channel side of the island, which, under any other impression, would be infinitely superior; more eligible for market, and more interesting and convenient to the pleasures and comforts of life. In fact, he explained to me his motives in fewer words: they were precisely these: "If the people of Kentuck find me out sometimes in this silent part, how should I be able to live when the sight of smoke, the crowing of cocks, and the barking of dogs would call them all upon me?" Having no manner of reply to make to this argument, I invited the philosopher to my boat, and by the way conversed with him on the subject of the vines, on which I wanted information. I learned that they bore a small sour fruit, growing in clusters of from two ounces to three pounds. The fruit was not eatable, nor calculated to have good wine expressed from it. He imagined that this evil was owing to the vines growing under large trees, which entirely deprived them of the heat of the sun. Under this influence he transplanted some roots into his garden-field; on the second year they produced a fruit not quite so small as that in an uncultivated state; on the third year the grapes looked much better, but before they could ripen they were withered and exhausted by the heat of the sun. I told him that a medium between extreme shade and exposure appeared the thing to be desired. He said he believed so too. The argument was not pursued: I hurried him to my encampment, where I found prepared an excellent dinner, or rather a supper, for the sun but faintly glimmered on the tops of the highest trees of the opposite mountain, and the silent serenity of evening reigned in the place of the glare of the day. My new acquaintance was much pleased with his treatment and repast. I gave him a good glass of grog, and sent him home with a small present for his wife of tea and sugar;—articles on which people, in proportion to their distance from such luxuries, set an increased value. I never asked him why he himself looked so poorly, or why his wife and children were so afflicted with indisposition. The

reasons were too evident, to make it necessary to touch a string which could vibrate nothing but discord.—Excessive perspiration from continual labour, and exposure to rain and nightly dews before the completion of the house, hurt the constitution of this poor couple, and the regular periodical fevers, which visit them, are hastening them and their children to an early dissolution.—Were it not for this, who would not envy them the monarchy of their little island; the tranquillity of their lives; and the innocence of their pursuits!

The night advanced rapidly, and with it a pleasing impression of seriousness, unknown to any but those who are exposed to dangerous events, and who like me are used to live and sleep under the open air. Cuff seemed determined to augment this disposition, by reciting various stories of accidents happening on the waters; of murders committed; robberies perpetrated; of whirlpools, cataracts, and rapid falls, &c. &c. These dismal narrations had the good effect of awaking in our minds a remembrance of obligation to heaven; a desire to merit a continuance of mercy; and a disposition to cast ourselves on the bounty of a Providence which had hitherto accorded so many kind interpositions. If such sentiments as these have been found favourable to happiness in the bosom of society, and in the midst of safety and ease, you may judge how much more useful and necessary they are when exposed to danger on the surface of waters, or in the depth and borders of gloomy woods. This effect on me was a perfect composure, and an uninterrupted night's rest. I laid a bear-skin on the sand, put my saddle-bags under my head, and placing my feet to the fire, there remained till the morning; when the clamour of rooks, and melody of birds of various kinds, rebuked my sluggishness. Cheerful and refreshed, we cast off our fastening; jumped into our boat; in ten minutes gained the strongest stream, and in ten more arrived at George town.

George town is a small but flourishing place, just above the mouth of Mill creek. It is pleasantly situated on a very high bank. A post-office has been lately established there.

Nearly opposite to George town, and a few yards from the shore, a spring rises from the bottom of the river, which produces an oil nearly similar to Seneca oil. I conjecture that this must proceed from a large bed of mineral coal in the vicinity of the spring. On first hearing of this, from an intelligent Scotchman, the postmaster at George town, whom



I questioned as to the curiosities of his neighbourhood, I immediately crossed over in my canoe to examine the well, and search for grounds on which to establish some particular conclusions. I found none perfectly satisfactory. The surface, about four feet in diameter, was covered over with an olive-coloured slime, here and there rising in lobes, filled, but not agitated, with confined air. On a more minute inspection, however, I perceived these globules burst and subside in gentle undulations, enclosing in a circle a matter whose colour was less deep than that prevailing on the general face of the well. On discovering other globules to rise in succession, I gently dipt up a gourdful of water and globules, while in the act of rising through the surface. I spilt the whole on the blade of the paddle, and could distinguish very plainly the oil which had been exposed to the air from the oil which just rose in search of it. On sounding I found the well to be sixty-five feet deep; that is, as deep as the bed of the adjacent river. On examining the neighbourhood it was plain that coal abounded; but I could not take upon me to assert that the well or its sources had any communication with that or any other mineral. As a last act, I skimmed off a gourdful of oil, and again crossing the river, went to the house of a doctor, whom I supposed capable of analyzing the subject for me. On seeing my gourdful of oil, and the interest I took in the investigation of its properties, he very handsomely told me, that "*he had but just turned doctor; and had not as yet given his time to such things.*" My admiration of his candour covered him from contempt, and I returned to my Scotch friend, more full of the dangerous idea of a man but "*just turned doctor,*" and let loose on a sickly world, than I was of my gourd of oil, or the consequence of the discovery of its virtues to mankind. I did not however abandon the pursuit. Assisted by the highlander's wife, I exposed the oil to slow fusion, a quick boil, and finally set it on fire. Its emotion while over the fire was uncommonly great, and when entirely separated from watery particles, it caught fire, it consumed in a blaze more lively and sudden than that which hovers over spirits of ordinary proof, when inflamed. During the progressive stages of this operation I kept the noses of all the obliging family occupied over the fume. Owing to a difference in the construction of that organ, or a variation in the sensibility of the olfactory nerve, no two of them gave the same opinion as to their notion of the effluvia. Indeed their opinions were wide and discordant, agreeing but in this essen-

tial point that there was no smell of sulphur. This accorded with my idea, though it traverses that which I first gave, "that the oil proceeded from a bed of mineral coal." The effluviæ to me, not only appeared divested of sulphur, but to be impregnated with a vegetable aromatic smell. Though by no means content with the result of my researches, I still draw from these their deductions.

1st, The oil rising in a distinct intermittent globule from the bottom to the surface, proves, that it does not issue in a continued stream from any rock or mineral strata, but that it is emitted drop by drop, in the manner of slow and reluctant distillation.

2dly, The oil is not therefore generated by the sun from particles rising in the water, favourable to that liquid, though the sun changes its colour on exposure of its rays.

3dly, This change of colour from a light yellow, to a dark olive, betrays a sulphurous quality, yet the absence of the smell and taste of that mineral, entirely discountenances the opinion that it exists in it. And,

4thly, From the spirit residing in the oil, the aromatic flavour and smell, it is not unreasonable to presume, that it possesses medicinal virtues, which, under a judicious administration, might be productive of salutary effects.

This latter deduction is strengthened by the testimony of the Scotchman, who says the well was much frequented by the Indians, previously to their retreat to the back countries, and that the neighbouring whites used the oil as a friction when suffering with rheumatism, and as an unction when afflicted with sores.

Much to the satisfaction of the good hostess and her family, who could not refrain from laughter at my zeal and earnestness, on a subject to them "signifying nothing," our gourd and nostrums were pitched out of doors, and they sat about preparing a repast, to which I got a most hearty and welcome invitation. This gives you a most favourable respite, and me another opportunity of persuading you how much I am, &c.

## LETTER X.

*Course of the Ohio to Stubenville—Custard Island—Stubenville—Congress Lands—Indian honourable Confederacy—Insidious means of ill disposed Whites to possess the Country, and exterminate its Inhabitants—The Indians become undeceived, and resume the great Federal Tomahawk—They put to death many of their cruel Invaders, who place themselves under protection of Congress, and receive its support—Events of an Indian War—Peace restored—its Terms—Finesse of Congress to possess the Indian Lands—Hence arose the North-west Territory, now the Ohio State—The subject of Congress Lands continued—Nature of their Sales, and price of these Lands—Their great profit to Land-jobbers—Increase of Population of the State—A Dutch Purchaser, his Sentiments after Experience.*

*Stubenville, State of Ohio, May, 1806.*

I LEFT Georgetown on the evening of the day I informed you I was to dine with the hospitable post-master, and gained this place, nineteen miles, in four hours, but not without a good look-out and some exertion at the oars. I should have told you, that the Pennsylvania line crosses at the mouth of Mill creek, and a little below the mouth of another creek called Little Beaver. This line separates that state from Virginia on the left hand, and the Ohio state on the right, when descending the river, and gives Pennsylvania a length of territory from the Atlantic to this line, of near five thousand miles! I passed this afternoon by five islands, lying from two to three, or four miles from each other; covered with wood, and overrun with flowers and fine pasture. One was called Custard Island, in consequence of its abounding with the papaw, which is vulgarly known by the name of the Custard tree. The fruit of the papaw when ripe, exactly resembles in taste the flavour, composition, and colour, a custard of the best quality. It may be eaten in moderation without danger. There is one circumstance, however, attending this fruit, of a very remarkable nature. Man, and many other animals, eat it with safety and pleasure, whilst a hog, the most ravenous, and least circumspect of all creatures, turns from it with antipathy, or a fear of

danger. This is one of those subjects whose depth is too great to be fathomed by human intelligence.

Having arrived late at Stubenville, I made secure my boat against a steep bank, and clean shore, and went up to the town with the view of passing the night, and gaining some knowledge of the surrounding country.

The town is pleasantly situated on the right bank of the river, and in the Ohio state. A land office is kept here for sale of Congress lands, which brings a number of purchasers, and at times makes a considerable appearance of activity. I must explain the expression of "Congress Lands."

Little more than twenty years have elapsed, since the whole of the right bank of the Ohio was called the Indian Country, or the Indian Side. It was inhabited by the remains of several scattered aboriginal nations, who, driven from their former grounds, were in hopes of being left in the peaceable possession of this country. To this effect they buried the tomahawk of enmity which subsisted between each other; the calumet of peace was sent from camp to camp, and from tribe to tribe. A social compact was the immediate consequence, and the world witnessed the new spectacle, of a savage association formed on political principles, and organized with a wisdom and energy, which would honor the first states of Europe. Individual and national animosities were forgotten. A general and national council was formed of warriors, and *talkers*, from the councils of the particular tribes, and this council assumed the name of "The High Council of Confederated Indians." The debates of this instructive assembly, principally turned on the propriety of cultivating a warm friendship with the whites, and on the necessity imposed on them, by the limits set to their hunting grounds, of learning the social arts, and of devoting themselves to the pursuits of agriculture and commerce. These were the intuitions of this primitive people. The discontented and vagabond part of the United States saw this confederacy with a malignant eye. The idea of Indian policy, or savage association, productive of moral and public happiness, was a thing too insufferable to be endured by those who were taught to believe the Indians little inferior to brutes, and who delighted in their extermination. Besides, it was whispered abroad, that "the Indian country" was the finest work in the world; that Imley's dreams applied to it alone, and that the French, who had visited it from the Canada border, considered it as the paradise of the new world. This was more than sufficient to inspire a

disposition to possess this charming territory, and to annihilate its inhabitants. The whites in the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentuckey, commenced this work of premeditation and death; not by open violence, but by a means much more fatal, that of proffered friendship, and a shew of conciliation and amicable spirit. They set distilleries to work, and, backed by the destructive instrument of ardent spirits, and furnished with some coarse blankets, matchlocks, beads, and baubles, for sale, they visited their unsuspecting friends, who sold them their possessions in exchange for this poison and trumpery, and by degrees, retired from their favorite waters, into the bosom of the deepest woods. So ignorant were they of the value of their landed property, and so high an estimation did they set on the infamous spirits brought among them by their perfidious friends, that whole tribes have been known to sell the rights of their nations to lands, of upwards of two hundred thousand acres, for as much whiskey as could intoxicate them at one great public festival, or even feast, of warriors and chiefs. Seduced by the success of the first speculators, a host of adventurers crowded in from all parts, who, getting bold in proportion to their numbers, they began to seize on lands, without the shallow pretext of an impositious purchase, and drove the Indians from possessions they had begun to cultivate, and in consequence, to value and esteem. The High National Council became alarmed: the great federal tomahawk, with great solemnity was taken from the ground: red feathers were sent to every nation, and war against the cruel insatiable whites, was publicly declared. To the gratification of every man inspired by the honourable principles of humanity and justice, this declaration was followed by the instant and sudden death of the greatest part of their cruel and blood-thirsty invaders. Those who escaped, and who wished for the continuance of a few years, appealed for protection to Congress, and to its eternal disgrace and infamy, the Congress afforded them both succour and approbation. An Indian war was the universal cry through the whole states: volunteers rushed from every quarter, and wretched was he whose parent's circumstance or situation denied him the glory of exterminating with his own hand, some forty, or fifty Indians. For the commissions of a troop of cavalry raised for this service, general Washington had received upwards of four thousand memorials, issuing from counting-houses, banks, farms, manufactures, and public and private schools. But God and Justice, for a time resided

with the Indians. Such was their success, that the moral and the good cried out, "surely they are the armies of the "living God." They fought several pitched battles with the Americans, and reduced their army several times to the necessity of being renewed and recruited. One commander in chief, several staff officers, and a multitude of privates were killed in one particular engagement, from the field of which, the whites had to fly several miles; on their return next day, they found the mouths and bodies of their generals and companions killed in battle, stuffed and crammed with earth, and stuck through with the boughs and branches of trees. At this dreadful but just spectacle, they were struck with horror and remorse. What, said they, we came into this country in search of new acquisition and territory, and we now find by the lesson before us, that we are to purchase it in this terrific way; that, for a mouthful of it, we are to surrender our lives. For this in fact was precisely what the Indian figure implied. Conciliation followed. Deputations passed. Boundaries were fixed, and peace was proclaimed with the Indian tribes throughout America, with much more joy than that which was manifested at the conclusion of the war with the British. Congress ordained that no individual should purchase Indian lands, whether from individuals or from tribes; that Indian life and property was under the ægis of the law, as firmly as though they were appertaining to actual American citizens, and that commerce, dealings, and intercourse with them, should be conducted with a respect to their own regulations, and the regards and justice due to all people. This conduct in the Congress was highly satisfactory to the Indians, who did not see through its real and hidden motives. They did not perceive that Congress reserved to itself the right of legally robbing them. This was soon after done. A regular mission was sent to the Indians, proposing to give them some few thousand dollars, and a certain sum annually, and a few trinkets, if they would entirely sell their country and retire to near the lakes, the peaceable possession of which the Americans would inviolably secure to them. Dazzled by these meritorious offers, their folly abandoned what their valour could have maintained, and they now reside and receive their annuity in the neighbourhood of Detrail, and along the waters of their far famed Ontario, whose beauties breathe through their lungs, and whose wonders magnify all their traditions.

This purchase effected, the Indian country took the name

of the North-West Territory, and, a few years since, on its determined increase of population, it assumed the title of the Ohio State, and bids fair, in a very short time, to rank high in the federal union. It is about five hundred square miles, bounded on the north, by the lakes and Canada; on the south by the Ohio river; on the east, by part of Pennsylvania and New York, and on the west, by the Indian territory, which in its turn, will soon become a state.

This state is watered by several navigable rivers, running from the north to the Ohio, and by numerous creeks and streams, winding nearly the same course. Its banks on the Ohio are far more eligible for settlements, than the opposite Virginian and Kentucky shore. Villages and settlements are within very few miles of each other, and the towns of Marcella, and Cincinnati, are large, and rising into commercial eminence. The principal town is Chillicothe, situated nearly in the centre of the state; there the government resides, and is held the principal land office, &c. &c.

The land of the plains; of the borders of rivers; of the great meadows, and of all the tract lying between the two Miamis (two rivers so called) is without any exception the finest known in the world. The greatest part then of this land, being obtained by Congress from the Indians by an imposition, called by the fallacious name of a legal purchase, is known by the name of "Congress Lands," as stated in the early part of this letter, and exposed you to this long dissertation on Indian war and topographical history. I resume, however, the subject of "Congress Lands."

By virtue of the treaty of the aboriginal confederacy, and subsequent purchases, Congress has become the proprietor of nearly all the fine lands in the state. I have mentioned where such lands most abound, and should have stated, that nearly one-third of the country is mountainous and ridgy, bog and morass, to such a degree as not to be worth one cent. per acre. The principal part of the state, of this character, lies to the north-east, and east of the river Scioto. The best land is to the west of that river, and continues, with few exceptions, to the boundary westward of the Great Miami. It is very necessary that purchasers at a distance should be aware of this, as I have known several who bought in a distant market, at a good price, come several thousand miles, to take possession of a sterile mountain, or an unreclaimable swamp. The truth is, that no person should buy, who is not on the spot, or who has not a confidential agent. The mode of sale adopted by Congress, is highly commendable.

The entire country is surveyed, and divided into sections of six hundred and forty acres each. A certain number of these sections lying contiguous, compose a township, and a certain number of townships forms a range. The sections are all numbered, and each number sixteen in every township is reserved for the purpose of education and the support of its professors. There are also reservations, which cannot be sold under eight dollars an acre; but every other acre of Congress land is sold at two dollars per acre for ever: and, to encourage settlers, the period of four years is allowed for the entire payment, which commences one-fourth at the bargain, and the remainder at three yearly instalments. This indulgence on the part of government was most productive to a few sordid monopolizers, called land-jobbers, or land speculators, who made large contracts for twenty thousand to five hundred thousand acres of the best land and in the best situations, and have already sold the greater part at from three to five dollars an acre. A meadow called the Rick-a-way plains, containing ten thousand acres free of wood, is advanced, by one of these gentlemen, from the two dollars an acre to be paid by his contract, to thirty dollars per acre, and a considerable part of it is already sold. The portion under cultivation has yielded one hundred and ten bushels of corn, and fifty bushels of wheat, per acre. The land the most sought after is on the Scioto, the Ohio, and the Miamis: on which situations the title of Congress is for the most part bought up, and the present owners demand for it from six to twelve dollars per acre. But if the land should be on a mill seat, or place eligible for the site of a village or town, the price might possibly be raised to one hundred dollars per acre.

Many local circumstances sometimes also unite to raise the price of certain lands; such as their vicinity to improving towns; their abundance of ship timber, the facility of conveying it to builders' yards, and their possession of the sugar maple, cherry tree, sassafras, cotton, and other plants. On the whole, I know of no speculation so promising, as that of buying the remaining good lands, reservations, and all (except schools, reservations which are never to be sold) from Congress at two dollars per acre, and of holding them for the space of ten years; after that period no moderate land will be sold under ten dollars per acre, and land of the first qualities and situation will fetch fifty in general, and much more in particular, per acre. The reasons for this are obvious; the lands of the Atlantic states are not to be com-



pared to these in point of fertility and every excellence; the climate here is not worse, and the state tolerates no slavery.

This last circumstance has already given it the name of the independent country; the state where man is free but not licentious. In consequence, quakers, and other religious professors, enemies to intolerance and oppression, whether christian or political, have settled in the state, and are daily followed by thousands who either admire, or affect to advocate their principles and doctrines. Such has been this rage, that the last ten years has added to the state one hundred thousand inhabitants, said to be the most peaceable, inoffensive, moral, and industrious citizens belonging to the American nation. I have a very strong predilection for the state, I must own to you, and a presentiment, from what I observe and hear at present, that my future experience will justify all my hopes, and prove to you that I am more happy when a people permit me to say any thing in their favour, than when their vices and follies compel me to condemn them. I do not mean to be more particular on the subject just now, as I shall have to observe and say a vast deal more relating to the state during my voyage down its southern border along the river. I must notwithstanding remark, generally, that the climate is very relaxing from excess of heat in summer, and very dangerous from the precarious and uncertain vicissitudes of it in winter. Those two seasons are however the most healthy. The spring and *fall*, as autumn is here called, are subject to visitations of diarrhœa and fever, but not in so great a degree as in the lower parts of the river. These facts might be sufficient to deter moderate minds from exposing themselves and families to such a climate and to such vicissitudes;—if they be not, there are not wanting others sufficiently cogent and strong to cause reflection at least before steps of such consequence as emigrations are taken. I have asserted, and have to maintain it, that land is to be had of the most superior quality at an extraordinary low price. But I ask you, who are a lover of reasoning and an advocate of common sense, whether the words good and cheap are not to be considered as relative terms, to be compared with those of moderate and dear, in order to distinguish their appropriate acceptations? But to have done with this jargon, and speak a more comprehensive language, I will give you an honest Dutchman's opinion of the business, who has purchased experience, and qualified himself to give instruction and advice:—Being dissatisfied with lands in Pennsylvania, which, with hard and unceasing industry,

yielded but from seven to twelve bushels of wheat per acre; from twenty-five to thirty-five of corn; and so on in proportion with other produce, he came into the Ohio state and purchased a very fine section from Congress at two dollars per acre. This land was equal to his most sanguine expectations. Three years after it was cleared it produced him one hundred bushels of Indian corn, and from forty to fifty of wheat per acre. This delighted the Dutchman; the argument appeared strong, and the old Pennsylvania farm began to be talked of only to be despised. This triumph was but of short duration. The Dutchman was near two thousand miles from the principal market; this he could not attend; storekeepers and itinerant merchants bought his produce at their own prices, in exchange, often for unnecessary goods, and the profits of his most luxurious harvests were no more, saying the best, than those of his former farm, when in the vicinity of a market, where the price of produce always bore affinity to the quality of land and the labour employed to render it prolific. The Dutchman had to compare but one article: at his former market he could get from ten to twelve dollars per barrel for his flour, in his present situation he can get but three. And, as he is occasionally visited by grubs, flies, and clouds of locusts, he cannot average his wheat crop at above thirty *nett* bushels per acre; therefore, he and his family must in future speak in less disrespectful terms of the old Pennsylvania farm, and recommend, as he tells me he always does, his former neighbours to enquire the price of produce before they pretend to fix a value on land, or leave their old settlements without the good grounds of unprejudiced calculations, and ample and liberal enquiries.

I propose to leave this place to-morrow morning. I have not heard of any thing farther, of sufficient interest to improve or entertain, though you may be well convinced that I annoy every person whose countenance beams intelligence, and even those whose features manifest none. I make no doubt that I am considered a strange medley; an interrogative animal passing through society merely to perplex it with questions; to gain all information, and to communicate none. Some stare at me with astonishment when I abruptly address them, and others not knowing what to answer, turn on their heel. What a foolish man, say all, to lose his time and go in such a manner through the world, merely to ask questions!

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## LETTER XI.

*Charlestown—Vicious Taste, in building to the River—Copied from Philadelphia—Its Punishment—Navigation from Charlestown to Wheeling—This Port-town described—Its origin—Sketch of the Inhabitants and their Propensities—A Virginian Horse-race—A Boxing-match—A Ball and Supper—The Sequel—A Pathetic Story.*

*Wheeling, Virginia, April, 1806.*

THE morning after my departure from Stubenville, I ropped seven miles lower down to breakfast at Charlestown, on the opposite shore.

Charlestown is finely situated on the Virginia side, at the junction of Buffalo creek and the Ohio. It is a flourishing place, commanding the trade of the surrounding rich settlement; and having many excellent mills, is much resorted to by purchasers of flour. The boats can be purchased at the lowest price, and articles of provision on very reasonable terms.

The town, which contains about one hundred and fifty houses, was originally well laid out with the best row facing the river, and the intermediate space answered the purpose of a street, explanade, and water terrace, giving an air of health and cheerfulness gratifying to the inhabitants, and highly pleasing to those descending the stream. However, owing to the avarice of the proprietor of the terrace, and a graceful absence of judgment and taste, he has sold his estate to the water side, and the purchasers are now building on it; turning the back of their houses immediately close to the edge of the bank, and excluding all manner of view and communication from the best of the town. This violation of taste, it seems, is not to go unpunished. The bank is undermining fast, and in a very few years, these obtruding edifices must fall unless removed. This vice of building to the high water mark, is not peculiar to Charlestown: Philadelphia set the example. Philadelphia, which might have had an open airy explanade of four miles long, on a beautiful river, facing a delightful cultivated shore, has not now thirty feet of quay. The store-houses are absolutely built on piles in the water, and crowded on each other in such a manner, as to convey an idea of deficiency of land for the extension of

the city, and to carry on its commercial affairs. Philadelphia has long suffered by these disgraceful erections. The yellow fever there maintains a perpetual residence, or annually issues from a crowded water side to pollute the whole town, and carry off its thousands\*! I could not resist apologising thus much with the Charlestown citizens. They wished me good bye as I departed, and I previously wished them an improvement of reason and taste.

The channel from Charlestown continued on the Virginia shore till I came to Beach Bottom, when it wore over to the right-hand side. The navigation then became intricate, being obstructed by a ripple; Pike Island, Twin Islands, from being similar and close together, Glin's Run and Wheeling Island. From this last island to Wheeling, I beg you to observe how accurate one must be. These are the instructions.

Channel on the Virginia shore—at the upper end keep near to the shore, *thence* across towards the island for about one hundred yards; *when* you come in sight of the next ripple, make still more towards the island, and *after* you pass the ripple, keep down near the middle between the shore and the island, till you pull in for Wheeling.—You may perceive from this, that a steersman has sufficient occupation, and that the oars must sometimes work.

The town of Wheeling is well known as one of the most considerable places of embarkation to traders and emigrants, on the western waters. It is a port-town, healthfully and pleasantly situated on a very high bank of the river, and is increasing rapidly. Here quantities of merchandize designed for the Ohio country, and the Upper Louisiana, are brought in waggons during the dry seasons; as boats can frequently go from hence, when they cannot from places higher up the river. Besides, as the navigation above Wheeling is more dangerous than all the remainder of the river, persons should undoubtedly give it the preference to Pittsburg. The distance by water to Pittsburg is eighty-two miles; by land only forty-five, by a good road. A coach runs from Philadelphia also, to this town, for thirty dollars each passenger; and the waggons which daily arrive, charge little more per cent. than the Pittsburg price. On the whole, I give this

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\* The great fire of London was eventually beneficial. The plague was frequent before that calamity, but since the improved airyness of the after-built streets, it has never occurred.

place a decided preference, and prognosticate, that it will ultimately injure and rival all the towns above its waters.

The town is formed of about two hundred and fifty houses; ten of which are built of brick, eighteen of stone, and the remainder of logs. The plain on which it stands, containing about seven hundred acres, is surrounded by immense hills, except on the lowermost side; where it is bounded by a fine creek of clear water, near the head of which are erected some fine mills for flour and timber.

This plain, although one hundred feet above low water, was originally formed by the river subsiding; and there is a narrower place, or what is here called *bottom*, immediately flowing from the hills, which also was under water; but, by the growth of its timber, and superior height, its submergement must have been at a much more remote period than that of the plain on which the town is built. A part of the latter is now a very small but excellent race ground.

The original settlers were not calculated to give importance to an infant establishment. Had they been so, had they attended to worthy commercial pursuits, and industrious and moral dealings, in place of rapine on Indian property, drunkenness, horse-racing, and cock-fighting, their town would have rivalled Pittsburg long since, and have now enjoyed a respectable name.

This part of Virginia was, at no very remote period, deemed the *frontier*, not only of Virginia, but of America. To this frontier all persons outlawed, or escaping from justice, fled, and resided without the apprehension of punishment, or the dread of contempt and reproach. They formed a species of nefarious republic, where equality of crime constituted a social band, which might to this day have remained unbroken, but for the effects of the conclusion of the Indian war, which extended the frontier across the river nearly to the Canada line, leaving the ancient boundary within the jurisdiction of government, and under the immediate grasp of the law. Those who fled from the restraints of moral and political obligations, were exasperated at this unforeseen event, and felt hurt that a better sort of people came among them. The consequence previously assumed by thieves and swindlers, fled the presence of morals and justice. Such as were determined not to submit to an improvement of life, and a daily comparison of character, left the country; while others, who "repented of their ways," remained, and are now blended with the better order of citi-

zens. Of these materials, the society of this town is now formed. But I have it from the good authority of a quaker of high respectability, that the old settlers will all be *bought out* in time, and the place become new and regenerated. He founds his hopes on the belief that his friends, when backed by others of their profession, to settle in the town, will gain an ascendancy in the municipal affairs; abolish cock-fighting, horse-racing, fighting, drinking, gambling, &c. and above all, enforce the observance of the Sabbath and other solemn days.

I assured the quaker, that if ever he saw his hopes realized, that he would not only clear the town of its original race, but of every profligate whatsoever, and deter others of similar description, from coming into it. He appeared much pleased at this assurance, though he deemed its consummation as arduous as Herculean labour. I fear in this respect he is too well founded: indeed, my acquaintance with the place, convinces me that much time and unremitting assiduity must be employed to make it a tolerable residence for any class of men, much less a society of quakers. The majority of the present inhabitants have no means whatever of distinguishing Sunday, but by a greater degree of violence and debauchery than the affairs of ordinary days will allow them to manifest. Even on occasion of business, the smallest occurrence will draw them from it, and expose it to total negligence.

Yesterday two fellows drinking in a public-house, the conversation turned on the merit of their horses—two wretched animals they had ridden into town that morning, and which had remained fasting at a post. A wager, the consequence of every argument on this side the mountains, was made, and the poor brutes were galloped off to the race-course. Two-thirds of the population followed:—blacksmiths, ship-wrights, all left work: the town appeared a desert. The stores were shut. I asked a proprietor, why the warehouses did not remain open? He told me all good was done for that day: that the people would remain on the ground till night, and many stay till the following morning. I was determined to see this Virginian recreation, which caused such an abandonment of care and business. On my arrival on the ground, the original race had been won, and the price of a saddle was collecting to excite another course, and raise new opponents. This was soon effected: the course was cleared, and six poor devils were started for the saddle, and numerous bets laid by the owners and

spectators. The number of persons interested in this affair, and some disputed points which occurred in the adjustment of it, gave rise to a variety of opinion : umpires were called in : their judgment was rejected, and a kind of general battle ensued. This affray over, the quarrel took a smaller circle, confined to two individuals, a Virginian by birth, and a Kentuckeyman by adoption. A ring was formed, and the mob demanded whether they proposed to *fight fair*, or to *rough and tumble*. The latter mode was preferred. Perhaps you do not exactly understand the distinction of these terms. Fight fair, however, is much in the English manner ; and here, as there, any thing foul requires interference ; but when parties choose to *rough and tumble*, neither the populace nor individuals are to intermeddle or hinder either combatant from tearing or rending the other on the ground, or in any other situation. You startle at the words *tear* and *rend*, and again do not understand me. You have heard these terms, I allow, applied to beasts of prey and to carnivorous animals ; and your humanity cannot conceive them applicable to man : it nevertheless is so, and the fact will not permit me the use of any less expressive term. Let me proceed. Bulk and bone were in favour of the Kentuckeyan ; science and craft in that of the Virginian. The former promised himself victory from his power, the latter from his *science*. Very few rounds had taken place, or fatal blows given, before the Virginian contracted his whole form, drew up his arms to his face, with his hands nearly closed in a concave, by the fingers being bent to the full extension of the flexors, and summoning up all his energy for one act of desperation, pitched himself into the bosom of his opponent. Before the effects of this could be ascertained, the sky was rent by the shouts of the multitude ; and I could learn that the Virginian had expressed as much *beauty* and *skill* in his retraction and bound, as if he had been bred in a menagerie, and practised action and attitude among panthers and wolves. The shock received by the Kentuckeyan, and the want of breath, brought him instantly to the ground. The Virginian never lost his hold ; like those bats of the south who never quit the subject on which they fasten till they taste blood, he kept his knees in his enemy's body ; fixing his claws in his hair, and his thumbs on his eyes, gave them an instantaneous start from their sockets. The sufferer roared aloud, but uttered no complaint. The citizens again shouted with joy. Doubts were no longer entertained ; and bets of three to one

were offered on the Virginian. The Kentuckeyan not being able to disentangle his adversary from his face, adopted a new mode of warfare; and, in imitation of the serpent which crushes such creatures to death as it proposes for its food, he extended his arms round the Virginian, and hugged him into closer contact with his huge body. The latter disliking this, cast loose the hair and convex eyes of his adversary, when both, folded together like bears in an embrace, rolled several turns over each other. The acclamations increased, and bets run that the Kentuckeyan "*would give out*," that is, after being mutilated and deprived of his eyes, ears, and nose, he would cry out for mercy and aid. The public were not precisely right. Some dæmon interposed for the biggest monster; he got his enemy under him, and in an instant snapt off his nose so close to his face, that no manner of projection remained. The little Virginian made one farther effort, and fastening on the under lip of his mutilator, tore it over the chin. The Kentuckeyan at length *gave out*, on which the people carried off the victor, and he preferring a triumph to a doctor, who came to cicatrize his face, suffered himself to be chaired round the ground as the champion of the times, and the first *rougher and tumbler*. The poor wretch, whose eyes were started from their spheres, and whose lip refused its office, returned to the town, to hide his impotence, and get his countenance repaired.

This spectacle ended, and the citizens, refreshed with whiskey and biscuit, sold on the ground, the races were renewed, and possibly other editions of the monstrous history I have just recited; but I had had sufficient of the *sports of the day*, and returned to my quaker friend, with whom I had engaged to take my dinner. He was afflicted, but by no means surprised at the news I brought him, and informed me no farther, that such doings were common, frequently two or three times a week; and that twice a year, or at the spring and fall races, they continued for fourteen days without interruption, aided by the licentious and profligate of all the neighbouring states. As to the savage practice of fighting in the manner of wild beasts, my host entertained no hopes whatever of ever seeing it put down. It might be called a national taste, which the laws appeared afraid to violate; and therefore it reared its head above authority. Few nights elapsed without the exhibition of this new gymnastic; few mornings appeared that did not bring to day a friend or acquaintance with the loss of an eye, or the mutilation of half his features. Alarmed at this account, I asked



whether this kind of conduct spread down the river. I understood that it did, on the left-hand side, and that I would do well to land there as little as possible; that many of the small inns on the Virginia and Kentucky shore, were held in solitary situations by persons of infamous character, driven from the interior and the head waters, by the gradual encroachments made on them by morals, religion, and justice. At such taverns, there were always persons at no loss for a subject of quarrel. The invariable consequence of which was, the loss of sight, and sometimes of life, and the total confiscation of property, by the villains, who, on maiming, or murdering the inoffensive party, rush out of the house, seize his boat, and descend the river, never more to be heard of—the landlord swearing he had never seen them before, or had any knowledge to what place they belonged. All the taverns, however, are not so bad. There was generally to be found one of a better sort in towns and villages where there was some semblance of law, or some apprehension of justice. I again demanded, how a stranger was to distinguish a good from a vicious house of entertainment? I was answered, by previous inquiry; or, if that was impracticable, a tolerable judgment could be formed, from observing in the landlord, *a possession, or an absence of ears*: many of the proprietors of small inns being men who had left those members nailed to certain penitential market crosses in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, in lieu of certain horses and cattle of which they had from time to time become the illegal owners. Furnished with these useful instructions, I left my kind entertainer, and retired to my inn, with a view of passing a peaceable night. It was not so ordained. It seems the store-keepers, and the principal citizens, knowing the people had no intention of returning to their avocations, had resolved to amuse themselves, and associated for the purpose of having a ball and supper at the principal inn. On my arrival the landlord, with much politeness, told me, that my quality of stranger and a gentleman, gave me a title to enter the public room. I benefited by this intimation, yet, notwithstanding the delicacy and hospitality it conveyed, I could not resist casting a glance, *en passant*, at the head of my host, to observe whether it was provided with ears. Pleased on perceiving these ornamental appendages, or, to follow up the quaker's idea, these indications of character and safety, I entered the ball-room, which was filled with persons at cards, drinking, smoking, dancing, &c. The music consisted of two ban-

gies, played by negroes nearly in a state of nudity, and a flute, through which a Chickesaw breathed with much occasional exertion and violent gesticulations. The dancing accorded with the harmony of these instruments. The clamour of the card tables was so great, that it almost drowned every other; and the music of Ethiopia was with difficulty heard. A man should never judge of the principles of the entertainment of others, by his individual conceptions. This ball, considered a violent vulgar uproar by me, afforded the utmost delight to the assembly, and possibly would have concluded with infinite joy and satisfaction at an early hour next day, had not an unlucky wight of a drunken politician, seized a friend by the throat, and threatened to annihilate him, if he did not drink "Damnation to Thomas Jefferson." A bustle and crowd collected about the parties; the ladies and the music made a precipitate retreat, and I quickly followed, and learned from the landlord, who sat by his fire-side perfectly composed, that the ball was over—that a *row* had commenced, which was a signal for the retreat of the *graces*, and a general break up. I hinted at the propriety of his interference, when he very coolly told me, that if there were any ruffians in company, *it was fit* they should be kicked out, and that, bad as the place was, there were always *gentlemen* at his balls who obligingly took that office on themselves. His words were soon verified. A cry of *out, out; whip them all!* issued from the room; immediately after a torrent rushed through the passage, and a noise of sticks, and cries, and execrations of every shade, modulation, and sort. The door locked on the whole party, and silence again restored, we visited the theatre of the late effervescence, and found but one person stretched on the ground. I was proceeding to express some apprehension, when my host exclaimed—"Oh! it is Mr. ———, he is only drunk, he will remain here quietly till morning." With that he drew him along the floor to a corner, and having placed a few chairs as a guard, considered that he had done much towards his accommodation.

Though it was by this time far advanced in the night, and I felt no disposition to retire to rest, my mind was too much agitated and full, to benefit by a too sudden, or a forced repose; and I preferred the conversation of mine host one half-hour longer. It turned on the events of the day, and the evening amusement. He very candidly admitted all I said in favour of more civilized recreations; and even went so far as to tell me a variety of anecdotes, which, from a re-

spect for human nature, I suppress. Were it not for the intervention of a *row*, which he considered an innocent occurrence, the close of balls could never be ascertained. He had known them to continue for six and thirty hours together, and many of the men, at other times, have remained to gamble and drink for weeks after the original festival. These balls and rows were frequently followed by duels. That ball or row was thought a mild one, which did not produce from two to three of the latter. "An affair of this kind happened," said my landlord, "a few balls back, involving in its consequences, *out of the common*, and *rather* of a melancholy kind. A dispute," continued he, "took place, in my house, between two young men, who had been the most intimate friends, as much so, that one of them, Mr. H. who is my neighbour, was to be married the Sunday after the ball and the dispute, to the sister of the other, Mr. B. who lives but a small distance up the town. The ties to be formed from this intention, former intimacy, and the interposition of love and friendship, were all of no avail: to fight they were determined; place and time were cautiously appointed. But love is not easily to be deceived. Maria, the sister of B. and the betrothed of H. received the fatal intelligence; hastened to the ground, and arrived—but in time only to hear the shot, and receive a bleeding lover in her extended arms. The lead passed through his lungs—he instantly expired. The senses of Maria are lost: she knows no person: she has not spoke to a human being since! I can shew her to you to-morrow: a slender tall figure, her head and bosom covered with a black veil; her motion quick, and her air disturbed. She passes every day in her way to a favorite grave, and returns with an appearance still more dejected and broken-hearted. But the poor maid will soon join her lover, and leave a world in which she imagines she has no friend." I could hear no more, the Virginian himself was moved. I ordered a light, and gaining my chamber, cast myself on a bed to rest: yet not before I cursed the ferocity of manners which reigns in this place, and which caused the eternal wretchedness and misery of an object so amiable and instructing as my landlord's Maria. It is intolerable. It is infamous. Farewell. You can account for my abrupt conclusion.

## LETTER XII.

*A Mail-coach Road from Philadelphia to Lexington, in Kentucky, Seven Hundred Miles—Accommodations on the Road—Enchanting Valley, and Creeks—Their origin—History of the first Settlement of Coöandunaga, by Irish Emigrants—Its judicious Regulations—Mr. Fitzpatrick its Head—Manner of passing Sunday in this little Republic—General Situation of its Inhabitants—Long Reach—Indian Imitations of Animals.*

*Marietta, State of Ohio, May, 1806.*

I HURRIED out of Wheeling with a precipitation which precluded all further inquiries, and, perhaps, in a state of mind unfavourable to the pursuit of any farther knowledge of that place. There is a very beautiful island directly opposite Wheeling, to which there is a ferry, and another ferry from the island to the Ohio shore, where commences a road leading to Chitocothé, and the interior of the state, of which that town is the capital. The road, for the most part, is mountainous and swampy, notwithstanding which, a mail-coach is established on it, from Philadelphia to Lexington, in Kentucky, through Pittsburg, Wheeling, and Chitocothé, a distance of upwards of seven hundred miles, to be performed by contract in fifteen days. Small inns are to be found, every ten or twelve miles of the route. They are generally log huts, of one apartment, and the entertainment consists of bacon, whiskey, and Indian bread. Let those who despise this bill of fare, remember, that seven years since, this road was called the Wilderness, and travellers had to encamp, find their own provisions, and with great difficulty secure their horses from panthers and wolves. Another remark is to be made on this great road. Directly on ascending the mountain in the rear of Wheeling, an immense deep and gloomy valley appears in view; twelve miles long, by from two to six broad. It is completely surrounded by high mountains, through which there is but one small pass, serving for the current of the water of a beautiful creek that traverses the valley twelve different times in search of a level, to facilitate its course to the Ohio, and the sea. The road crosses the creek at every traverse, and, for the entire length, is nearly a perfect plain, adorned with trees of the most sumptuous growth; with corn and wheat of an unexampled luxuriance, and encircled by an amphitheatre of mountains, whose summits of eternal verdure, are often embraced by the

clouds. The soil, composed of decayed vegetable substances, and putrid animal remains, appears like a fine garden mould; it is from three to sixteen feet deep, and, judging from the channel of the creek, is deposited on gravel and limestone rock. There are eight settlers on this enchanting spot, who have to regret nothing but the too transient visits of the sun, who, in his meridian glory, looks down on this little world, sheds upon it his most fervid rays, until intercepted by the mountains, towards the south, he sets in the vigour of the day. I was about to give you a chain of philosophical reasoning and evidence, to bear me out in an opinion, that this valley was formed by the subsiding of water, which found an avenue in a circuit of the mountain, and by attrition wore it to its base, when it lost its volume and immensity, and assumed the gentle character of the present lovely vale, drained of every thing noxious, by a rapid and transparent creek, till I understood that the people of the country, not only entertained my opinion, but at once, and without hesitation, called the place "The Dry Lake," or, "The Valley of the Lake," by which name, it is known to this day. I need mention but two of the motives on which they grounded their decision. 1st, The fissure in the mountain, through which the creek now flows, nearly from the origin to the base, has, on each side, rocks, stones, and strata, wasted, indented, and hallowed by attrition. 2dly, The mountains' sides, from top to bottom, exhibit a regular series of swells and falls, which are known to be the effect of the undulatory motion of waters, and their periodical rise and descent.

About a mile below the dry lake, on the opposite side, a creek enters the Ohio, also from between the opening of a mountain. Immediately on leaving Wheeling, I worked my boat rather across the stream, and in less than ten minutes, dropped into the mouth of the creek, where I made fast and prepared to ascend the hill, take a view of the back country, and, if inviting, range through it. I scrambled with much difficulty to the summit, from which I plainly saw that the creek flowed through a valley, nearly similar to that of the dry lake. Perceiving a well improved farm on the borders of the creek, and about a mile from where I stood, I made for it, and on my arrival found a very intelligent settler, from a half hour's ramble with whom I obtained the following particulars.

The valley, which was seven miles long, and from two to

five broad, was called *Cooandanaga*, an Indian term, signifying the woody lake. It was watered by the creek in every direction, having a course beating from one side to the other, till it issued where I had left the boat. This creek has a great advantage over that I have just mentioned on the opposite side, for, having a rapid descent from its fountain, it serves two capital mills which work at seasons, when the water of others is entirely consumed. The great western road passes through this valley, and is at times so miry and bad, that the mail-coach has been known to pass through it with difficulty in an entire day. The soil is immensely deep, and nearly as black as coal. The timber is not near so large or so old as that of the dry lake, and a variety of other testimony rushes on the mind, to prove that the waters of this former lake had remained many centuries after those of the other had passed away. The wood is not the growth of many ages; the soil is not changed by exposure to external air, and much of the land is but now rising out of submergement, to receive the influence of the wind and sun. The mountains encircling this spot, are not quite so elevated as those round the dry lake. Those on the north-west side are the highest, which accounts in some degree, for the waters forcing a passage to the south-east. The real bed of *Cooandanaga*, is limestone rock, similar to that of the river, and the dry lake. From consequences to be deduced from these facts; from numerous other seats of lakes known in the country, and from the number of plains and bottoms which every where abound, formed, evidently on the retreat of water, and composed of vegetable and animal substances of every description, it is manifest that the whole scope of country, from above a range of mountains which cross the river somewhere below the falls, as high up as Pittsburg, and border lake Eric, once formed an immense chain of lakes. The continued and unremitting industry of water, to find a level to the sea; the constant, though gradual waste by attrition, or a convulsion of nature, which rent every barrier to its base, at length let loose the waters, drained the lakes, and the floods, entering from all parts of the higher to the lower grounds, formed the bed of the river now called Ohio. Till persons of a better information disprove this—such shall remain my decided opinion.

As the first settlement of *Cooandanaga* embraces the history of many settlements in this part of the globe, I give it you nearly in the words of my informer.

Near ten years have elapsed since the demon of revolution

had overthrown some of the best governments in Europe, and shed the baneful seeds of dissention and anarchy over the surface of the eastern world. The Irish, those unsophisticated children of nature, were the first to encourage principles, which they were instructed to believe to be alone compatible with the rights and the dignity of man. They were taught to consider the throne and the altar as the mere instruments of national subservion, and morals and laws as nothing more than unreasonable shackles, fit only to restrain the mental and physical energies of bondsmen and slaves. It is not to be wondered at, that a people abandoned to an instruction of this kind, and what is worse, abandoned by the intelligent of their own community, who reside in great towns, or for the most part abroad, should imagine themselves aggrieved, and proceed to measures presumed necessary to the promotion of public happiness, and the security of a general and individual liberty. In adopting these criminal measures for the purpose of correcting visionary ills, they incurred the displeasure of government; many expiated their offences on the scaffold, and others crossed the most distant seas.

In the autumn of 1798, several thousands left Ireland, buoyed up with a hope, that having escaped from the land of tyranny, they would be received in America with the acclamation of joy, or the sensibility of fraternal tears. At the period of their arrival, America was but regurgitating her own rebels, and saw with alarm the superfluity of other nations thrown into her bosom. Besides, as these unfortunate Irish generally came in ships crowded with from three to five hundred each, and furnished with provision unhealthy and scanty, they consequently arrived in a shocking state, and had to be succoured by individuals, or taken into public hospitals.

Independently then of the dislike the American government began to entertain to the importation of rebel and disaffected doctrines, they saw a serious danger in receiving such a number at a time of sickly and wretched objects, who for want of means, character, and health, could not be able to assist themselves, and therefore should become a burden to the state: they remonstrated with the cabinet at St. James's, and that court decreed that no legal banishments should be made to America.

The ship in which my informer, Mr. Fitzpatrick, came, left Cork for Philadelphia, with two hundred emigrants; in consequence of being stifled in the hold, want of provision

and water, seventy-six died, and were cast overboard; on her arrival at Wilmington, on the Delaware, eighty-seven more were received into the hospital, and the remaining thirty-seven walked on to Philadelphia, there to beg the streets. A few of these were advised to go to the city of Washington in search of work; a few more died of want, contagion, and misery, while Fitzpatrick, and fifteen followers, aided by a small sum of money, clothes, and instruments of husbandry, generously made up for them by a society of Irishmen in Philadelphia, set off for the western country, and arrived at Cooandanaga, where they determined to stop. The vicinity of the vale to the main water; the great utility of a creek commanding a fall of thirty feet in less than one mile, and the light manner in which they found the land timbered, were the motives for this preference. The land itself was not at first much esteemed by these settlers. Black and mixed with roots and other deleterious substances, they feared it might be similar to the bogs of their own country, which yielded nothing but moss, heath, rushes, and flags, and refused melioration even from the severest industry. A little observation proved the fallacy of their ideas on this head. They located the valley the first season, cleared about five acres of ground each, and planted Indian corn, cabbage, and a few potatoes. These thrived to such an astonishing degree, that more land was joyfully cleared for the following year, planted in like manner, and that of the former season reserved for wheat. Owing to the extreme richness of the soil, the wheat crop failed: it ran up to stalk above seven feet high, and bore little or no corn. Having been since reduced by several successive heavy crops of Indian corn, it begins to bear wheat in considerable perfection, though it still rambles much above the reaper's head. The cabbages grow to a great size, yet are not of a permanent utility, in consequence of their being overrun, eaten, or perforated by millions of insects, before they can in any quantity be brought into use and laid by as a winter provision. The potatoes are large, spongy, and wet.

The houses of the settlement are built with much comfort and neatness. Though scattered through the vale, the settlers have the good sense to unite on all occasions which require the power of many hands. Hence buildings for residence and convenience, clearing land, and rolling ponderous and heavy logs, are effected in a proper and speedy manner, without consuming the health and wasting the time of a poor individual, who, had he the whole to complete through



his own means and industry, would droop or sink under the task before it was a tenth part completed.

I met with nothing so sensible and so judicious as this little republic since I crossed the mountains. The members of it atone, by a regulated and laborious life, for the political sins they committed. I attribute the wisdom of this conduct, and the prudence of these resolutions, to the counsel and example of their leader, Mr. Fitzpatrick, whom the governor of the state has chosen as the Justice of their district, and whom they themselves have elected as their minister and teacher. Mr. F. joins to a good natural understanding, corrected and improved by adversity, an excellent heart, and a mind formed to impress on others a love of virtue and morality. On conversing with him some time, I ceased to wonder at the account he gave me of himself and associates. So true it is, that the example of wisdom and goodness is captivating; that it shines out in the actions and countenances of those who practise them; reforms folly and vice, and spreads its influence over the untutored residents of the most untutored wilderness. I could not help loving this good man, and of sincerely wishing that all misguided emigrants, on abandoning their country and their homes, might choose such a character for their leader.

Having learned his different functions, I was desirous of knowing where they were exercised, and asked him accordingly. The boys and the children, replied Mr. F., meet me at the mill on the afternoon of every Sunday. We there administer the little justice that is wanted among us, say a few prayers, and then make a hurling match in the manner of *our own* country. But if any of the boys be absent, from sickness, the hurling match cannot go on, as we have agreed among ourselves to visit any sick neighbour on Sunday, see that he want for nothing, and, if his indisposition continue, look after his stock, get his harvest in, and repair his house against the rigour of winter!

I would not injure the beauty and excellence of this little narrative by any remark, were there not a few words employed in it that may not, according to their spirit, be exactly understood.

When Mr. F. says, "the boys and the children," he means his old companions and their families, and uses the other apparently inappropriate word as a term of familiarity and endearment, becoming in him as their leader, pastor, and friend. The next expression, "our own country," is more peculiar to the Irish, than to any other emigrant whatever.

and does them much honour. The longer they reside abroad, the more the attachment to their "own country" increases. Even those whom the law rejected, and others who left their homes under the most violent prejudices of a deluded misconception and heated mind, are the first to talk of their "own country," its pleasant hills, green fields, and temperate and happy climate. Their pastime, and their songs too, are national, and their conversations in general, commence how they may, end in tradition and legendary tale.—Convinced of this, you will not be surprised to hear, that very few Irish alienate their political rights, by swearing allegiance to other powers, notwithstanding their casting off responsibility to their own state. At least there is hardly one Irish subject in this part of the world, who has become an American citizen, and certainly not even one who thinks so little of his "own country," as to set on that title any manner of consideration, or respectful consequence.

The last phrase I shall elucidate in Mr. F.'s simple narrative is, "and repair his house against the rigours of winter." In this country in general, most all settlers' houses are built of logs, between which there are large interstices, which require to be filled with well tempered clay. Where good clay can be produced, this filling up remains permanent, but where mould or black earth is employed as a substitute, the heat of summer crumbles it to dust, and the winds blow it through the whole of the apartment. For the want of clay, the houses of Cooandanaga, were therefore every summer reduced to a mere shed, through which the element took an uncontrolled range, and were it not for the admirable regulation of these associated emigrants, "to repair a sick man's "house against the rigours of winter," his disorder would naturally increase, or he would perish from neglect and inclemency.

Three or four of the original settlers are dead, and all the rest have past through the dangerous ordeal of a seasoning, that is, they were from time to time reduced to death's door, and recovered, with the blood so thinned, and constitution so altered, that the climate cannot act upon it with the same violence it exercises on a virgin subject. It is necessary only to add, that these poor settlers were as happy as a people could be, who had left their own green fields for teeming swamps, and burning hills; and who had left a clear and healthy sky, for an atmosphere surcharged, at one time, with sulphurous clouds and fœtid fogs, and at another, with all the putrid and fiery particles of death. They also had to

pine for the absence of the sun a great portion of the year. In winter, he seldom entirely dispersed the vapour which lay denser on the place, and in summer, his visits were uncertain and transient.

You may ask how a valley can be so unsufferably hot which is exposed to so little action of the sun. In Europe you seek the shade and the covert of groves, as a shield against heat. Here the very reverse is practised. The open plain, the tops of hills, alone can be endured. Protected valleys, and immense woods, are found to contain a heat so pestilential, that man and beast abandon them during the fervour of the day, and seek for situations to which the air has access. In extensive dense wildernesses, and in the bosom of vales surrounded by mountains and woods, the air of summer completely stagnates, and remains unruffled, though that of open plains and summits is in continual agitation, and perpetually renewed. There is nothing more common here, than to hear it said, "it is now too hot to work in the woods," which is saying, it is better to work in the open air, though exposed to all the ardour and violence of the sun.

I returned to my boat, accompanied by Mr. F. and several of his children, one of whom was loaded with a basket, which his father, when at a distance from me, instructed him to bring from his house. I did not return, but chose to follow the creek, in order to observe the characters of the passage in the mountain, which allowed the former waters, and the present stream, to become tributaries to the river and the sea. Mr. F. no sooner observed the subject of my speculation, than he informed me, that he and his friends had no manner of doubt but that they had settled "in the bottom of a lake." "Look," said he, "at the upper part of the opening, how it has been torn asunder by some earthquake, and the under parts for the matter of twenty feet, seem carried away by the constant current of the waters." The appeal was strong, the facts evident and unequivocal. I had nothing more to do than to gain my boat, where the children had arrived before me, and spread on a table the contents of the basket. It consisted of a wild turkey, some fresh butter, and a loaf of Indian bread. "I thought," said Fitzpatrick, "before I put the blessing of God on your honour, I would take care your honour had something to eat." I made no reply to this. Mindeth understood me. He put a bottle of rum, some powder and lead into the basket; strung some Indian ornaments round the children's necks, and without

further ceremony hastened the whole party ashore. He then poled the boat out of the creek, on which we all took to our stations, and gained the true current in a few strokes of the oars.

The true current is on the Virginia side. On bearing across, I could just perceive below Wheeling, the remains of an old fort standing on the point of land formed by the junction of Big Wheeling creek, and the Ohio river.

If I except the very extraordinary beauty of the river, its islands, bays, indentions, elevated, and, in many places, cultivated banks, adorned by houses, and resounding with the varied noise of social and busy life, nothing else occurred to me during the day particularly worthy your attention; for I am well persuaded you do not expect a descriptive voyage down a river to consist of every fine view, or to portray every striking prospect, bend, turn, or aspect which it is susceptible of assuming. What in truth is more tiresome than a continued strain of luxuriance of mountains, crowned tops of hills, variegated pride, enamelled meads, meandering streams, dashing cataracts, and falling floods? I proceed then in the manner I originally made you to expect, that is, to give thoughts, observations, and occurrences, as occasions and circumstances demand, without forcing them from objects fatiguing to dwell upon, and useless to recount.

It would be unpardonable, however, to omit mentioning a place I arrived at in the evening. It is called Long Reach, is forty-seven miles from Wheeling, and is eighteen miles long. Having arrived there rather late at night, and being somewhat intimidated by the majestic appearance of the river, I resolved to remain till morning, make fast to shore, and encamp after the manner of my proceeding at Grape Island. This occupied no great time; a good fire was lighted, the Cooandanaga turkey prepared, and supper and refreshment spread under the lengthened gloom of a large walnut tree. Something recruited by such excellent refreshment, I took a solitary walk along the shore, and could not avoid remarking the extraordinary difference which the arrival of two or three poor individuals could effect over an immense region of forest. On our first arrival, a silence almost terrific and certainly awful reigned through the woods. The hour was too early for beasts to prowl, and too late for birds to sing. Nature seemed to enjoy a calm, but to us gave a painful repose. Whereas, now the noise of our

axe was returned from afar, the voice of labour reverberated in our ear, the smoke rose to the sky, and the vivid flames of the fire shed a blaze of comfort around, relieved the solemnity of the scene, and spread a golden radiance over the surface of the water. I was drawn from this meditation by Cuff, (whose best talent, I find, to consist in a propensity to imitate wild beasts, and who professes to howl like a wolf, better than any of his nation) he had just begun a *solo* so exquisite in judgment, so correct in expression, and so natural in cadence, that the very demons of the woods awoke, and joined him in horrid chorus. Fearful his imitative powers might invite some unwelcome visitors to the neighbourhood of my camp, I begged of him to suppress his propensity till less danger should be apprehended from its exercise. He told me, what I indeed knew, that where there was fire, there was no danger; that if I would let him go into the wood with my gun, he would cry like a young opossum, and bring me a wolf or a bear in half an hour. Though convinced of his capacity, and the little difficulty he had to personify a brute, I declined his intimation, but told him, if he wished to amuse himself, he might sit on the stern of the boat, while I took a glass of grog at the fire; and in a low voice, give me some specimens of all the languages he had acquired in his early intimacies with the inhabitants of the woods. Quite pleased with the serious manner I addressed him, and delighted with the term "Language," which I gave his art, he took his station, and asked me what he should begin with; whether he was to lure or to alarm? I told him first to lure, and then to alarm, by way of safety for the night. On hearing this, Mindeth stepped into the boat, took some arms, and silently placed himself beside. Cuff began. I must do him the justice to acknowledge, that never was man more perfect, more inimitable in this profession, this science, for which the world yet wants a name. He passed through all the varied modulations between infancy and old age; between a fawn and an elk; between a young calf, and a buffalo bull. The beasts of the forest were deceived. Much commotion ensued. The stir and agitation approached. Mindeth fired a gun and renewed his fire. Cuff next began to alarm. Savage must that beast have been, into which such cries did not strike fear. From the malignant yell of the tyger cat, up to the panther's bloody roar; the wolf's howl, and the bear's rugged voice; all were heard, and all gave alarm. He ceased. A universal cry was uttered through the woods, which struck the

Virginia shore, beat against the opposite hills, and at length died in the distant windings of the water.

I rewarded this extraordinary talent with a bumper of spirits, and asked if all the people of his nation were as *learned* as himself, or much versed in his accomplishments? he replied, that by this time he expected they were much more so, for that they could continue to improve; while he, from residing long among the whites, had not only *not* learned any thing, but *lost* much of the information he originally possessed. He formerly could imitate birds, gobble like a turkey, and crow like a cock; but now he does not know whether he could inveigle birds by these arts, or lure foxes and racoons to approach a snare or a trap. Yet he hoped to be exercised on the way, and to recover his usual powers. Such is this poor fellow. Though he came to me without any character whatever, except the vague one, "of knowing something of the waters," I begin to think him a great acquisition, and shall afford him every possible opportunity of following his propensity, and improving his voice. I have just instructed him to crow in the morning like a cock, in order to rouse up all hands. That I may obey the fellow's summons, which I have no doubt will be given, I hastily wish you a good night, and leave my intended description to my next. This fellow's nonsense has put every sublime idea out of my head.

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### LETTER XIII.

*Fogs—Night and Day Currents, their Variation, Advantages and Disadvantages—Indian Practical Philosophy—A sublime Prospect—An interesting Breakfast—Settlement of the Banks of Long Reach—Description of them—Passage to Marietta—A dangerous Fall—Little Muskingham River—Marietta, a flourishing Town deserted—Ship Building, and Commercial Enterprise—Has the only Church from Pittsburg, One Hundred and Eighty Miles distant—The Laws strictly enforced—Its Tradesmen, Generals, Colonels, Majors, &c.*

*Marietta, State of Ohio, May, 1806.*

I WAS roused at a very early hour by the *Man-dan Chanticleer*, but as the fog was not off the waters, I de-

ferred my departure till it was in some degree dispersed by the solar rays. I have known the fog remain till twelve at noon, and even for two or three hours after. At such times, the navigation is more dangerous than on the darkest night. The channel, islands, rocks, ripples, snags, sawyers, and a variety of other dangers, are not visible. The true channel cannot be seen, nor the true current observed; and, possibly, owing to the density of the atmosphere, the noise of the waters beating against objects necessarily to be avoided, remains drowned and unheard. I might with truth remark, that navigating at night, is, in many respects, safer than in a foggy day. For at night, the noise of water in falls and ripples, and against rocks and impediments, is heard at a much greater distance than it is on the finest day, much less on one, when sound would be retarded by vapour, and corrupted air. I have heard the water roar on a fine night to such a degree, as to impose a belief that I was immediately approaching a dreadful fall, or tumbling cataract. After running two hours, nearly ten miles, with the utmost precaution, and constant look out, I found the terrific noise to proceed from the current dashing through the top of a tree, whose root had got fast near the bed of the stream. In the day I have often seen a large tree almost erect, and in a similar situation; but the noise the passing water made over it, was only to be heard when close at hand. These facts, though I do not presume to account for them, are equally singular and fortunate; at night, the navigator is warned of danger he cannot see: in the day, he beholds a danger which cannot be heard. There are, however, two alarming peculiarities belonging to the night, which should not go unnoticed. 1st, The current differs considerably in character from the current of the day. In the day, its breadth is contracted often, to within the width of the boat, or less; and it delights in holding a favourite shore—so much so, that it is difficult to steer clear of the bank, which, after caressing some hours, it hastily abandons makes nearly across, as if to enjoy, for a certain time, the beauties of the opposite shore.—In the night, the current diffuses itself more generally—spreads out, and finally reaches the middle of the river, where it maintains itself with grace and majesty till the morning, when it contracts in sphere, increases in power, and alternately visits either bank. Were there no obstacles in the middle of the river, this circumstance of a nocturnal current, varying from the daily channel to the centre, would be highly favourable; but as

islands and sand-bars, every three or four hours occur, it becomes dangerous. I must confess my ignorance of the latent principle which occasions the variation of current. My loose opinion on the subject, is derived from observing, that in the day, the air, *nearly always*, has an inclination to come up the river, or to traverse it from side to side: and its action is also so high as to be seen on the leaves of the trees, when the surface of the water is entirely unruffled. Whereas, at night, as the inclination of the air is always down the river, when unaffected by storms; and as the volume, density, and weight of the air, are augmented to an incalculable degree, by the absence of the sun, and the descent of his exhalations, it may be presumed, that these great changes in the direction and power of the atmosphere, may operate a change on the current of the waters. The more so, as it is known that the air and body of vapour, rejected by the sky, after the setting of the sun, seek for the centre of rivers, and the sinuosities occasioned by valleys or creeks. This body of air, then of power, course, and volume, so superior and contrary to that of the day, pressing on the centre of the river, either causes there an additional current, or by some secret law of attraction, draws the current of the day from the side to the centre. I find the observation made by all navigators to be, that a boat makes *much* more way at night, than in the day; and that it holds the middle of the river. You perceive by this, that I am supported in my fact, but I have never met with any one who could assist me to its elucidation. As to a boat's going faster at night, I am not quite so much at a loss for an argument; having on her an increased weight of atmosphere, and a course of air not running in opposition to the water, she must proceed with more velocity, that when the sun deprives her of this pressure, and, by shifting the action of the air, gives her a contrary impetus. But why a boat holds the middle of the river at night, in an apparent current, whose principle is dissipated on the return of day, I cannot determine; and what I have said, you are to consider as loose hints, and not as the result of systematic and philosophical opinion.

The second alarming peculiarity belonging to nocturnal navigation, is in the falsity of vision, and the little dependence which can be placed on the judgment, in regard to the distance, character, extent, and even nature of objects. I have heard of a man, who ran his boat on the point of an island, mistaking it for an object, which, for upwards of



an hour before, he had imagined floating before him. And more than once, on hearing the roaring of water, or apprehending some other danger below me, I have dropped down six miles while pulling for safety into a shore on which I thought I could have cast a biscuit, when I first began to work across the stream. At other times I have been greatly deceived, on making land at night, as to my opinion of the nearest bank, after taking the nearest for the most distant ; and after, on preferring the most distant, I have run the boat's head against a bank I calculated far from me. My poor Mandanian, Cuff, whom I have more than once introduced to you, seeing me perplexed at a moment of expected danger, to know what shore to pull to, jumped on the roof of the boat, and giving it a sudden stroke with an oar, listened to the returning sound. The left shore first repeated the stroke ; and next, after a small interval, the right. "The left shore," said Cuff, with a modest confidence, "is but three hundred yards, and the right a mile from us." He was perfectly correct : I was grateful to him for his instruction, nor could I check an idea, that the Whites theorise on philosophy, while it is practised by the Indian : neither could I resist looking for farther instruction ; and asking him whether his rule held good on all occasions ? he replied, as I might well have conceived, "It did not : that the echo in some few parts of the river never answered at all ; and, that in damp or rainy weather, it also failed telling which was the nearest side." I am confident, that in general, the rule is good and beneficial. So much for a digression : it is surely time to proceed.

It was eight o'clock in the morning before the fog began to disperse, in a sufficient degree to encourage my departure with safety. I then began to form some idea of my situation, and of the view before me. To do this with the more precision, I paddled my canoe into the middle of the river, first sending the boat on before me, directing her to keep the right bank, and to look well out. I no sooner gained the centre, than I perceived that the part of the river I occupied, was about a mile broad, bounded with high hills, crowned with sumptuous trees, and the banks decorated with the most beautiful flowers. I could with difficulty make these few observations before my canoe drifted into the part called the commencement of the *Long Reach*, on which the river appeared metamorphosed, as if by enchantment : it became not less than three miles wide ; the mountains bended off to the right and left, and subsided into fine wooded ground,

and an object like a man of war in full sail, moved majestically in the centre. This very interesting vision arose from the looming of an island directly before me, and in the timbers of which, some reluctant fog was yet lurking. I worked to the left shore, and had an uninterrupted view down the Long Reach to its extremity, where it appeared bounded by a mountain of extraordinary height. In the middle was a chain of islands, which divided this lovely portion of the river into two channels of unparalleled beauty and exactitude. The right-hand channel in particular, which is considerably the best, is straight as an artificial canal, deep as a lake, and smooth as glass. I crossed over to it between the extremities of the first and second island, and on entering it could see through the vista, formed by the narrow part of the river, which concludes the Long Reach, a distance of eighteen miles.

The banks being comparatively low, are settled by many families, who build their houses, and cultivate their lands, in such a manner as to contribute vastly to the general interest of the scene. Corn-fields, pasture-grounds, herds of cattle, ascending smoke, the voice of man, and the varied noise of domestic animals, relieved my thoughts from the overwhelming impression they at first received, on the observance of Nature in a character so new and inexpressibly sublime. Happy to have an opportunity of unbending my mind, after such solitude, admiration, and reflection, I paddled down the stream, passed my boat, which was proceeding at between three and four miles an hour, and dropped down to a house which had a neat appearance, and a something which indicated comfort.—I drew my canoe up the bank, went to the house, and soon discovered I was not very wide in my judgment. A clean and orderly looking family sat at a breakfast composed of maize and milk. “Good morrow, stranger,” (was uttered involuntarily by all) “how fares it?” continued an old man, “have you broke your fast this morning? if not, we have but just sat down.” I made little other reply than that of drawing a stool, sitting to table, and helping myself very plentifully in a cedar bowl handed me by one of the family. When it was perceived that my appetite was somewhat appeased, by the sweetest breakfast I think I ever ate in my life, the usual questions were put to me; but not put in the impertinent and intrusive way of the eastern states, to discover the extent of one’s property and private views, but merely as a species of chit-chat, or sort

of rural good breeding, to engage attention, pass time, and divert the mind. I said the usual questions, presuming you know they consist of How goes it, stranger? Where are you bound? Are you from the old country? What part? &c. Having answered these inoffensive questions as much to their satisfaction as my time would permit, I in my turn reversed the tables, and poured in my regular series of queries, which produced the following few remarks.

The banks of Long Reach were partially settled in consequence of the excellence of the land, and the retreat of the mountains into the back country, leaving several fine plains of five miles extent, running to the water; whereas on most other parts of the river, the mountains bound the water board so close, that there is seldom sufficient left for the purposes of improvements and agriculture on a large scale; if bottoms be excepted, which sometimes contain several thousand acres, but they are for the most part unhealthy, having no vent towards the adjacent country, and being formed of decayed vegetable, and other substances, as well as being subject to occasional inundations. The climate of Long Reach has been another motive of preference. It is supposed cooler in summer, in consequence of its being more exposed and open than other parts, and more temperate in winter, than places where hills and mountains attract rain and cold from the clouds. An extraordinary proof of some difference existing in the climate is, that there are trees and shrubs now growing in the islands and on the bank of Long Reach, which are only found three hundred miles above, and two hundred below it. Of the three islands in the Reach, one of them produces little else than fir or pine, which flourishes in great perfection, though no other island in the river furnishes a single stick of it, nor is any of such excellence nearer than the head waters of the Monongahela. The shrubs distinguishing the Reach, are the arbutus, and the honey locust, neither of which are to be found above, though they grow lower down the river, about two hundred miles. The crops never fail, and yield more than four times the quantity known in the Atlantic states; but owing to the distance of the market, the imposition of the itinerant purchasers, and the low price and wretched articles they give for produce, the profits are inferior, and for a certain part of the produce, such as fruit, vegetables, and poultry, there is seldom any sale. The advantage these settlements enjoy over the Atlantic farms, is, that they require less labour, no manure, and lie adjacent to plenty of fish and game.

The Reach (to use the old man's words) is moderate healthy. Fevers, however, are perfectly well known, and intermittents are annually heard of. On the whole, to come to some general conclusion, I think the Long Reach a very distinguished part of the Ohio; it is exposed to a free circulation of air; the shore is of a clean gravel; the banks are low without being swampy; the wood is ornamental as well as useful, and fine rich plains extend to the mountains, equal to the most extensive speculations in agricultural and rural pursuits. I venture to predict, that the Reach will one day become the seat of a great town: if that happen, the land will increase in estimation; at present it sells for but two dollars per acre, and that to be paid by four annual instalments!

My entertainers were Germans. We parted with many expressions of good will. The old man came down with me to my canoe, and when I had taken my seat and paddle, launched me with a push into the stream. The day was calm, the sun shone hot, but I went with such rapidity down the current, that I felt sufficient air to give a tolerable coolness. It took me however two hours to recover my boat, which I at length moored ashore, and indeed might have passed it, had my attention not been attracted by the more than stentorian voice of Cuff, who hailed me with the cry of Sago! Sago! Master." Owing to the great taciturnity of the Indians, they make particular words express a variety of sensations; hence the small word "Sago," implies joy and satisfaction at an unexpected meeting. I pulled into shore, and enquiring the motives of the boat not continuing her course, found that my servant had got alarmed at the length of my stay, and perhaps his fears arose out of the dreadful stories told him by Cuff, of the terrific nations who formerly lived on the borders of the Long Reach, and whose remains, if still in the neighbourhood, might take me prisoner, carry me to the woods, and after certain scalplings and tortures, offer me up in sacrifice to the god of their fathers, and the spirit of the lakes. Having chid the one for telling such foolish stories, and the other for attending to them, we cast off the boat, and being determined to reach Marietta that night, I took the helm, minutely observing the current, and worked hard the oars. It is not a little singular, that the *sortie* from the Long Reach exactly resembles the *entré*. On looking back, the eighteen miles of the narrow passage of the river represents a vista, the tops of whose trees appear to join; and in looking forward, what exhibited a contracted

but beautiful avenue at a distance, opens into the ordinary breadth of the river, which again becomes guarded by high mountains, immense rocks, and all the insignia peculiar to the water above Long Reach.

The water runs a mile an hour faster between the Reach and Marietta, than it does in the Reach itself. This of course, is to be attributed to the contraction of the current, and to a few ripples and islands in the way, which force the stream into a small compass, and increase its action on bodies floating on its surface. I found I went between six and seven miles an hour in common; between eight and ten, on passing particular points and islands. This gave me great hopes of arriving at an early hour. It was fortunate that I gave myself so much active occupation, for the river afforded few objects for mental amusement.

The contraction of the river, the height of its boundaries crowned with stately trees, and the inaccessibility of its surface to the direct rays of light, give it a solemn and gloomy aspect, and this effect was considerably augmented by the consequent colour and depth of the water, which appeared in many places an abyss, black as Erebus. On passing through that portion of the river which inspires the most painful solemnity, I arrived at a chain of islands, called the Brothers, ran down the right hand channel, and on reaching the foot of the last island, perceived a fall in the river, and that the current wore through it in the form of a Z. The channel was very little broader than the boat, confined between rocks, the slightest touch against which would dash her to pieces. I ordered the men to keep a steady stroke, not on any account to abandon the oars, or to be alarmed at the noise of flood. The boat instantly took the first suction of the fall, increased in velocity to a great degree, passed through all the mazes of the channel till she came to the last descent, when tumbling, tost, and regardless of her helm, she spun round and round, and at length shot ahead down the stream. Astonishing country! Here again the hills subsided, the force of nature smiled, the current diffused, and the river became a perfect calm. On looking back to contemplate the danger I had just escaped, I could but faintly see the roaring surge, or hear the horrid clamour. I never experienced a more eventful moment than in the passage of that fall. Several times my steering-oar worked so hard as to catch me nearly overboard, and at one bend of the channel I bore so hard to port, that I touched a rock, from which all my exertion could but barely wear the boat's head. I learn-

ed from the danger I there experienced, that I wanted another hand, whose office should be to stand at the head of the boat, and on approaching a rock, in the mazes of a fall, bear against it with a long pole and assist the helm when wearing round. I strongly recommend a fourth hand. Many of the accidents which occur in the river are owing to the want of a sufficient number to navigate boats. I have bought this correction from experience.

By seven o'clock in the evening I reached a much wished for place, a river called the Little Muskingum, which I knew to be within six miles of Marietta. Having passed this small river, which flows into the Ohio on the right hand side, and run down along an island, low, yet beautiful, called Durat's, and having reached its foot in one hour, I rowed hard across to the right, where I made fast under a high bank on which stood the flourishing town of Marietta.

Marietta is situated at the confluence of the Great Muskingum, a fine navigable river, with the Ohio. The progress of this town and the adjacent settlements was, for several years, much impeded by Indian wars; but the town now bids fair to become a place of considerable importance, to which it is well entitled by the beauty of its situation as well as to its being inhabited by New-Englanders, who, notwithstanding the contractions of their habits and principles, it must be allowed, are a people of uncommon industry and speculative enterprise.

The inhabitants of Marietta are among the first who have exported the produce of the Ohio country, in vessels of their own building. The first attempt was made a few springs ago with a brig about eighty tons burden, bound for Jamaica, and commanded by an old and well known mariner, commonly called "Commodore Whipple." The success which attended that voyage, has roused the spirit of enterprise among the wealthier class, so that there are now three vessels building, one of which is about two hundred and twenty tons, and several have gone off loaded since the first brig. Besides, an agent from the United States is now here contracting for the construction of several gun-boats, to be completed by the ensuing spring.

The town, consisting of about one hundred and sixty houses, frame and brick of the neatest workmanship; is seated on each side of the Muskingum, over which there is a ferry. The site is a very fine plain, running about a mile from the Ohio to a very high chain of mountains which continue for upwards of thirty miles into the back country. The extent of these mountains, and the want of large tracts

f good land in the immediate vicinity of the town, must retard the population of the neighbourhood, and in fact hinder the place from ever attaining to a great degree of magnitude. Nor is the country at the back of these mountains healthy; several who retired behind them died of flux and fever, and several have returned sick and disgusted with the place, saying that it is all either mountain or swamp, till towards the sources of the Muskingum, where there is excellent land, but a climate too fatally unhealthy, and the price of produce entirely too low.

Marietta is also a port town, issues a weekly paper, and possesses an academy, court-house, prison, and church. The latter edifice is the only one of the kind between this and Pittsburg; a distance of one hundred and eighty-one miles. If justice be impotent on the opposite Virginian shore, and morals and laws be trampled upon and despised, here they are strengthened by authority; and upheld, respected, and supported by all ranks. The New-England regulations of church and magistracy are all introduced and acted on to the full extent—to a point bordering on an arbitrary exaction. Every family, having children, or not, must pay a certain annual sum for the support of a public school: every person, whether religious or otherwise, must pay a fixed sum towards the maintenance of a minister of divine worship; and all persons must pay a rigid respect, and a decided observance to the moral and religious ordinances of the Sabbath. In consequence, never was town more orderly or quiet. No mobs, no fighting, no racing, no *rough and tumbling*, or any thing to be observed but industry, and persevering application to *individual* views. The Virginians, who at times visit the town, remain for a short period, and return to their own shores astonished at the municipal phenomena they witness, and wondering how man could think of imposing on himself such restraints.

As I before observed, the original settlers of this town and neighbourhood were New-Englanders, and many of them old continental officers, and officers who remained in the country after the Indian war. Some few of them still live; but in situations very different from their former ones. This adds a stranger into a variety of error and misconception. Yesterday I was speaking rather harshly to a man who had not fulfilled an agreement with me to caulk my boat, when a gentleman came up and accosted him with, "Ah! General, how do you do? I mean to dine with you. What's your hour?" He made use of this opportunity to go on to the baker in pur-

suit of some biscuit. I found him at home. On seeing the bread I began to comment on the price and quality, and might have betrayed some little dissatisfaction and incivility, had not a third person entered opportunely to say, "Colonel, I want a loaf of bread." My next call was on a butcher, whose sorry dirty looking meat made me neglectful of my late experience, and I raved without any consideration of propriety and decorum, till brought to a sense of misconduct and absence of breeding by a negro, who, taking me aside, very kindly warned me that the *butcher* was a *judge*, and that he could fine folks for cursing and swearing. Hemmed in on every side, I resolved to mend my manners and gain some instruction on the subject. I consulted my landlord, whom I found to be also a major of the late army. His lessons were short : "We, majors, colonels, and generals," said he, "are so cheap and common here, that people don't mind us *no more than nothing*." Do you follow their example : live without constraint, and get your business done, as though you were dealing with knaves, and the most common race of men. Our title signifies but little. For the most part it is used towards us from familiarity, derision and contempt. Those who *really* respect us, say, Tom, Dick, or whatever else we may be called." But the judge, said I, how is he to be treated ? "When in his character of butcher," said the major, "he is treated rough enough, and without any ceremony ; but when in court, and sometimes on Sundays, the citizens say, "Your Honour," and touch their hat.

As I propose writing again from this place, I may now conclude, not without an apprehension that my letter has already attained a tiresome and immoderate length.



## LETTER XIV.

*Marietta—An Inundation—Fort Harmer—Indian Antiquities—Be a Lover of Truth—The Axiom of the Western World—Indian Tradition—An Anecdote—An Excursion—The Muskingum River—A Prospect—Discovery of a Vault—A beautiful Tesselated Pavement, and other remarkable Remains of Indian Antiquity—Large Human Skeleton and other curious Antiques—The Depository of the Remains of a Chief in ancient times—The Author's Remarks on these Remains of Antiquity—Predilection of the Indians for tall and robust Chiefs—Wild Turkeys.*

*Marietta, June, 1806.*

I MENTIONED in my last, that this town is built on a very high plain, inclined to the mountain, and that the part of the bank on which it more immediately stands, is near sixty feet above the surface of low water. I should have been satisfied that the situation was admirably calculated for the comfort and health of the inhabitants, and would possibly have recommended it as the best site I had yet seen for a city, had I not perceived, while at breakfast this morning, that the parlour in which I sat, was distinctly marked all round with a water-mark, from seven to eight inches high. As I could by no means admit the idea of inundation, I could in no manner account for the appearance; and was compelled to seek information from others. I give you the result of my enquiries.

In the spring of 1805, the Ohio and the Muskingum rose at the same time, to a more than ordinary height. The first flowed in a volume so impetuous across the mouth of the latter, that it entirely stopped its course, and forced a return of the water by the revolving instrument of a newly-created counter-current. The Ohio remaining for near six weeks as a strong wall and rampart against the mouth of the Muskingum, caused that river's waters at length to back and multiply to such a degree, that they overflowed its banks, and inundated every plain to which it could gain access. This inundation being obstructed by the mountain in the rear of Marietta, was thrown towards the

Ohio, and taking Marietta in its course, did great injury to the town; destroyed gardens and fences; carried off several frame-houses not firmly attached to the ground, and swept away every loose object, and every living thing not endowed with the faculty of holding on, and of consulting the best means of self-preservation. The flood descending rapidly into the Ohio, did her bank considerable injury; wore it into canals and gullies, and abridged the quay and promenade of the inhabitants. I consider this event as very alarming: its recurrence may, in some future period, with redoubled force, bear off the town and bank, "leaving not a wreck behind."

Fort Harmer, erected by the Americans when subjugating the Indians, is situated on the Muskingum, opposite to this town, and the town itself has in its centre the remains of an old log-guard, built at the same time, and for similar purposes.

Whoever delights in Indian antiquity, should explore this neighbourhood, and give the world some minute and historical sketches of the variety of its remains, said to consist of camps, forts, burial-grounds, &c. &c. As this must be a work of time connected with much perseverance, erudition, and interest, it is entirely out of my province; and I must leave it to those whose curiosity, leisure, and intelligence, may concur to induce them to make such interesting researches. Notwithstanding, I could not leave the place without taking a ramble to the spots where, by tradition, the monuments of Indian antiquity were said to abound:—the places pointed at, were the banks, hills, and head-waters of the Muskingum. You may be surprized to find me put so much faith in tradition, which you may conceive to be nothing more than fables founded on superstition, and clothed in the garb of an obscure mystery, calculated to deceive and mislead the multitude, with the view of working on their passions, and reducing them to an observance of certain rites, habits, and moral or religious institutions. This definition may apply to the traditions of the Eastern, but not to those of the Western world. Of the few axioms which compose the system of savage instruction, this is the principal, "*Be the lover of Truth.*" It is natural then to believe that the traditions of a people so instructed should be grounded on a fact, and though that fact might be disguised by embellishment, and strained by fancy, its immutability remains inviolate, and continues for ever the same. I am strengthened in these opinions, by the following anecdote.

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dote, which also proves, that a geographical accuracy exists in tradition, equal to the most historical guide.

A barrow of considerable extent and magnitude exists in a remote part of Virginia, and several miles distant from any public road. That portion of the country was formerly the property of a nation of Indians, who, driven from their possessions, crossed the mountains, descended towards "the land of the sleeping sun," and finally pitched their tents in the plains of Indiana, where the Great Spirit was often known to dwell, and to interpose his strength in favour of the unhappy.

After a lapse of eighty years of continued sufferings and adversity; after the conclusion of the Indian war, carried on by the States with the design to annihilate the Indian name and power, a party of the descendants of this nation proceeded through Virginia with an interpreter, to Congress, in order to demand their rights, or to sue for a remuneration of those so unjustly violated, and torn from them. On coming into the latitude of the barrow of their ancestors, where were deposited "the bones of their fathers," they struck to it directly through the woods, without any instructions or inquiry; and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had purposely left for several miles, to pay this solemn and pious visit, and then pursued their journey.

Can you now deny some degree of belief to Indian tradition? Surely this anecdote is of the finest interest, and induces the mind not only to belief but to admiration; and to every sentiment which distinguishes the moral and human part of the world.

Having made arrangements for an absence of a few days, I provided myself with an excellent tinder-box, some biscuit and salt, (articles absolutely necessary to an explorer) and arming Cuff with a good axe and rifle, taking myself a fowling-piece oft tried, and followed by a faithful dog, I crossed the ferry of the Muskingum, having learned that the left hand side of that river was the most accessible, and the most abundant in the curiosities and other objects of my research. The Muskingum is two hundred and eighty yards wide at its mouth, and two hundred yards at the lower Indian towns, one hundred and fifty miles upwards. It is navigable for small batteaux, to within one mile of a navigable part of Cayahoga River, which runs into Lake Erie.

On traversing the valley between Fort Harmer and the mountains, I determined to take the high grounds, and after some difficulty ascended an eminence which commanded a view in one direction from off the river into the Ohio; in another up the river a few miles, and over a large tract of hilly back country; and, nearly directly across the Muskingum could be seen Marietta; her gardens, poplar trees, ship-yards, public buildings, and her highly cultivated plains, extending in a narrow breadth along the Ohio many interesting miles. After a very short inspection, and cursory examination, it was very evident that the spot on which I stood, had been occupied by the Indians, either as a place of observation or a strong-hold. The exact summit of the hill I found to be artificial: it expressed an oval (agreeing with the natural form of the foundation) forty-five feet by twenty-three, and was composed apparently of earth and stone, though no stone of a similar character appeared near. The base of the oval was girded by a wall in a state of too great decay to justify any calculation; and the whole was so covered with heavy timber, and a bed of such thick bars, that I despaired of gaining any farther knowledge, and would have instantly left the place, had I not been detained by Cuff, whom I saw occupied in endeavouring to introduce a pole in a small opening between two flags near the root of a tree which grew on the crown of the oval or summit of the hill. He told me he was sure that he had found the burrow of a ground-hog, or rattle-snake's nest, and as I had brought no provision but biscuit, it might be well to look out for supper in time. Though this fare was not of a very inviting nature, or consistent with my feelings and habits, I gratified the fellow's whim, and assisted him to remove, first, all the leaves and rubbish, and next the large stones, under which we expected to find a litter of wild pigs, or a nest of rattle-snake-lings.

The flags were too heavy to be removed by the mere power of hands. Two good oak poles were cut in lieu of leavers and crows. Clapping these into the orifice first discovered, we weighed a large flag stone, and on tilting it over, we each assumed a guard, and waited a few moments, in silent expectation of hearing the hissing of vermin, or the rustling of beasts. Nothing was heard. We resumed our labour, cast out a number of stones, leaves, and earth; and cleared a surface seven feet by five, which had been covered upwards of fifteen inches deep, with flat stones, principally lying on each other with their edges pointing above the ha-

rizon. The surface we had cleared offered insuperable difficulties. It was a plain superficies composed of but three stones of such apparent magnitude, that Cuff began to think we should find under them neither snake nor wild hog. "If we look for supper under these stones," says my humble companion, "the moon will shine on an empty stomach, and that is not lucky the first night of a voyage." Having once begun, I was not to be diverted from the task. Stimulated by obstruction, and animated by other views than hogs, snakes, and supper, I had made a couple of paddles of hickory shovels, and setting to work, undermined the surface; and, after much toil and exertion, slid the stones off, and laid the space open to my view. I expected to find a cavern. In fact, my imagination was warmed by a certain design, I thought I discovered. The manner the stones were placed led me to conceive the existence of a vault filled with the riches of antiquity, or crowded with the treasures of the most ancient world. A bed of sand was all that appeared under the flags I cast off, and as I knew sand not to be nearer than the bed of the Muskingum, a design was again so manifest as to encourage my proceeding, and the sand, which was about a foot deep, was soon removed. The design and labour of man was now unequivocal. The space out of which these materials were taken, left a hollow in an oblong square, lined with stones, on the ends and sides: and paved with square stones, on the apparent bottom or upper surface, exactly fitting together, in diameter about nine inches. I picked these up with the nicest care, and again came to a bed of sand, the removal of which left my vault, as it now evidently shewed itself, near three feet deep, presenting another bottom or surface composed of small square cut stones, fitted with such art, that I had much difficulty in discovering many of the places where they met. These displaced, I came to a substance, which, on the most critical examination, I judged to be a mat or mats in a state of entire decomposition and decay. Reverence and care increasing with the progress already made, I took up this impalpable powder with my hands, and fanned off the remaining dust with my hat. Great indeed was my recompense for this industry! Grand was the reward of my persevering labour and strengthened hopes! There appeared before me; there existed under my feet, a beautiful tessellated pavement of small coloured stones; the colours and stones arranged in such a manner as to express harmony and shades, and to pourtray the full-

length figure of a warrior, under whose feet a snake was exhibited in ample folds. To tread on a pavement of such exquisite beauty and workmanship, formed by hands centuries ago, and by the ancestors of a race of people now rejected and despised, could not be done without an awful emotion.

Overcome by feelings I could neither combat or suppress, I remained for some time silent and inactive, and at length rose out of the vault, to recover my usual energy and strength of mind. I had also spent the best part of the day; evening was fast approaching, and I had formed no plan for the accommodation of the night. I resolved to remain where I was. A good fire being made, I sent Cuff with the rifle into the woods, that is, into a part which appeared likely to harbour wild turkeys, and directed him to *steer* for my fire on his return, and not to remain after the fall of night. Overjoyed at the prospect of his excursion, he had not left me two minutes before he commenced his notes. They at first appeared high and multifarious, or without any ultimate end, but before he had gone three hundred yards, they subsided into the proper modulation of a parent turkey calling around her tender young. From this he never varied while he could be heard.

Left to myself I felt more at liberty. Like a miser, I wished, uninterrupted to examine my treasure. I again descended into the vault, occupied with the desire of being able to separate the pavement in such a manner, and to imprint on every stone such marks as would enable me to put it together at any future period, and bring it home for the advantage and delight of the curious world. I had made but very little progress before I discovered the impracticability of my intention. No part of the pavement was exactly of the tessellate character, except the space between the outlines of the figures and the sides and ends of the entire space. The body of the figure was composed of dyed woods, bone, and a variety of small bits of terreous and testaceous substances, most of which crumbled into dust on being removed and exposed to the open air. My regret and disappointment were very great, as I had flattered myself that the whole was stone, and susceptible of being taken up in high preservation. Little more than the actual pavement could be preserved; it is composed of flat stones, one inch deep, two inches square, and the prevailing colours are white, green, dark-blue, and pale spotted red: all of which are peculiar to the lakes, and not to be had nearer.

They are evidently known and filled with a precision which proves them to have been but from one common example. The whole was affixed in a thin layer of sand, which covered a large piece of beech-bark in great decay, whose removal exposed what I was fully prepared to discover from all the previous indications, the remains of a human skeleton of uncommon magnitude, extended in a bark shell, which also contained, 1st. An earthen urn, or rather pot of earthen ware, in which were several small broken bones, and some white sediment. The urn appears to be made of sand and flint vitrified, rings like a rummer glass, holds about two gallons, has a top or cover of the same material, and resists fire as completely as iron or brass. 2. A stone hatchet with a groove round the pole, by which it was fastened with a withe to the handle. 3. Twenty-four arrow points made of flint and bone, and lying in a position which betrayed their having belonged to a quiver. 4. A quantity of beads, round, oval, and square; coloured green, black, white, blue, and yellow. 5. A conch shell, decomposed into a substance like chalk. This shell is fourteen inches long and twenty-three in circumference: larger than any other I have seen or heard of the kind. 6. Under a heap of dust, and tenuous shreds of feathered cloth and hair, a parcel of brass rings cut, by an art unknown to me, out of a solid piece of that metal, and in such a manner that the rings are suspended from each other, without the aid of solder or any other visible agency whatever. Each ring is three inches in diameter, and has an horizontal circumference half an inch wide, on both sides of which are strongly etched, a variety of characters resembling Chinese, the decyphering of which, my scanty erudition has no pretensions to reach.

Of the skeleton I have preserved a small part of the vertebral column: a portion of the skull; a part of the under jaw, inclosing two grinders of great size; the bones of the thighs and legs, and some melecarki of the hands and feet. The ribs, clavicles, vertebræ of the neck and spine, &c. were nearly an impalpable powder, or entirely consumed. Judging from comparison and analogy, the being to whom these remains belonged could not have been less than seven feet high. That he was a king, sachem or chief of a very remote period, there can be no manner of doubt. The distinction, ingenuity, labour, and care, with which he was buried, and the mausoleum constructed for him alone, on an eminence above the multitude, and its disregarded dead,

proclaims this beyond dispute; and, from the subjects found in the interments, the following (at least, and perhaps many more) useful conclusions may be drawn. 1. The Indians of the most remote antiquity possessed the art of making potter's ware, in a perfection unknown to the present times, in as much as theirs is light, strong, transparent, and capable of enduring fires. 2. It does not appear that they were acquainted with the use of iron when they employed stone hatchets and flint, and bone arrow points. 3. That they had the science of impregnating stones, wood, and shells, with a variety of colours, is manifest from the pavement and beads, and figures, which have tints which we know they are by nature denied. 4. That they had a communication with the sea, though distant from them two thousand miles, or that the sea was once more in their vicinity, is implied by the conch, which contained a marine animal, incapable of subsisting in any other than salt water. 5. The tenuous shreds of feathered cloth, worked on woven hair, announce some intercourse with South America, and a knowledge of its manufactures, as the feathers of the northern birds are not calculated for show, nor are any nations north of Mexico acquainted with their fabrication. 6. That they knew the use and properties of brass is very clear, and that they could work it with skill, is equally evident. 7. If the characters on the rings be in fact Chinese, or if they bear a strong and significant analogy to them, it again justifies a suspicion which formerly prevailed, that a communication early existed between Asia and America, since destroyed by some violent agitation of the earth at the Straits of Beering, or by a reverse of climate which renders that passage inaccessible, and too difficult and cold for the powers and temperament now accorded to man. 8. If the characters on the rings be original, and unknown to any other of the nations of the earth, it must shew that the use of letters and the art of engraving were known to American tribes many ages since, and also prove that when we speak of America as a new country, on which science never shone, and in which social arts, agriculture and commerce, never flourished, we arrogate to ourselves more information than we are entitled to, and betray a presumption and ignorance for which we ought to blush. And 9. The remarkable size of the skeleton would signify that the Indians of every time were fond of associating in their chiefs, physical as well as mental endowments. That this king should unite a gigantic form to wisdom and intrepidity of heart, appears



to have been ever their favourite principle. Even the few scattered nations which still remain, and whose monarchs are elective, betray this passion in their choice, and pay much more deference to a prince of inordinate stature than to one of common magnitude. The present chief of the Osage, a warlike nation inhabiting the borders of the Missouri, is full seven feet high, and every way proportionate, a distinctive qualification well known of various other American chiefs. It is true, at the same time, that the principal of the great Miami tribe, living near the waters of Antaria, is a poor diminutive creature, called by his people, the "*Little Snake*;" but his instance is a very honourable exception to a vulgar and general predilection. The "*Little Snake*," during the Indian war, was the first in the council, and second to none in the field. In proportion as he became terrible to his enemies, he was the pride and praise of his friends; the title of the "*Little Snake*" (implying his wisdom and power to injure) was conferred upon him; he was unanimously elected chief, and the world had to witness the fine spectacle of several thousand Indians casting off their prejudices, and doing homage to virtue and the endowments of the mind.

There is no doubt but that this monument and these remains merit a more ample speculation than I have afforded them. Perhaps my few remarks may suggest to you and others ideas of a happier and more material nature. If they cause a brighter coruscation of genius to break from minds of stronger cast than mine, or if they produce arguments and philosophy of a more judicious and less feeble character than themselves, formed as they were at the moment from the impulse of feelings and the tyranny of circumstance, I shall be content, and in the place of imposing instruction, I shall be found solicitous to receive information.

I returned the particular objects nearly to their respective situations, and with the assistance of Cuff, who had but just returned, carried them in such a manner that they could not be injured by the weather or violated by other hands; it being my intention on my return down the river to secure them with care and take them into my boat.

Cuff had succeeded so well, that he had great hopes his residence among Christians had not entirely obliterated his savage virtues. His imitative powers were still in such perfection, that the wild turkeys acknowledged his voice, and the life of one of them paid for their credulity. He brought

me a fine turkey of the last year, fat, and weighing about sixteen pounds. As the night was well set in, and the day had been laborious, no time was lost in preparing supper, that is, in broiling a part of the turkey on some bright embers, and laying it on some green leaves before us, with some good biscuit, and a bottle of water from an adjacent spring. I relished this primitive entertainment as well as any of the sumptuous banquets, it has at times fallen to my lot to partake of in Europe.

The wild turkey is excellent food, and has this remarkable property, that the fat is never offensive to the stomach.

When Kentucky was first settled, it abounded with turkeys to such a degree, that the settlers said the light was often interrupted by them. Though this may be considered a figure, still it is well known that they were extremely numerous, so much so, that he was esteemed an indifferent sportsman who could not kill a dozen in a day. Even at this time they are sold in Lexington market for half a dollar a pair. They are, notwithstanding, becoming very scarce, and, addicted as all classes of people in that state are to an intemperate predilection for destroying every living aboriginal creature, their total extinction must be near at hand. They yet abound in the Ohio state, and possibly will for many years; till it becomes more peopled.

I cannot pretend that wild turkeys differ in any striking manner from the domestic ones I have every where seen, except the length of their wings; their superior plumage, their attitude, and lively expression in walking. The cock too has a beard composed of about one hundred hairs, which hangs like a streamer from under the beak. The hair is thicker than a pig's bristle, and the length accords with the age. In the young the beard is hardly perceptible, in the old it descends more than half a foot. I have killed a wild turkey cock which weighed thirty pounds, and whose beard was ten inches long: the flesh was execrable, nearly as hard as iron, and as black as jet. The young on the contrary, are white and tender, delicate meat, and of exquisite flavour.

Wild turkeys are gregarious, the flocks from fifty to sixty. They are migratory: they winter to the southward, and return in the spring to the deepest recesses of the woods, where they construct their nests with such care and concealment, that few instances ever occur of the eggs or young being found. Where eggs have been obtained, and hatched under a domestic turkey, the young shew great disposi-

tion to thrive, and remain about the house very contentedly, till their first spring, when they rise, without indicating a previous talent for flying, into the air, take a few circles round the heads of their old friends, and make for a wilderness whence they never more return.

Having chatted with my Mandau associate for some time, on this, and other subjects, the hours were so much beguiled, that it was full time to make some kind of shade under which to rest. This was done in a few moments: two forked poles were cut and driven in the ground, six feet from each other. A third pole was cut, and placed on three forks: against this upper cross pole were laid branches so matted with shrubs, that by lying to leeward no wind could be felt, and, by making a bed of dry leaves of good depth, and keeping the feet towards the fire, no cold or inconvenience could be apprehended. For fear this preparatory business should expose you to too sleepy a visitation, and my letter to contempt, I close for the present.

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## LETTER XV.

*Indian Incantations and Charms—Priests—Their extraordinary Knowledge and Gifts—Interesting Explanation of the Cause—Very remarkable Antiquities—Encounter with a Rattlesnake, which is killed—Deer—Wild Turkeys—Lanesville—Farther very remote and grand Antiquities—Golden Treasure found—The Bubble bursts.*

*Marietta, June, 1806.*

I PASSED the night near the mausoleum, without any other interruption than what proceeded from the howl of hungry wolves, exasperated on seeing a fire keep from them victims they durst not approach. I also had to renew the fire, and to suffer Cuff to perform certain rites and incantations, in the manner of his country, and which had the faculty of checking the advances of snakes. He expressed these offices by stalking several times round our tent. His gesticulation was strong, and his cries horrible. He also uttered some barbarous words; described a circle on each round with the end of a stick, and, after shedding certain leaves on the circle, he concluded with three more infer-

nal yells, and then, under a decided impression or strong conviction of safety, cast himself near me on his *berth*. It would seem, that priestcraft, connected as it is in the native ministers of this country, with an affectation of sorcery and supernatural power, gains great dominion over every savage mind, and disposes to the belief and practice of every absurdity. There are, therefore, no people more under the subjugation of superstition, or who exercise such a variety of charms and exorcisms as the Indians; in the uses and particular terms and applications of which they are instructed with the utmost precision, by their priests and physicians: those two professions being always united in one character. The priests, savage and untutored as they were, saw, at a very early period, that to establish their fame, and an ample sway over the public mind, it was necessary for them on every essential occasion, to manifest infinite skill; and to prove that they were the favourite children of the Great Spirit, by his having endowed them with a portion of his power, and given them permission to display that power in public exhibitions of extraordinary miracles. Hence, from the most early ages, have they been going about healing wounds, curing inveterate diseases, and giving ocular demonstration of their dominion over all descriptions of envenomed and noxious reptiles, by suffering them to twine round their bodies, and passing through their fingers and hair, without inflicting on them any manner of injury. So complete is the tyranny they have established over rattlesnakes, and others armed with weapons equally deadly, that they lure them from their deepest retreats, and make them fly from or follow them by apparent command\*.

As this preternatural knowledge and powers are exhibited in the face of day, before multitudes, the respect shown to the priest, and the observance paid their instruction and precepts, cease to be the object of surprise; and the mind fastens on a true ground for admiration and astonishment, and asks from what authority do the Indian priests derive the power of curing disease, and of subjugating the most malignant creatures of the reptile world? The question is very comprehensive, and no doubt, sufficient to invite the investigation of the learned. For my part, not having taste for elaborate discussion, or talent for metaphysical research, I am reduced to answer the question nearly in a word: "They

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\* It is remarkable, that in Egypt, the sect of Sadi possess similar power over snakes.—EDITOR.

derive their knowledge and their power from the great book of Nature which a beneficent God has laid open before them." On assuming the united offices of physician and priest, they soon became conscious that any attribute or reverence to be accorded to their character of priest, was to be drawn from the skill and acquirements they could display in their profession of physician. To obtain that skill, and those acquirements, they have to study Nature, and that they do with the most unwearied assiduity and application. Their own particular saying is, "*Nature produces nothing for nothing*;" implying that whatever is, is for some particular end and purpose. This leads them to investigate the properties of things, the qualities of plants, and the nature of simples, in order to make them subservient to their will, and applicable to their exigencies. They were evidently conducted to these interesting inquiries, and to the useful knowledge resulting from them, by observing, that the animals of the forests and fields, with whom they in a manner associated, on eating any noxious herb, had immediate recourse to a salutary one, which counteracted the poison of the other. They also observed, that many plants and herbs were purgative, others astringent. To these, and many others, they perceived animals in a state of sickness drawn by a secret impulse, whilst those in health passed them by in disgust. Animals bitten by venomous reptiles, and impregnated by the strongest virus, were seen to seek a peculiar plant to recover their energy and strength; and these reptiles in their turn have been known to betray violent apprehension at the approach of a hog, and to shew such antipathy to certain herbs, trees, and plants, as to suffer death sooner than avoid it by passing over them. Objects too have been discovered, to which snakes in particular, have such passion and attachment, that they abandon their security, and face every danger to enjoy them.

Armed with all this knowledge, the priests come before the world as persons inspired. Knowing that their science would have little eclat if known to have been acquired in the fields, and from the animals in the forests and woods, they never display any part of it without wild cries, and horrid gesticulation. Hence, whenever they administer the simple applicable to the disorder, they express cabalistical ejaculations, shrieks, and contortions, to impress on the patient's and public mind, an idea that the cure is to proceed from their mysterious proceedings, which alone gives operation and virtue to the remedies they administer. On heal-

ing sores with warm medicaments; on curing agues in baths of hot vegetable steam; on removing stitches, spasms, and pluries by sudorifics, and the diarrhœa by astringents, &c. &c. they perform a multitude of rites, and as their patients for the most part recover, the whole is ascribed to the charm, and the people adopt the words, spells, incantations, and exorcisms of the priests, under every affliction and disease,—whether proceeding from an unknown cause, or from the bite of venomous animals. From their habits of life, Indians are often exposed to this last calamity, and the priests in consequence, have to instruct each individual to know the antidote, and to give it efficacy by gesture and incantation. They also instruct the whole tribe in a manner of sleeping in the open air, and in the utmost safety, though surrounded by snakes, not one of which dare approach them. The instruction consists in taking a stick and leaves from a certain tree; with the point of the stick describe a ring round the sleeping ground; place on the ring the leaves, and on doing this perform certain ceremonies. This process to be renewed at intervals of waking. This is all the knowledge they impart to the tribe, and this is highly efficacious and valuable; for rejecting the folly of the use of words and exorcism, merely given to convey a high notion of superior power, the antidotes and herbs pointed out, are certain cures, and the simple action of drawing a line with a *black ash stick*, and strewing on the line some leaves of the same tree, is known to be entirely sufficient to hinder any snake from crossing the line, and to deter him from interrupting any thing within side of it. So great is their terror to this timber, that they are never known to inhabit where it grows; and if a branch of black ash be suddenly cast before a rattlesnake, apprehension and fear instantly seize him: his rattle ceases; his passion subsides; and groveling, timid, yet disquiet, he takes a large circuit to pass the branch, or more probably entirely retires.

The renewal of the operation of describing the circle, and strewing the leaves, is evidently for fear the smell should be faded, or the leaves driven off by the wind.

As to the familiarity subsisting between the priests and the snakes, the principle of which they withhold from the multitude, it is to be accounted for in a way no doubt equally simple. They are, as I observed, acquainted with herbs and other substances, for which the snakes entertain the most inordinate apprehension and antipathy, or else the most decided attachment and attraction. Alternately armed

with these, the priests make them fly from, or approach them; and when their hands and bodies are washed with a decoction of the black ash-leaves or trunk, the snakes will writhe about them in a kind of suffering and terror, but never attempt to bite. Making the snakes dance, and move in a variety of forms in a certain place, is nothing more than what I have so often stated, either marking or strewing the borders of the enclosure with the object for which they entertain the greatest antipathy, or, what is more likely, the greatest terror and apprehension. I need hardly tell you, that the stick and leaves employed by Cuff were of the black ash, which he purposely brought out of the low woods for our protection. His words, cries, and features, exactly accord to the instructions given his tribe; and to them alone he attributes any virtue: the stick and leaves being only as a wand, or necessary instrument in the great work. I asked him whether he would not the next time merely describe the circle and strew the leaves? he answered, he durst not, as the Great Spirit might be angry if he attempted to take from him the power and the praise." I saw it was in vain to make him think otherwise, and deemed it almost a crime to shake such firm belief; I therefore hastened my departure, and left the mausoleum by the first light of day.

On quitting the spot, a variety of appearances confirmed my original opinion, that it had been an advanced guard picket post, or place of look-out. That the oval and rampart were not constructed for a barrow, or for an individual's monument, in the first instance, is very certain, as in either case the skeletons or skeleton would have been deposited at the base, this being the practice of all Indian tribes.

Apprehending that a camp and Indian settlement of antiquity could not be far distant, I took a north-westerly direction, leaving on my right the river, whose course was N. E. by S. W. I had walked but one hour before I arrived at a place which bore strong indications of the object of my research. It was a small valley between two mountains, which suffered the waters of a clear creek to find a passage to the Muskingum. On exploring some time, I discovered the actual remains of a very ancient settlement. They consisted of, first, a wall or rampart of earth, of about nine feet, perpendicular elevation, and thirty feet across the base. The rampart was of a semicircular form; its diameter one hundred paces, bounded by the creek. On crossing the creek, I found a similar rampart placed in such a position, that the work must have been a true circle inter-

cepted by the stream. After a minute examination, I could perceive very visible remains of elevated stone abutments of bridges, which served to connect the two semicircles in the centre, and at their divisions above and below the stream. The timber growing on the rampart, and within its circumference, is principally red oak of great age and magnitude, some of the trees in a state of decay, being not less than seven feet diameter. Second, higher up, and to where the creek runs in a very contracted channel, caused by the approach of the mountains, the sides and passage through which appear entirely inaccessible, are several mounds of earth, standing at equal distances from each other, and forming three semicircular streets, which crossed the creek, or, perhaps I may be better understood by saying, that sixty mounds, placed so as to describe portions of a very large circle, and expressing the figure of a quadrant, lay at each side of the creek: and as these two quadrants were also united together by two bridges, whose remains are distinct, when taken in one point of view, they should represent a semicircle, whose base would be exactly above the camp. On each side of the mountain, and parallel with the mounds, are two barrows nearly thirty feet long, twelve high, and seventeen wide at the base. These barrows are composed principally of stone taken out of the creek—notwithstanding here is produced timber of fine growth.

The mounds hitherto discovered in America have been taken for *tumuli*, or mausoleums of the distinguished dead—the barrows, for the common sepulchres of the multitude. The judgment on the latter subject is perfectly correct, that on the former I presume erroneous. That the mounds in question are not *tumuli*, there can be no manner of question. Their order, number, and arrangement, are such, as entirely to preclude an idea of the kind. In all probability they are the ruins of the houses of an Indian village, which, having fallen in on desecration, earth, leaves, and various substances, drifted on them by the winds of ages, filled up all inequalities, and gave them the conical figure they now possess. Their proximity to, and the protection afforded them by the circular fort, is another evidence of their having been the houses of a town, the dead of which were deposited in the adjacent barrows.

Presuming it to have been a small town, I can conceive nothing more safe or romantic than its site. The country behind it inaccessible; high mountains on each side, and a beautiful stream, valley, and fortification, in front. It is



more than probable, that the post at which I passed the night, was the advanced guard of the camp; that post could convey an alarm, if any thing important occurred on the Ohio side. Encouraging this idea, and seeing a very commanding eminence about three miles higher up, and near the Muskingum, I directly waded for it, and immediately discovered it to be nearly similar to the ground on which I had slept the night before. The appearances were too strong to admit of but one opinion, which was, that it was a place of look-out, or beacon, communicating with the former one, and with the settlement I had just left. I took the pains of clearing the top of the eminence, which was more of an obliterated circle than an oval, but I could not discover any stone or any mark which might lead to a supposition of its being a barrow or place of interment. The country above was hilly, yet not so high as to intercept the view for a presumed distance of twenty miles. After a hasty repast, I proceeded toward that range, and encountered nothing remarkable, if I except the immense quantity of quails I met in the valleys, thirteen of which I killed in three shots. I also saw, for the first time this season, several rattlesnakes running themselves on the south sides of stony banks. On hearing my dog bark as if at an object he durst not spring upon, and at the same time hearing a quick and irritated rattle, I passed to the direction of the noise, and found the dog running at and from a rattlesnake, whose head stood erect about four feet from a coil of several folds, and whose tail, moving with rapid vibration, was disengaged from the coil to emit a warning or deadly sound. The dog refused to be called off, and in proportion as he barked and ran in and off, the snake increased in agitation and fury; at times feigning to strike, and others casting off a wind of his coil, awaiting a grand opportunity of striking in reality. He emitted his crimson tongue with great velocity; his eyes glared fire, his head swelled to a violent degree, and his throat shone in great variety of beautiful and vivid colours. He had arrived at the acmé of his choler; he was even poisoning himself with the determination to give the fatal blow, when, attachment to my dog sinking all considerations of personal safety, I rushed on, and dragged him off. The poor Mandanean took the same eventful instant to strike the snake with a long stick he had prepared for the purpose. The first blow brought him down, but with unimpaired vigour, till he fastened on the stick, with the intention of wreaking on it the whole of his wrath and

vengeance. So much was he occupied by this determined spirit, and engaged on the stick, that Cuff, on giving him a blow or two more, run in and struck his head off with the axe. This last act produced a horrid effect, the body, preserving all the principles of life, described a sphere from the ground, under which a man could pass; it then assumed as many undulations as its length and volume would allow, and finally rolled along the earth till it came in contact with a tree, round which it once more coiled, and against which it beat its extremities with a violence that soon destroyed the power of action and resistance, and left the creature with unfolded involutions, exanimate round the root of the tree. The head remained attached so firmly to the stick, as not to be shaken off, nor was I disposed to make many efforts for that purpose. Cuff was tempted very strongly to carry away a piece of the snake, which he asserted to be most delicious meat, and far superior to the birds he carried in his bag. To this I could not listen, but directed him cautiously to separate the rattle from the body, and lay it carefully up. I also extended the whole animal, though he was far from being dead, and found his length to be, allowing for rattle and head, twelve feet; and his circumference over the shoulders fifteen inches. The rattle was composed of eleven joints. The head was so inflated, and expressive of much horror and poisonous malignity, that I had not courage to give it any investigation. I pursued my journey, and confess to you, without any desire of meeting a Quixote adventure. On the contrary, I had to walk several hours before I could shake off the influence of terror and the gloom of apprehension.

Reaching, by four o'clock, a very fine spring, and being considerably weary, I halted, made a fire, and dressed a few quails on the embers. In size and flavour they resemble your English partridges; but their habits and form rank them under the species of quail. Without disturbing myself respecting their natural history, I made an excellent repast, and resumed my route much refreshed, and resolved by night to gain the top of the mountain, which I had previously pitched upon and observed in the morning. On the way I was crossed by a very fine herd of deer, exactly like the European, only somewhat larger in size. They turned to gaze, and passed on a round trot till I fired a rifle-shot, which bringing one of them down, the rest went off with the speed of the wind, nor heeded Cuff, who essayed all their various plaints and cries to retard and allure them.

As evening approached, I was much pleased to come in view of a flock of wild turkeys. I wished to have an opportunity of observing their action; the one afforded me was of the best it possibly could be: they were travelling before me, therefore occasioned no loss of way. The flock consisted of about thirty-four, on the ground, searching for food: they were not considerably alarmed till I had approached them within sixty yards. They then moved on a kind of long hop and run, stopped, and as we gained on them, proceeded in the same way. On a nearer approach, they took short flights, rose above the trees, and lighted upon them at intermediate spaces of about thirty rods. At every rest I instructed Cuff to gobble in their manner. This act appeared to attract their attention and retard their flight; and, what was of more consequence, they made responses, which guided our pursuit when they were obstructed from view by the thick ombrage of the woods, and the fast approach of night. They finally went a more considerable distance; and as I judged, to a favourite place of roost. I still had the good fortune to keep in their track, and to come directly on the spot they had chosen for their rest. They rose up with much perturbation and noise, and again descended to rest. The whole gang occupied four trees, and still they rose, fell, and acted with one accord. I resolved to fire on them. I had heard, that whenever wild turkeys settled to roost, there they remained in despite of all opposition. My motive in firing then was to ascertain the fact. On the first shot they all rose with great clamour about thirty yards above the summits of the trees, and as instantaneously descended direct upon them. On firing again, similar circumstances occurred, and at a third discharge no variation succeeded, nor did they betray the least disposition to depart effectually and remove their quarters. My first discharge was with ball, which brought down a very fine bird, the two last merely powder; but I regard the fact to be ascertained as firmly as if I had killed the whole flock. This dull propensity in these animals must ultimately operate to their destruction. There is no manner of doubt but, had such a flock come within reach of a sportsman of the Virginia shore, he would have brought every one of them to the ground.

We proceeded to Lanesville, where learning from the inhabitants, that the neighbourhood was surrounded by Indian remains, and they offering their assistance, we agreed to proceed together, and make one grand scrutiny and syste-

matic research. Inquiry soon instructed us in what direction to seek the most extensive ruins of the labours of former times. We found it to be five miles due west. The ruins were magnificent in a high degree, and consisted of mounds, barrows, and ramparts, but of such variety of form, and covering so immense a track of ground, that it would take ten days to survey, still more to describe them. I made out an authority however, to back an opinion I entertained, that the Indians, though they generally preferred a circular fort to all others, still built forts of a different construction, when confined by ground and other particular exigencies. In the present instance, it was evident, that the whole ruins were situated in a plain of a triangular figure, formed by the intersection of one mountain with another. Towards the angle bounded by the junction of the mountains, were placed the mounds and barrows, and in the front the ramparts, extended in the figure of a triangle, composed of two acute and one obtuse angle, the obtuse forming the centre and front of the plain. The exact length of the sides I could not ascertain, both from obstruction and their extent. I made an effort and advanced three hundred yards, but did not at all approach the conclusion of one side. Some swamps and a multitude of snakes prevented my proceeding.

The principal object was, however, to ascertain the contents of the different objects. I give you my notes. First, a large barrow to the south was thrown open by making a ditch across it from east to west. Three feet below the surface was fine mould, underneath which were small flat stones, lying regularly on a strata of gravel brought from the mountain in the vicinity. This last covered the remains of a human skeleton, which fell into impalpable powder when touched and exposed to air. Towards the base of the barrow, we came to three tier more of substances placed in similar rotation and regularity. And as the skeletons formed two rows four tier deep, separated by little more than a flag stone between the feet of one skeleton and the head of another, it is probable that the entire barrow contained about two thousand skeletons, in a greater state of decay than any I ever yet examined. In this search a well carved stone-pipe, expressing a bear's head, and some arrow flint-points, were found, together with some fragments of pottery of fine texture. Second, we perforated, and even perfectly laid open, several mounds: they contained nothing whatever remarkable, except some pieces of black substance representing mineral coal; but which, on a nearer inspec-

tion, appeared to have been wood, and to have retained every trace and character of timber but colour and weight; the one being a deep black, and the other of three times the density of ebony or iron wood! When put into a fire made by the people, it emitted much smoke, blue blaze, smell of sulphur, and very gradually consumed. Third, the rampart, though opened in three distinct places, afforded no variety. The composition was earth and stones lying in a manner that betrayed some design in the original construction. The plain, and all the artificial objects upon its surface, grew some of the heaviest timber in the western. Taking this for date, the ruins may be deemed as ancient as any in the world.

Our views effected, and on our return from the mounds, through the angular fort, our attention was attracted by a small swell on a part of the ground, which might have been nearly the centre of the fort. Some thought it a natural wave of the earth, and of this opinion I should have been, had I not perceived a remarkable singularity. Although more than thirty feet in diameter, it had on it neither shrub, tree, nor any thing but a multitude of pink and purple flowers. We came to an opinion that it was artificial, and as it differed in form and character from the mounds, we resolved to lay it open, though not before every person surmised its contents and properties. It was cast open to the level of the plain, without rewarding labour or curiosity. Vexed at such ill success, I jumped from the bank among the hands, in order to take a spade and encourage them to dig somewhat deeper. At this instant the ground gave way, and involved us all in earth and ruin! You may conceive what a cry issued from such an unexpected tomb! But it was soon followed by much mirth and laughter. No person was hurt. Nor was the fall above three feet. I had great difficulty to prevail on any person to resume the labour; and had to explore the place myself, and sound it with a pole before we could renew our pursuit. At length we removed the earth, and found that a parcel of timbers had given way, which covered the orifice of a square hole seven feet by four, and four deep, nearly under the centre of the swell or mound. That it was a sepulchre was unanimously agreed, till we found it in vain to look for bones or any substance similar to them in decomposition. At the depth of three feet, however, we struck an object which would neither yield to the spade nor emit any sound; on persevering still farther, we found the obstruction, which was uni-

form through the pit, to proceed from rows of large spherical bodies, at first taken to be stones. Several of them were cast up to the surface: they were exactly alike: perfect globes, nine inches in diameter, and about twenty pounds weight. The superficies of one, when cleaned and scraped with knives, appeared like a ball of base metal, so strongly impregnated with the dust of gold, that the baseness of the metal itself was nearly altogether obscured. The clamour was so great, and joy so exuberant, that no opinion but one was admitted, and no voice could be heard while the cry of, "'tis gold! 'tis gold!" resounded through the groves. Having determined on this important point, we formed a council respecting the distribution of the treasure, and each individual in the joy of his heart, declared publicly the use he proposed to make of the part allotted to his share. The Englishman concluded that he would return to England, being certain, *from experience*, that there was no country like it. A German of our party said he would never have quitted the Rhine, had he had money enough to rebuild his barn which was blown down by a high wind, but that he would return to the very spot from whence he came, and prove to his neighbours that he loved his country as well as another, when he had the means of doing well. An Irishman swore damnation the day longer he'd stay in America, but gave no motive for his determination; and my Mestizo appeared to think that were he to purchase some beads, rum, and blankets, and return to his own nation, he might become Sachem, and keep the finest Syaws of it. For my part, I saw in the treasure the ample means of visiting other climes, and my imagination traversed South America, Africa, Asia, and the few parts of Europe I had not before explored. Such were our various views. The most remarkable trait they suggest, is, that though in America, and filled with all the dreams that have been related of its felicities and wealth, not one of the party had ever thought of remaining, or of making it a perpetual residence!

Reserving but one globe of gold, or at least one ball of mixed gold, we carefully secured the remainder of the treasure, and returned to Lanesville, famished and weary, yet elated, and after a hasty repast, we, with much privacy and precaution, subjected our gold to the ordeal of fire, and stood around its operation in silence, and fearful to regard each other or to breathe. The dreadful element which was to confirm or to consume our hopes, soon began to exercise

its various powers. In a few moments the ball turned black, filled the room with sulphureous smoke, emitted sparks and intermittent flames, and burst into ten thousand pieces! So great was the terror and suffocation, that all rushed into the street, and gazed on each other with a mixed expression of doubt and astonishment. The German took advantage of the interval to ask me to *lend* him a dollar, with which he walked away, without returning to examine the gold. The smoke subsided, we were enabled to discover the elements of our treasure: they consisted of some very fine ashes, and a great quantity of cinders perforated through and through. The disappointment soon wore off; we laughed heartily at our visionary views, and resolved not to be deceived by a ball of spirite another time. A ball of spirite!—It was nothing more. I understand the mountains abound with it; but how the Indians came to form it into spheres, and to preserve it in their camps, I remain entirely ignorant. They may have used them in religious rites, or in gymnastic exercises, for aught I know; or, what is still more interesting, they might have made them instrumental to purposes of war. I shall, however, extend my enquiries on this subject, and with some small hopes of success, as I learn that Colonel Ludlow of Cincinnati, has found balls of a similar composition and structure, and perhaps under circumstances that may assist to illumine their history and use.

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#### LETTER XVI.

*Little Kenhaway River—Belleprie—Bacchus's Island—Fine View of it—The House—Its elegant and interesting Inhabitants—A Rural Evening and Supper—Big Hockhocking River—New Lancaster Town—Its sudden Rise, and as sudden Decline by a contagious Sickness—Dutch Cupidity and its Consequences—Belleville Town and Island—The Devil's Creek—Letart's Falls—Danger of passing them, especially in the Night—Campaign Creek—Point Pleasant, a handsome little Town.*

*Point Pleasant, Great Kenhaway River, July, 1806.*

THE morning after the golden vision I purchased a small canoe for two dollars, and descended the Muskingum to Marietta, without any accident or incident worth re-

cording. On my arrival at Marietta, I perceived means to remove the relics I had the good fortune to discover on the first day of my excursion, and having got them and some necessaries into my boat, cast loose, and turned once more into the current of the Ohio.

In a run of ten miles I passed no less than four islands, and two miles more brought me up to the little Kenhaway river on the left side. The little Kenhaway is one hundred and fifty yards wide at its mouth. It yields a navigation of ten miles only. Perhaps its northern branch, called Junius's Creek, which interlocks with the western branch of the Monongahela, may one day admit a shorter passage from the latter to the Ohio. Opposite to this river is the town and settlement of Belleprie, three miles from which is Bacchus's island.

On leaving Marietta a lady and gentleman who had been on a visit there, desired a passage to the island. This request was with much pleasure granted, and I had only to lament that the voyage was so short, which was to terminate my acquaintance with persons so truly interesting and amiable. The island hove in sight to great advantage from the middle of the river, from which point of view little more appeared than the simple decorations of nature; trees, shrubs, and flowers of every perfume and kind. The next point of view on running with the current on the right hand side, varied to a scene of enchantment; a lawn, in the form of a fan inverted, presented itself: the nut forming the centre and summit of the island, and the broad segment the borders of the water. The lawn contained one hundred acres of the best pasture interspersed with flowering shrubs and clumps of trees, in a manner that conveyed a strong conviction of the taste and judgment of the proprietor. The house came into view at the instant I was signifying a wish that such a lawn had a mansion. It stands on the immediate summit of the island, whose ascent is very gradual; is snow white, three stories high, and furnished with wings which interlock the adjoining trees, confine the prospect, and intercept the sight of barns, stables, and out-offices, which are so often suffered to destroy the effect of the noblest views in England.

The full front of the house being the signal for pulling in for the island, we did so immediately, and fell below a small wharf that covered an eddy, and made the landing both easy and secure. There was no resisting the friendly importunity of my passengers: no excuse would be taken:



to stop the night at least, was insisted upon, and with a convincing expression that the desire flowed from hearts desirous not to be refused. There is something so irresistible in invitations of such a nature, that they cannot be denied. I gave instructions respecting my boat, and giving the lady my arm, we walked up the beautiful lawn, through which a winding path led to the house. It was tea time; that refreshment was served and conducted with a propriety and elegance which I never witnessed out of Britain. The conversation was chaste and general, and the manners of the lady and gentleman were refined without being frigid; distinguished without being ostentatious, and familiar without being vulgar, importunate, or absurd. Before the entire decline of day we walked in the gardens, which were elegantly laid out in your country's style; produced remarkably fine vegetables, and had a very favourable shew of standard peaches, and other fruit. We next turned into the woods. I soon perceived why the island was named Bacchus. It abounds with vines which grow to great height and strength, but never produce to any perfection. The path we had taken led to the water, the border of which brought us to the boat, where it seems all the servants of the family had assembled to hear what news my people might have brought into their little world. We found them seated on the green around Mindeth, who, proud to be their historian, related tales of such peril and affright, that they gazed on him with sensations of wonder and astonishment, or with the softened emotions of pity and complaint. The poor Mandanean, excluded by his colour and aspect from participating in the social pleasures of the whites, had built himself a good fire, made himself the section of a tent, and was preparing his rod and line to catch some fish for supper. I saw the lady so pleased with this scene, and so delighted in particular, with Cuff's truly rural establishment, that I proposed supping on the shore, and by displaying a specimen of my evenings on the river, give some idea of former times, and the innocent enjoyments of primitive life. The night being perfectly fine, and the moon out, and some light clouds hindering the dew from falling, my proposition was joyfully acceded to, and instructions were given accordingly.

This determination gave life and interest to a scene which before was calm and pleasing. All was action and bustle: The historian no more attended. Every one assumed an occupation, and Cuff saw his fire and his tent surrounded by

twenty willing assistants. The lady being engaged in instructing the servants, and sending them to the house for a few necessary articles, I proposed to take the gentleman in my canoe across the current, and under the shade of the trees of the bank, with a lighted torch attract the fish to the surface, and spear them while gazing at the blaze. We crossed over, and met with the success of striking seven large cat and sun fishes in less than half an hour. We returned with the torch still burning, and the hands singing "The beauteous month of May," in cadence to the paddles, which rose and struck with a preconcerted regularity.—This mode of nocturnal fishing was quite novel to the inhabitants of this little insulated world. The lady was charmed with it, and declared that the view of the canoe by torch-light across the water, the conversation obscurely heard, the sudden bursts of exultation announcing every success, and the cheerful return with mirth and song, was an improvement of the finest sort to a scene before she deemed incapable of augmentation! After chatting some time on subjects immediately rising out of occurring incidents, and admiring the versatility of mind which at one time finds felicity in towns and midnight masquerades, and at another acknowledges happiness on the contrasted theatre of the rivers and wildernesses, we sat down to our repast, and in a short time paid it the strong encomium of a satiated appetite.

After which we returned to the house, where over a bottle of wine one hour longer we conversed on the pleasures of our rural sports, and retired to rest with that heart-felt ease and serenity which follows an innocent and well-spent day.

Next morning, after breakfast, I with difficulty tore myself from this interesting family. You will excuse me for omitting the names of the amiable couple. They were emigrants of the first distinction from Ireland.

Two hours after leaving the island, I reached the lower settlement of Belleprie, a rising place on the right hand side, three miles below which on the same side, I passed Little Hockhocking, Newbury settlement and Bar, Mastaphy island, and Big Hockhocking river, near the mouth of which I brought up, in order to make a few observations and enquiries.

The Big Hockhocking is eighty yards wide at its mouth, and yields navigation for loaded bateaux to the press place, sixty miles above its mouth. At the head of this navigation stands New Lancaster, a town formed of about one hundred and fifty well built houses, and inhabited chiefly by Ger-

mans and Dutch, from Old Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and the settlements in its vicinity. New Lancaster seven years ago was but emerging from the woods, where the industrious people I have mentioned from the east, were tempted by the reputation of the lands in its neighbourhood to settle in and around it, and to encourage all their friends to flock to the Ohio state, and follow the example they had set them, for the advancement of their comfort and promotion of their prosperity. You may judge with what eagerness the town and country were settled, when you learn that one hundred and fifty brick, frame, and log-houses were erected in less than seven years, and that land rose from one and two, to five, ten, fifteen, and even twenty dollars per acre. It has, notwithstanding, sustained a sad reverse within these two years. The last summer alone gave landed and other property a fall of one hundred and fifty per cent. This violent depreciation is to be attributed to a general sickness which attacked the settlement, and swept off two-thirds of the inhabitants, before its progress was checked by the setting in of the frost. Very few of the first settlers now exist! Seven years toil and labour concluded their reign, and in all probability seven more will extinguish the generation now rising in their place! What a gloomy prospect! what a melancholy reflection! And from whence arose a change and calamity so unexpected and painful to a liberal mind?

Avarice, and an inordinate craving after gold, form the well known characteristic of the Dutch. With them every consideration dissolves before views of acquirement, or prospects which hold out acquisitions of wealth. The first settlers of New Lancaster discovering the lands to be of the first quality, bought up several thousand acres at a reduced price, erected a few buildings, and sent emissaries to their countrymen to tempt them into their speculations, and allow them for certain advantages a participation of their views. Many came, and by acting in a similar efficacious manner, to sell their purchase, and populate the place, a few years numbered from six to seven thousand inhabitants, composed of artisans, shop-keepers, mechanics and farmers. The head of the navigation being the most profitable place on which to erect a town, it was chosen for that purpose, and its being healthy or unhealthy made no part of the calculation, or entered into the consultations on the business. Those who settled on farms chose the vicinity of creeks and springs for their habitations, for if they chose high grounds, time would be lost in looking after water,—“time is money,”

say the Dutch. Some intermittent fevers, and a few hundred deaths in the first three or four years, began to spread suspicions that all was not right: that swampy spots were pernicious to life, that the money gleaned off them could neither purchase happiness or maintain health. To build a new town, new houses and barns, and to clear new lands, were changes and expences too heavy to be endured; things remained till two successive summers teeming with disease, consumed the bulk of the inhabitants of the settlement, and compelled the few remaining ones to abandon their avaricious intentions, and learn in future how to live.

So entirely was health cast out of all consideration at the time of erecting New Lancaster, that the settlers were not turned from their intention, though a swamp of great extent, and part of which immediately bounds the west of the town, lay directly before them, and emitted an effluvia so noxious as could hardly be withstood. Nor did they reflect that another swamp of a still worse nature, called "the muddy prairie," lay contiguous, and cast out of its bowels an air so mephitic, that persons had to close their mouth and nose on crossing any part of it. Deer and other animals chased into these swamps by hunters, sink, after a few struggles, and never more appear. The swamps will never be drained: their extent and character defy human industry; the depth alone being much greater than any adjacent streams. The prevailing disorders they disseminate, are agues, fevers, and violent retchings. The latter complaint is nearly always fatal; and is accompanied by all the symptoms of yellow fever, such as derangement, convulsions, and a general effusion of blood.

Three miles below the big Hockhocking, on the Virginia shore, I passed the town and settlement of Belleville, and two miles lower down I enjoyed the sight of a beautiful island of the same name, covered with trees, shrubs, and verdure; and after a run of ten miles farther without impediment, I arrived at a very dangerous part of the river, distinguished by the name of the Devil's Creek. In passing the creek which issues from the Virginia shore, I found it necessary to keep close round the left hand point, to avoid being thrown by the current on dangerous rocks, which lie in the bend above and below the mouth of the creek. I succeeded well, but not without seeing the danger, which required much exertion to shun.

Having lost considerable time in my late excursions, I being seduced by the fineness of the evening, and promised

lightness of the night, determined on not bringing to till I should reach this place. I therefore continued on, past Amberson's Island, Goose Island, and by midnight came up to two islands which I understood to be but half a mile above Letart's Falls, universally feared as one of the most terrific parts of the navigation of the river. The roaring of the falls had reached us sometime before we made the islands, and reflections of propriety, safety, &c. were making such progress on my mind, that I began to repent of my determination, and to feel a disposition not to proceed any farther till morning. Prudence may arrive too late. The channel past the islands was close to the right hand shore, yet I dared not put the boat's head towards it, the current being impetuous, and the shore full of trunks of trees, breakers, and snags. Perceiving obstructions which were at once difficult and arduous to remove, I made preparations to shoot the falls. The men received my instructions with a silence which augured some fear; the waters uttered the most tremendous sounds, and the mist of their dashing rising into the air, spread an apparent fog on their surface from side to side. The scene was awful: there was no alternative. I took the helm, and placing the hands on each bow with a pole to guard against rocks, followed the current to the second island, from thence to about one third of the river from the right hand shore, and there held it to the falls. The boat took chute in the most capital manner, past through like the flight of a bird, and never once turned round. In taking the chute, I observed a sunken rock to my right, that formed a very large ripple, and several others to my left, which caused the water to boil, and make a grumbling dull noise. Instantly on dropping from the falls, it was necessary to take to the oars, to avoid an eddy of great power, which sucked in logs, and every thing else within its attraction, and cast them up about two hundred yards lower down.

I arrived at Point Pleasant to breakfast, and found it a handsome little town, well situated on the confluence of the Great Kenhaway with the Ohio, and commanding a very extensive view of the latter river. It contains about forty houses, frame and log, and has not the aspect of ever being much augmented. The few disconsolate inhabitants who go up and down, or lie under trees, have a dejected appearance, and exhibit the ravage of disease in every feature, and the tremor of the ague in every step. Their motive for settling the town must have been to catch what they can from

persons descending the river, and from people emigrating from the S. W. parts of Virginia, with a view of settling lower down the river, and who must make Point Pleasant a place of deposit and embarkation. Were it not for the unhealthiness of the town, it would not be unreasonable to presume that this circumstance would render it in time a place of considerable note. Point Pleasant is two hundred and seventy miles from Pittsburg.

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### LETTER XVII.

*Farther Particulars of the Great Kenhaway River—Lead Mines—Atrocious Massacre of Indians, the Family of the celebrated Logan, the Friend of the Whites—Its Consequences—The Battle of Point Pleasant—The Speech of Logan—Catalogue of Indian Birds—Character of the Mocking Bird and the Virginia Nightingale.*

*Mouth of the Great Kenhaway, July, 1806.*

I FIND the Great Kenhaway to be a river of considerable character for the fertility of its lands, and still more as leading towards the head waters of James's river. Nevertheless it is doubtful, whether its great and numerous rapids will admit a navigation, but at an expence to which it will require ages to render the inhabitants equal. The great obstacles begin at what are called the great falls, ninety miles above the mouth, below which are only five or six rapids, and three passable with some difficulty, even at low water. From the falls to the mouth of Greenbrier River is one hundred miles, and from thence to the lead mines, one hundred and twenty.

The lead is found mixed, sometimes with earth, and sometimes with rock, which requires the force of gunpowder to open; and is accompanied with a portion of silver, too small to be worth separation under any process hitherto attempted. The proportion yielded is from fifty to eighty pounds of pure lead, from one hundred pounds of washed ore. The veins are at sometimes the most flattering, and at others they disappear suddenly and totally. They enter the side of the hill and proceed horizontally. Two of them are wrought by the public, the more valuable of which is one hundred yards under the hills. These would employ

about sixty labourers to advantage. There are not, however, in general, more than forty, and even these find time to cultivate their own corn. The veins have produced sixty tons of lead in a year; the average is from twenty to twenty-five tons. The furnace is a mile from the ore-bank, and on the opposite side of the river. The ore is first conveyed in waggons to the Kenhaway, a distance only a quarter of a mile, then laden on board of canoes and carried across the river, which is there about two hundred yards wide; and then again taken into waggons and carried to the furnace. From the furnace the lead is transported one hundred and thirty miles along a good road, leading through the peaks of Ottie and Lynch's ferry, whence it is carried by water about the same distance to Westham, where it finds its way by James river and the Potomac to the markets of the Eastern States. Very little of the lead ever descends the river, in consequence of the falls just below the mines, three of which have a perpendicular chute of four feet each. Three miles above the mines is a rapid of three miles continuance. Yet the obstructions might be removed for so useful a navigation, as to reduce very much the portage to James river, and facilitate the descent to the Ohio, where the mouth is two hundred and eighty yards wide.

The banks of the Great Kenhaway were once the favourite resort and residence of several Indian tribes. The ruins of their little empires every where abound. The towns from which they were banished, and the villages in which they were immolated at the shrine of insatiate avarice, ambition, and pride, have yet remains which stand, and will for ever stand, to perpetuate the memory of their sufferings and of our crimes.

I visited several monuments of Indian antiquity up the river, and had I not so lately given you ample details on those I discovered on the Muskingum, I would describe them, and even under this impression would give them notice, but they do not sufficiently differ from what I mentioned, to admit of remarks, without a tiresome tautology and repetition. I cannot leave the river, however, without telling you an old story, which took its origin on this water, and to which I feel satisfied your sensibility will not be denied.

In the spring of 1774, a robbery and murder were committed on an inhabitant of the frontiers of Virginia, by two Indians of the Shawanee tribe. The neighbouring whites, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage

In a summary way. Colonel Cresap, a man infamous for his numerous atrocities on this injured people, collected a party and proceeded down the Kenhaway in quest of Indians. Unfortunately a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore unarmed, and unsuspecting an hostile attack from the whites; Cresap and his party concealed themselves on the bank of the river, and the moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their objects, and at one fire killed every person in it. This happened to be the family of Logan, who had long been distinguished as a friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year, a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kenhaway (in history called the battle of Point Pleasant) between the collected forces of the Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But, least the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent by a messenger the following speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.

“I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan’s cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, ‘*Logan is the friend of white men!*’ I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear! Logan never felt fear! He will not turn on his heel to save his life! Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!”

This affecting story and speech, actually delivered before Lord Dunmore while governor of Virginia, are contained in Mr. Jefferson’s *Notes*: the story as a preamble to the speech, which is given as a specimen of Indian eloquence, and



may vie with the most pathetic passages in the orations of Demosthenes or a Cicero. The few remains of Logan's tribe now live in a little village near the mouth of the Ohio. I shall certainly visit them on my way down.

I have been much engaged during my rambles here, in ascertaining the number and character of the birds, which are of great variety in this part, and of much brighter plumage than those I noticed at the head waters or in the Eastern States.

Between ninety and an hundred American birds have been described by Catesby, some stationary, others migratory.

Brilliant plumage is the principal superiority which any of them can claim over those of Europe. Very few of them are remarkable for their song. I know of but two that can be presumed to vie with British warblers—the mocking-bird and the Virginia nightingale. On these I shall make a few remarks.

The mocking-bird is of the form, but larger than the thrush, and the colours are a mixture, black, white, and grey. What is said of the nightingale by its greatest admirers, is what may with more propriety apply to this bird, who, in a natural state, sings with very superior taste. Towards evening, I have heard one begin softly, reserving its breath to swell certain notes, which, by this means, had a most astonishing effect, and which defies all verbal description. A gentleman residing in London had one of these birds for six years. During the space of a minute, he was heard to imitate the wood-lark, chaffinch, black-bird, thrush, and sparrow. It was also said that he could bark like a dog, and imitate every domestic animal about the house. In this country, I have frequently known the mocking-birds so engaged in their mimicry, that it was with much difficulty I could ever obtain an opportunity of hearing their own natural note. Some go so far as to say they have neither favourite note or imitations: this can be denied. Their few natural notes resemble those of the nightingale, and of infinite mellowness and strength. Their song has a greater volume and compass than the nightingale, and they have the faculty of varying all intermediate notes, in a succession which is truly delightful. In a word, to make a comparison perfectly intelligible to an English ear; the Virginia nightingale's powers may be compared to the astonishing bravuras of a *Billington* or a *Braham*; those of the natural bird to the fascinating native melodies of a *Moun-tain* or an *Inclendon*.

## LETTER XVIII.

*Galliopolis, a French Settlement—Historical Account of its Rise, Progress, and Fall—Its present miserable State.*

*Galliopolis, State of Ohio, July, 1806.*

THE distance from the mouth of the Great Kenhaway being but three miles, I dropt down to this place in about an hour. That time would not be required, if the navigation were not interrupted by an island immediately in the middle channel, and several rocks which make it necessary to keep the Virginia shore till compelled to row hard across the river to gain the town.

Galliopolis being a French town and settlement which has made considerable noise in the world, I feel myself under a more immediate obligation to give you a correct and historical account of its rise, progress, and fall.

A land speculator who explored this western country a few years ago, took plans of the site of Galliopolis; surveyed two hundred thousand surrounding acres, and submitted his labours on parchment, with all the embellishments of a draftsman, and all the science of a topographer. The site for the town was represented as on a high plane of great extent and beauty, commanding views up, down, and across the river for several miles. Eminences were every where pointed out as eligible for the residence of the wealthy, and comfortable secluded spots were marked for the retreat of the more humble and indigent. Long extended and fertile tracts were noted as proper places for the exertion of the most decidedly active and industrious, and water-falls, cataracts, and rapid streams descended and flowed for the benefit of mills, the promotion of commerce, and the diffusion of prosperity and happiness. When these advantages were magnified by the high coloured machinery of hanging woods; ever verdant meads interspersed with clumps of the flowering magnolia and odoriferous catalpa; natural vineyards with purple clusters bending to the ground, and all the other interesting objects incident to sublime landscape, it may well be supposed that the gentleman's paper plans captivated the sanguine French, and formed an irresistible lure to this celestial paradise. His maps and surveys had

marginal notes illustrative of its natural history, and the buffalo, elk, deer, bear, birds, fish, and game of every description, were stated to abound in such quantity, that for several years man could subsist without any other labour than the healthy and pleasant occupations of hunting and fishing.

Furnished with testimonies of so flattering a nature, and with credentials of the first authority to the most respectable houses in Paris, he repaired to that capital, and met with all the hospitality and attention to which he was entitled by his manners, intelligence, and introductions. After associating with the great some months, he gave publicity to his views; opened, by permission of government, a regular land office; exhibited his plans and charts, and offered the lands they expressed for a French crown per acre.

The troubles then existing in France were favourable to his intentions. Those who were compelled to stifle their resentment against the state, were rejoiced at an opportunity to abandon it, and the government at length, tired with the perpetual work of the guillotine, preferred to get rid of the disaffected by emigration, to the labour of compression in dungeons or the effusion of blood.

Numerous emigrants were ready to repair to the extolled territory. Of these, a few of the most opulent, liberal, and enlightened, combined and purchased the speculator's whole right and title, and extinguished all his claim for one hundred thousand crowns, and of course assumed to themselves the disposition of the lands, and the charge of settling them, but without any pecuniary advantage. A proceeding so honourable as this in the proprietors had the most auspicious effect: in a short time, five hundred families, previously well situated, embarked with the proprietors for the United States, crossed the mountains, and descended the river to their new possessions; to "the promised land, flowing with milk and honey, and abounding with all the necessaries and luxuries of life."

The lands were distributed among them according to priority of purchase, and where it could with propriety, according to predilection and choice. Some went to subjugate the forests; some to reside on the river's banks. Some went in pursuit of mill-seats, cataracts and falls, and others contented themselves to look for flowering meadows, and aromatic groves. A considerable number remained to settle the town now called Galliopolis.

Such a body of settlers soon effected a change in the face

of nature. A very neat town quickly rose on a delightful plain, and a number of comfortable little houses adorned the best situations along the river. Having brought with them implements of husbandry and seeds of all kinds of fruit and vegetables from Europe, the colony appeared to flourish to an unprecedented degree, and to extend its fame to the widest bounds. This unexampled character and success was the operation of two years. On the third, the settlers who retired to the back country, and who did not suffer death, came in, and reported that the meadows and good lands they went in search of, proved no more than swampy intervals between mountains, where man could not exist; and that the mill-seats and water-falls were dry, except during the dissolution of the winter snows, which could only be calculated upon for the short period of about three weeks in the year.

The return of these disappointed speculators alarmed the infant town, and the river settlements spread an apprehension of the want of bread and general distress. Small patches for the gardens, and vistas to the water, were all the cleared land in the colony, for none had gone to the drudgery of preparing ground heavily timbered, for the purposes of raising corn or producing the other necessaries, which are the result only of toil and unremitting industry. Unfortunately, too, the settlers were for the most part artisans who had resided all their lives in Paris, Lyons, and other great towns in France. To labour in gloomy woods, and clear for agriculture land crowded with trees several feet in diameter, was a task incompatible with their former habits and views. A contracted system of horticulture, was all they were equal to, and as such a mode could not provide for any supernumerary mouths, the discontented were resolved to return home, and others to proceed to the Eastern states, sell their shares, and resume their ancient professions.

From the sale of the possessions, however, very little trouble arose. On the fourth year, at a time when affairs were progressing, and improvements going on with as much vigour as could be expected from ematiated mechanics and effeminated shop-keepers, a person arrived in the colony, claiming it as his own, and stating that the man who sold the property in France was an impostor. To a people already under suffering and disappointment this was a dreadful blow, that could not be averted, and which involved in its fall the ruin of their hopes, and the labour and toil of the four previous years. The new claim was sanctioned by

Congress, and a proposition was made to the French to abandon their improvements, or to re-purchase a certain quantity of land, adjoining to, and including such, improvements, at the rate of two dollars more per acre. Many spurned at this proposition, however fair, and left the country in disgust, while others with large families remained, again purchased, and persevered to give the settlement a rise, in despite of disappointment, imposition, calamity, and a host of evils and difficulties which required all the energies of human exertion to avoid and to remove. Such strength of mind and perseverance merited a successful fate, and no doubt would have terminated in a happy issue, but for ponds lying behind and near the town, which often infected the air, and predisposed to fever and ague, even from the commencement of the settlement, but on the fifth year they became so contagious that many died, and several became so seriously alarmed as to throw up their improvements, and sell their titles for the little they required for travelling expences to Philadelphia or New York, where they might follow handicraft trades, and procure bread with more ease and security. Those who remained were principally the infirm and the young children: few improvements went on, the place continued rapidly to decline, and is now, at the period of my writing, in a fair way of being restored to nature, and returning to the gloom of its primitive woods. Several houses are tumbling in; several are shut up; others are burnt down; and the few that are occupied do not strike the mind with an idea that they have long to last. The total number of habitable houses is reduced to nine, about seven more are occupied in the original purchase; thus I account for sixteen families out of five hundred who came into the country a few years before, big with expectations of felicity, and dreaming of nothing less than perpetual comfort and continued happiness. The sixteen families which persist in remaining are of those who purchased a second time. They vainly imagine to make something of their improvements, and await the operation of the ponds with more fortitude and determination than judgment and good sense. They are a most wretched looking people: the worst hospital in Europe could not turn out an equal number, so capable of proving the great degree of humiliation that human nature is capable of expressing, when under the hands of neglect, disease, and indigence. So wretchedly poor is the place, that a barrel of flour is not to be had in the whole settlement, and in place of their being able to purchase some

Indian meal, I have had applications to know whether I had any to exchange for fruit and small produce.

They cultivate, as I have observed, little more than fruit and vegetables, and they depend on the exchange of these for bread and other necessities to be had of boats descending the river. The peaches thrive and multiply so well, that one of the old settlers has procured a still, and makes a brandy, which, at a tolerable age, is of a very fine quality. He now contracts for all the peaches of the settlement; makes about four hundred gallons of peach brandy each season, which he barter for flour, corn, &c. at the rate of one dollar per gallon for the liquor, and then sells out his flour, &c. for chickens, young hogs, and garden produce, with which he supplies at a cheap rate, boats who may stand in need of such things on their passage down the river. I am very much of opinion, that were it not for the prospect of bringing the peach brandy trade into success and a profitable notoriety, Galliopolis town and settlement would be entirely abandoned.

Never was a place chosen, or rather approved of, with less judgment. In the rear of the buildings are a number of pestiferous ponds; the back country is composed of a series of barren ridges, and internal lands of dangerous swamp; and the access to the town both by land and water, is so extremely difficult, that mere matter of chance will never conduct to it a visitor, trader, or resident. I am given to understand, notwithstanding, that some New Englanders have made purchases from the fugitive French at very reduced prices, and intend occupying the farms they deserted. If they put this intention into execution, the settlement may again take an artificial rise, though it is difficult to conceive how the public can a second time be deceived in respect to a spot whose climate and properties have been so much condensed and exposed.

I am very happy to have authority to account for seventy more of the families who arrived from France, and which seventy were of those who left Galliopolis in disguise on the springing up of the new proprietor, who required them to make a new purchase or to quit the premises. Congress, much to its honour, made their case a national one, and has granted them lands lower down the river, in lieu of those they had to abandon in this place. They report to their friends that their new grounds are excellent, but that sickness and excess of unaccustomed labour keeps thinning them by no very insensible degrees.

## LETTER XIX.

*Various Rivers and Creeks—Saw-mills—A fine Salt-spring and an Indian Pottery—Great Sandy Creek—Central Situation of its Mouth—Erroneous Accounts of Kentucky—Corrected—Extravagant Price of Lands—An Excursion—Vestiges of the Remains of a Chief of uncommon Size—Came—Wild Hogs—Remains of an Indian Village—An Alarm—Explained—Wolves hunting their Prey.*

*Mouth of Great Sandy River, July, 1806.*

I LEFT Gallipolis with all the sensibility which the fate of its poor inhabitants could inspire.

In my run to this place I passed a very beautiful island, several creeks, and the mouths of the Little and Big Guian-dot. The latter river is sixty yards wide at its entrance into the Ohio; is very rapid, and may be navigated seventy miles up. They both are on the Virginia shore, as well as Great Sandy river, which is between seventy and eighty yards wide at its mouth, and navigable for loaded bateaux sixty miles, till it reaches falls where saw-mills are erected, and which furnish the best cherry plank of America, in the greatest abundance. A few miles above the saw-mills a very fine salt-spring has been discovered in the mountains, whose waters are so strong, that it is said one hundred gallons could yield one bushel of salt. This spring would, in all probability, have remained for ever in oblivion, had it not been for the incidental circumstance of a hunter stumbling over a piece of earthen ware sticking in the ground of its vicinity. The piece evincing the remains of an Indian salt-pan, the hunter examined the nearest spring, and found it to be of the quality I have just described. It has been since explored, and an ancient furnace, and many pieces of antique pottery, have been brought to light. The spring is not worked, the proprietor of the land being unknown, and the distance to the market considerable.

The discovery of earthen salt-pans strengthens the opinion I before entertained, that the Indians possessed the art of making potter's ware in a higher perfection than is attempted at the present day. They not only manufactured it to resist fire in ordinary culinary purposes, but to make it endure the violence of a furnace, a perpetual ebullition, and the corrosion of mineral salts.

The head waters of this river proceed from the immense chain of the Appalachian mountains, the fountains from the opposite side of which supply rivers that fall into the Mexican and Atlantic oceans. These head waters being guarded by a country nearly inaccessible and terrific to man, is now the uncontroverted domain of wolves, bears, &c. Bears especially inhabit the head of this river in such numbers, that their skins can be had by contract for one dollar each.

Great Sandy is also remarkable for being the boundary where Virginia subsides and Kentucky commences. This commencement is exactly three hundred and thirty-four miles from Pittsburg, seven hundred and sixty-two from the Mississippi, and one hundred and ten from Lexington, the principal town of the Kentucky state.

From the point of land below the mouth of Great Sandy, the view is very extensive. Looking across the Ohio, which is first seen to a considerable distance up and down, the rich and fertile state of Ohio reaches to the north, hundreds of miles. To the right Virginia runs to the Alleghany's base, where it is separated from the eastern American world. To the left lies the state of Kentucky.

This point of land is eminently situated for a trading town. That denomination is already given to a few wretched huts, occupied occasionally by hunters, and a few stragglers undetermined as to their final establishment.

The authors who have given descriptions of Kentucky, either never saw that state, or only would see a small portion of highly beautiful land which it contains in its centre, sixty miles long by about thirty miles broad. Of that singularly fertile, romantic, and delightful spot, enough, perhaps, has not been said; but of all the remainder of the state, whatever has been wrote or uttered in its favour, must have proceeded from a dangerous ignorance of facts, or a determination to delude and deceive both individuals and the public. I beg of you to judge from this simple survey.

From this place to Lexington, which is one hundred and ten miles, the road is marked on the ridges of mountains to within fifteen miles of that city. From the city again to Limestone, and to Cincinnati on the Ohio, a distance to each of seventy miles, the roads, with the exception of a few miles, are no more than Buffalo tracts. From the commencement of Kentucky at Great Sandy, the body of eastern land is entirely mountainous for one hundred square miles. West it is a chain of mountains for an extent of



four hundred miles long by fifty broad, on average from the Ohio bank ; and the south side is principally composed of "the Barrens," and the "Great Barren," terms which denote a country so sterile and inhospitable, that neither man nor beast can reside there for want of water. So mountainous is the river shore on the Kentucky side, that in the distance of five hundred miles, there is not space for the erection of a town of any extent except on the very plain from which I now write, and, in consequence of there being no road along the left bank, travellers are compelled to proceed on the shore of the Ohio state.

After these facts, which no person can deny or controvert, we are left to deplore that the public should so long have been abused by the dreams of enthusiasts, and the falsehoods of knaves. Several thousands have sacrificed their wealth and prospects in repairing to this "Land of Promise," and to which their attention was led by flowery and enchanting fables. Several of these deluded persons, finding on their arrival in the state, that all the good land was occupied, or else bore a price entirely beyond their means, had to remain in small interval specks among the mountains, or to purchase portions of the Great Barrens for one shilling per acre, and catch water as they could from the dropping and distended clouds. Others who have come into the state and determined on settling on good lands and a somewhat comfortable neighbourhood, have been often obliged to sink their whole capital in the purchase of a small farm, the produce of which, from the mediocrity of its price at market, could never return the capital, or enable them to do any more than drag on a miserable existence. The price of the lands on the state, taking Lexington for a meridian, are as follows : town lots in Lexington, in the market street, and other popular situations, bear as high a price as any lot in the city of London. Land immediately round the town is four hundred dollars per acre ; within one mile two hundred ; within two or three miles one hundred ; five or six miles from sixty to seventy. A few miles more distant the price falls from forty to fifty dollars per acre, and decreases progressively to from thirty to twenty, fifteen, ten, and five, at which price it breaks off at the mountains, where the land bears no price at all. There are circumstances also, which often contribute to set a local enhanced value on landed property. The most fertile part of Kentucky, the very spot yet allowed to be an Eden, is very scarce of water. Land therefore, which possesses a mill-seat capable of act-

ing three months in a year, would fetch a very large sum of money. Salt-springs also, considerably raise the price of land surrounding them.

River-bottoms and good places for landing, from their scarcity, situation, and superior excellence, have also a higher price attached to them than any other parts not under the same circumstances.

Mr. Gardner, a sensible and civil man, who here keeps a tavern, having explored his neighbourhood in a considerable degree, I tempted him to take an excursion with me. We set off by dawn to observe the rising sun from a very high hill, about a mile to the south of the point. The eminence was gained in time to enjoy the finest spectacle in Nature.

On the particular spot where I was, I might have remained a long time before I could perceive the various effects of the sun on mountains, woods, valleys, and waters. The height was so great, that I calculated the rays of the sun could not strike the surface of the floods till they darted from the sun's rise of four hours.

Particular views of the river were various and beautiful from where I stood, though interrupted every mile by the sinuosities occasioned by its many windings. I found the time very favourable to form a judgment on the nature of the surrounding country. The sun shining only on the summits of hills, displayed their situation, course, and variety, while the dark intervals pointed out the few valleys and plains which lay commixed between them. The remarks I took accorded precisely with the observations I have made respecting the mountainous state of the country. Nor could I see any part of sufficient extent for a day's excursion, with any tolerable degree of possibility or ease, unless a strip of wood-land which formed the Ohio bank, and met with but little obstruction for several miles. I resolved to bend that way, and was about to depart, when Mr. Gardner informed me that on his first coming to the Kenhaway he discovered an Indian grave on the summit on which we stood. He pointed it out to me immediately on the direct summit, but I had the mortification to perceive that it had undergone so rude a violation, that I could distinguish nothing of its original form or character, or any remains, save two or three bones, which, judging by analogy, evinced a man far exceeding ordinary stature. Mr. Gardner could give me no satisfactory account, either in regard to the contents of the grave, or to the position and

appearances of the members of which it was composed: he did not even know the bearings of the head and feet; in short, I understood that the violation was committed by a Kentuckeyan, in quest of plunder, and that Mr. Gardner did not see the ruin till the deed was done. The instant I understood a Kentuckeyan was concerned, I gave up every inquiry, and contented myself with this other recent evidence, that there formerly existed Indian nations who buried their chiefs on the highest mountain tops, and distant from the living and the dead. Perhaps, too, such nations were worshippers of the sun, and by way of continuing to their princes the proud pre-eminence they allowed them in life, exposed their tombs to the first and last rays of their high and mighty luminary. This idea appears better grounded than on mere presumption: at present, however, I cannot back it by any testimony, and the fact is against me, that no Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, have ever in their worship or tradition, held out an evidence that their ancestors at any time worshipped the sun, or that they considered their tribes ever to have been the descendants of that all-powerful body. The subject must remain for elucidation, till the discovery of other data and events.

We proceeded down the hill, and along the strip of level woody bank I traced for our excursion from the summit. We met with excellent sport. Several flocks of wild turkeys crossed us from the mountains to the water-side; we killed two fine young birds, and could have killed forty had we been disposed to enter on the commission of unnecessary carnage. We also fell in with a great number of quails, remarkable for their size, and so fat and heavy, that they never attempted flight, but ran and hid themselves, among dry leaves and grass, to a very considerable distance from where we at first started them. Independent of what we killed, my dog ran down and caught several, two of which being perfectly white, were to me a great curiosity. The quails of this country are very tractable, soon domesticated, and easily kept to be killed for family use.

Our notice was frequently attracted by a number of hogs ranging in a wild state. They multiply to a great degree, notwithstanding that the wolves have no objection to their flesh, and that panthers consider them as their nicest diet. In this natural state they attain considerable courage and ferocity, to which, perhaps, their multiplication and safety may be attributed. The sows we met with were savage to such a degree, that they firmly stood between us and their

young, till the latter scampered off and concealed themselves with a skill which baffled the minutest search. When a litter is discovered and attacked by a panther, the old sow stands all the brunt, and maintains a fight of sufficient duration to allow the young to disperse, though often at the expence of her own life. Hogs attract so many wild beasts about a house, that Mr. Gardner has given over keeping any in a domestic way. When he lays up his winter provision, he selects hogs from the wood, and considers their flesh much more delicate than that of home-fed pork. Their food in the woods consists generally of acorns, nuts, berries, and roots, and occasionally on vermin, reptiles, and snakes, of which last they are extravagantly fond.

Coming to a fine creek which descended from the mountains, we halted, and made preparations to forward an excellent dinner, and repose during the violent heat of the day. We started again before six, and continued walking through a country interrupted with gullies, ridges, and creeks, till near ten, when we made fires, erected tents, and formed our establishment for the night. The place we had chosen was the site of an old Indian village, as was manifest from the number of mounds and other remains of ancient works extant around us. I turned to rest under my small shed and near a good fire, full of the vague ideas, and wide and wandering notions which the place, situation, and circumstances irresistibly inspired. I slept in the midst of mounds, which some thousands of years before were inhabited by men whose name and history were no longer on the face of the earth, and whose line and offspring I vainly sought for among existing nations. Overcome at length by toil, and weary of fruitless conjectures, I fell into the soundest sleep, and might have remained for hours in that oblivion, had I not been startled up by cries such as we are instructed to believe issue from spirits "confined fast in fire, to howl for ever in regions of eternal night." In an instant we were up and armed. The cry however approached, and increased to an alarming degree; the shrubs rustled, the leaves flew, and the pursuing and the pursued, passed us in apparent hundreds. The whole uproar, however, only was occasioned by a couple of wolves enjoying their nocturnal recreation in the chase of a herd of deer.

They hunt in the style of the best dogs, but give tongue with less melody. The Indians, who have the first-rate dogs, cross the breed with the wolf, and have this purpose effected by tying the female dog to a tree, in the haunt of

wolves, when she is in season. Roused up again by a din not likely to quit the ears in a short time, we pursued our way to the Kenhaway, and having met with no very particular event, I am again at liberty to conclude.

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## LETTER XX.

*Settlement of the French Families removed from Galliopolis—Their mode of Life, and domesticated Animals—A French Rural Repast and Dance—Navigation to Alexandria—Account of the Town and its Vicinage—Portsmouth—The Sciola River—Chilicothé, principal Town of the Ohio State—Difficult Access to it—The Peckawee Plains—A grand Situation for a Capital—Antiquities of Chilicothé, and barbarous Taste of the Inhabitants—The Governor, his worthy Character—Slavery entirely abolished—Its beneficial Effects—Salt Springs—Run to Maysville.*

*Maysville, or Limestone K'y, July, 1807.*

ON leaving the Great Kenhaway, I descended without interruption or stop twenty miles, when I made fast to the right hand shore, immediately opposite Little Sandy Creek. I brought to for the purpose of inquiring into the situation of the French families who abandoned Galliopolis in consequence of the imposition practised on them by the vender of the lands, and the ill health they enjoyed while on them. Opposite to the creek I have mentioned, and at the place I landed, is a tract of land of twenty thousand acres, extending eight miles on the river, granted by Congress to these unfortunate settlers, as some indemnification for the losses and injuries they had sustained; and four thousand acres adjoining, granted to M. Gervais, one of the principals, for the same purpose. On this latter tract, I understand, M. Gervais laid out a town named Burrsburgh, but it yet has to get an habitation and an inhabitant.

I found the settlers in something better health than at Galliopolis. They dwell altogether along the river bank; they pursue a very mean system of agriculture. Their best exertion only extends to a few acres of Indian corn and garden-stuff to meet their rigid necessities. They appear to

have no idea of farming, or to think, what I conceive perfectly just, that the price of produce is too contemptible to yield an equivalent for the labour and health necessarily wasted in bringing it to growth and maturity. The management of peach orchards suits their talents and habits, and these they bring to profit and perfection. There are here two peach distilleries at work, that vend about three thousand gallons of peach brandy, the amount of which furnishes the settlement with coffee, snuff, knives, tin ware, and other small articles in demand among French emigrants. I found the women constantly occupied in making an excellent strong cotton cloth, blue, for the men, and party-coloured for themselves and children. I took a walk down the entire settlement, and was much pleased with the simple and primitive manner of its residents. The day is passed in the coarser industry, the evening sitting in the house, or under the most adjacent shade, the women spinning, sewing and knitting, the men making and repairing their nets, Gins, traps, and the children playing around, and instructing their pet animals. The blue jay arrived at the art of speaking better than any other bird I perceived among them; the paroquet also excelled in speaking; and the summer duck exceeded any thing I ever saw in point of plumage and colour. At one habitation were two beautiful tame deer, one as white as snow, and the other spotted like a leopard. They had each a collar and bell round the neck, went with the cows to pasture in the day-time, and returned at the sound of a conch shell to the protection of the house for the night. I considered them such singularly interesting creatures, that I made a proposition to purchase them, but was turned from the intention by the clamour and lamentations of the young people, who would by no means consent to part with their *Julie* and *Eveline*.

Racoons and opossums were common, and as tame as any animals could be. The opossums were not entertained on a mere principle of curiosity and pleasure: they were kept for utility. They bred with great regularity, and were esteemed better eating than a roasting pig—of whose flavour and qualities they strongly partake. I also took notice of a small aboriginal animal, called the Ground or Indian Hog—whose sensibilities are so little refined, that no attention or caresses, can ever force from it a reciprocity of manners; or make it refrain from snapping at the hand extended with its daily food. I was very much alarmed on approaching a house, at the door of which a large cub-bear

was hugging a child between his paws, and rolling and tumbling with it on the ground. The mother perceiving my apprehensions, exclaimed, "*O! Monsieur, ne craignez rien, ils sont bons amis.*"

It was sun set when I returned to my boat. I found a number of persons directly on the bank above it, assembled to converse with my man and Cuff. The manners of the French towards the Indians, form a complete contrast to those of the Americans. The French are sociable and friendly to them; the Americans rude, distant, and austere. In consequence, the Indians carry on a profitable intercourse with the one, while they studiously avoid, and manifest contempt for the other. The French never receive any injury or outrage from wandering tribes, while the Americans stand in perpetual anxiety, if the Indian hunters are known to be within fifty miles of them. The French comprehending from the manner I addressed them, that I was not displeased with their appearance about the boat, proposed with all imaginable *gaieté de cœur*, to sup on the ground, and have a little dance. I entered into their views with a vivacity which shewed them I took an interest in their pleasures, and I furnished my portion of the intended fête in biscuit, which was of the highest estimation, as the settlement had been for several months without *flour-bread*. The neighbouring houses soon provided their quota of milk, cheese, fruit, and various *vindes*, and three youths with a flute and two violins, were prepared to strike up after the rural repast. Never was supper more cheerful, never was society of so strange a *mélange* seated on the banks of *La Belle Rivière*. Old Frenchmen, lively as youth, in large crimson caps; their wives still more animated, dressed in the obsolete times of Louis XIVth—the youth of both sexes habited *suiwant l'usage du pays*, and mirthful, as if "fortune smiled upon their birth," formed the great outlines of the picture, while numbers of the domesticated animals I have mentioned followed their masters, and seemed "to crave their humble dole." Some without apprehension or restraint, came into the circle, while others maintained a cautious distance, and feared to commit themselves to the confidence of man.

Supper over, and the remains carried off, dancing commenced. Old and young at first joined with the utmost demonstrations of felicity and mirth; at length the aged and infirm sat down, while the youth danced cotillions for at least two hours. The dancing was highly graceful, and in as perfect time and step as if the performers had been the

disciples of Vestris. Our festive scene was closed by a performance of Cuff's—he gave us in a grand style, a war, funeral, and marriage dance, which the French had the complaisance to applaud, though the words, “*quelle horreur! quelle abomination! sacre Dieu! le Sauvage!*” were tittered from every mouth. At twelve o'clock we separated, and with as many *adieux* and *souvenez vous de moi* as if our intimacy had been for years, and our future friendship to be eternal.

I left the settlement the following morning, much pleased with my visit, and the improved opinion it allowed me to entertain of a people whom I had to commiserate, from the accounts I heard of them at Galliopolis. I sincerely hope that the place may become healthy in time, and admit to their original views some small degree of realization and success.

Twelve miles below the French grant, I came before the Little Sciota, a small rivulet on the same side, from the mouth of which a bar of rocks extends half across the Ohio. The channel at the upper end of the bar is near the Kentucky shore—at the lower end it is close round the rocks. About half a mile lower down I came to another bar, extending more than half across the river. Opposite the bar, on the Kentucky shore, I found the water so shallow, that I was apprehensive of striking every moment. Working midway between the point of the bar and the Kentucky shore, I recovered a good channel, and without sustaining any damage, though for some time my soundings were but from two feet to eighteen inches.

Running eight miles from the Little, I arrived before the Big Sciota, a fine river on the right hand shore, and dropped under Alexandria, a small town situated on the lower point, formed by the junction of the two rivers. Having secured the boat I went up to the town, intending to make from it some few excursions. I give you their result, without fatiguing you with their detail.

Alexandria contains about forty houses, and three hundred inhabitants, Dutch, Germans, Scotch, and Irish. While it was the seat of justice, and only place of deposit for the merchandize of the extensive settlements of the upper parts of the Sciota, it rose with great rapidity, and held out such demonstrations of success, that numbers settled in the town and neighbourhood, and bought town lots at such an extravagant price and rash avidity, that none remained on the hands of the original proprietors. The building of



a court-house augmented the spirit of speculation and settlement, and all went on to admiration, till the state legislature decreed that the courts, offices, &c. should be removed across the mouth of the Sciota, to a new town called Portsmouth, being a situation more eligible for that purpose, and as a depôt for merchandise and produce. In this manner did a stroke of the pen sign the ruin of Alexandria, and all the speculating forestallers of its adjacent lands and lots. A Dutchman who had purchased a number of excellent building grounds, proposed very seriously to "give me my choice for a strong pair of shoes." So sudden a fall is felt severely by the inhabitants in general; they sunk their means in giving the town a phlethoric rise, and are now without the capacity of removing. They declaim sadly against the decree of the state legislature, and say it was ordained to flatter general Massey, who is a member of the state, and proprietor of the township of Portsmouth. On passing over to Portsmouth, in my canoe, I heard a more honest and probable story. Alexandria is insulated every spring, and from lying below the mouth of the river, is not calculated for a place of depôt or business.

Portsmouth is in its first infancy. As the citizens of Alexandria must ultimately remove to it or perish, and as it commands numerous advantages both local and general, it is reasonable to conceive that it must become a place of consequence and resort.

The Sciota is two hundred and fifty yards wide at its mouth, which is in the latitude,  $38^{\circ} 22^m$  and at the Salt-lick towns, two hundred miles above the mouth, it is yet one hundred yards wide. To these towns it is navigable for loaded bateaux, and an eastern branch which it possesses, affords navigation almost to its source in the confines of Canada, and the great northern lakes.

The lands immediately on the Sciota are exceedingly rich and fertile, but subject to inundation, and consequently capable of generating both fever and flux.

Chilicothé, the principal town of the Ohio state, and the seat of government, lies about sixty miles up the Sciota. Having heard so much of the town and government, I determined on passing a day or two there, and judging for myself. I suffered severely for my curiosity. My route lay through a wilderness so thick, deep, dark, and impenetrable, that the light, much less the air of heaven, was nearly denied access. We were, likewise, almost stung to madness by musquitoes. So numerous were these perse-

cutors, that we walked amidst them as in a cloud, and suffered to an excess not possible to describe. On encamping in the evening, I was in hopes the fire would drive them off, but was disappointed; they continued during the night to hover over their prey, and remained buzzing about our ears, preventing the possibility of repose.

Pursuing my route the next morning, I could discover the cause of such miriads of musketoës. The great body of the country, to a considerable distance west of the Sciota is a wood-swamp, a quality of land eminently favourable for the insect tribe, noxious reptiles, and inveterate disease. The evening of my second day's journey I arrived at Chilicothé, where I put up at an excellent inn, and soon lost the impression of all my sufferings.

Chilicothé is in appearance a flourishing little town, containing about one hundred and fifty houses, neat and well built, several of them occupied by the servants of the state, such as governor, attorney, solicitor, and surveyor generals, clerks of the treasury, judges of the supreme court, attorneys, &c. I observe it to be in appearance flourishing, because the principle of its rise is more fortuitous than permanent, and must in a year or two vanish entirely away. Like Alexandria, its fate is to be decided by a decree, or state act, which is shortly to fix on a more central situation for the deliberations of the legislature, and for the removal of the officers, and offices of government. When this takes place Chilicothé will be at once abandoned, and the traveller who follows me will hardly find an inhabitant in it to tell him when it rose, and how it fell; when it flourished, and by what means it so soon decayed. This premature and speedy ruin must come upon it, as well from its being abandoned by the bulk of its present wealthy inhabitants, as from the situation being sickly, and the adjacent country not being so rich as to invite emigrants to settle upon it in any numbers. Why the state government do not name the Pickawee Plains for the seat of their capital, and the seat of their deliberations, is a matter of surprise. I rode to these plains in about four hours from Chilicothé, and do not conceive that the world entire could furnish so grand, so great, or so sublime a position for a capital or great flourishing town. Though a plain, it inclines gradually from its centre to its side, and commands a view over wood-lands, and meadows of great magnificence and extent. It lies but three miles from the river, and has in its vicinity excellent water, and a number of salt-licks. Returning from this ride through some

small meadows of great beauty overrun with flowers, I passed through a place called the Old Indian town, the remains of which were too imperfect to merit investigation, and on entering Chillicothe I found an ancient mound was suffered to remain in the centre of the town, both as a monument of former times, and of the taste of the present inhabitants. I was encouraging opinions highly flattering to the citizens, who appeared to honour antiquity so much, as to build round the base of one of its most interesting subjects, till, on taking the circumference of the mounds, I discovered that they had begun to fell the timber from the sides and summit, and to carry off the mould to fill up holes in the streets, or to throw upon their gardens and cultivated ground. The respect I had commenced to entertain for the inhabitants fled before this testimony of the depravity of their taste, and vulgarity of their minds. Never did art or nature before accord to a town so beautiful, so antique, or so interesting an ornament. An ornament connected with the history of the remotest times, with men and events no longer known to posterity, and with feelings and circumstances which ought to have endeared it to the heart, and made it an object fit for the most sacred contemplation of the mind.

Previously to my ride to the Pickawee's, I waited on the governor, (Mr. Tiffin) with a letter recommending me to his attention. I was handed a card which desired my company to dinner on the day of my return. I readily complied, and met at his house nearly all the officers of the state. They were mostly from eastern America, and of better manners and education than I had for some time met. The governor, very fortunately for the state, is nothing more than a plain, well-informed, honest man. Some out of derision, and others out of respect, call him a religious character. The latter class have all the honour and justice of the appellation, as no state in the union progresses more in prosperity, or is so distinguished for morals, integrity, and public worth. The simple and sophisticated principles of the governor pervade the whole state.

The first act of the Ohio legislature, advised by this honest man, was to abate the spirit of the master, and to allow that of the slave to rise from the dust: not to mollify his condition, as in other countries by gradual proceedings, but at once to declare him free and independent as themselves, equally entitled to the auspices of heaven, and to the protection of the laws and immunities of their emanci-

rated state. The act immediately destroyed the whole commerce and distinction between master and slave, which was a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. To this benign and humane proceeding may be attributed the rapid prosperity of the state. Many of those who had ardently wished for the regeneration of the negro race, came and settled in the province which declared them free; others followed men whose example and probity they admired, and the country possesses an industrious population, improved by the moral exercises of the body and the mind. Whereas in the Virginian, Kentuckian, Tennessee, and Carolan states, the whole labour of the citizens is to storm, to give a loose to the worst of passions, and get their work performed by exercising a tyranny over others, which they stamp with a variety of horrid and painful peculiarities. I also learned while at table, where the conversation led on points on which I expressed a desire of information, that the governor has directed the attention of the legislature to the improvement of the penal code; to the more equal distribution of punishment, and the simplification of the law, by casting out all extraneous expressions, and matter, and by rejecting every obsolete and technical word. The governor's notion is, that the people ought to understand the language of an act as well as the lawyers who benefit by its misconceptions and abuse, and that a law, in order to be useful, should be simple, and uttered in words intelligible to the vulgar and unlettered mind. I conceive that this conduct will be followed by a very salutary effect. It certainly promises to be productive of understanding, and to the discovery of truth without the interventions of learning or the interference of many heads. The world wanted to see a trial of this enlightened kind: a few years will decide its success, and I sincerely desire it may be in the proportion which the intentions of the governor so decidedly merit.

I understood from the gentlemen of our party who had explored the whole state, that the best land lay to the west of Chilicothe; that it was fitted to an incredible degree for all the purposes of agriculture, and grazing stock of every kind, except sheep, which could not be kept from panthers and wolves that were every where in great numbers. To annihilate this last grievance a premium or recompense is offered by the government for every panther's skin.

I left the governor instructed and pleased with the time I

passed under his plain yet hospitable roof, and prepared a canoe to descend the Sciota the succeeding morning. With much exertion, I got down by the noon of the second day.

The principal salt-springs towards the head waters of the Sciota are the property of the United States. They yield a profit of twenty-five per cent. on capital laid out, and all other incidental expences. The remains of a few Indian nations inhabit the head of the river adjoining the lakes, and the banks from the lakes to the Ohio abound with Indian monuments to such a degree, that it is evident they were formerly the favourite resort and residence of numerous tribes.

I left the Sciota with very little regret: the heat, the insects of the vermin annoyed me so much, that I was glad to push into the middle of the great current, and pursue my way to the town, at which I arrived in two easy days' run from the Sciota, a distance of sixty-two miles, in which I passed three islands, and several creeks of no account, except Salt Lick Creek, just above the mouth of which is a town called Vance Ville, where considerable salt works are carried on, and salt made of a good quality. This creek is on the Kentucky shore. I should also have remarked, that ten miles above Maysville the town of Manchester stands on the right hand shore. It is not thriving, though it is pleasantly situated, and commands a delightful and extensive view down the Ohio. Immediately above it is a chain of islands, three in number, well timbered, but lying too low to be occupied by the farmer.

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## LETTER XXI.

*Maysville, or Limestone Town—Liberty Town—Interior of Kentucky—Deceitful Prospect—Washington—Mayslick, or Salt-spring—Salt Licks, why so called—The Blue Lick—Millersburgh—Paris.*

*Maysville, or Limestone Key, July, 1806.*

THIS is the oldest, and most accustomed landing place in the whole state of Kentucky, and the termination of the main road from Lexington, and other interior towns. The distance from Lexington is sixty-three miles, and from

Pittsburg four hundred and twenty-five. The creek just above called Limestone creek, is inconsiderable of itself, but affords in high water a small harbour for boats. The landing is a good one, lying in the bend of the river. The town contains about seventy houses, and supplies accommodation for the storage of goods deposited here before they are received into waggons, which take them to Lexington, whence they are distributed through the entire state. It would appear from the commanding situation of the town, from its being a place of deposit, and from the excellence of its landing, that it ought to rise into eminence, and become a place of mercantile importance, and it possibly would, if nature and circumstances had not otherwise determined. It is seated on the segment of a circle, circumscribed to a few acres, cut and intersected by ravines, and bounded by the river in front, and by stupendous mountains in the rear. The town has taken but fifteen years to arrive at the extent of its limits, and the acmé of its vigour; and ten more will close the history of its decline and fall. The cause of a declension so rapid is owing to a town being laid off by the state legislature, about a mile above Maysville, in a spacious and pleasant bottom of the Ohio, which possesses the advantages of extent, water, and excellent roads into the interior of the country. This new town, called Liberty, is progressing fast. Some of the most active and speculative inhabitants have removed to it from Maysville, and a ship yard under the direction of Messieurs Callaghus is established, which has already turned off the stocks, and launched fit for sea, five vessels, the last of which was a fine ship of three hundred and fifty tons!

From Limestone, and of course from Liberty, to the mouth of the Ohio, and down the Mississippi, loaded boats can go at all seasons, unless in time of ice, without any difficulty, except at the falls, and one or two other places. At this period, however, and at all times when the water is entirely low, the navigation is excessively tedious.

I have just returned from a tour of ten days into the interior of Kentucky. I give you the substance of it in as few words as possible.

My landlord at Maysville accommodated me with a tolerable good horse, but the hill was so steep at the back of the town, that I had to lead him up it, for fear of blowing him in the early part of his journey. Arriving on the summit, I was struck with a prospect which has deceived and deluded many a one before me. It was a plain, thickly settled

with excellent well built farm-houses, and raising wheat and corn of a strength and luxuriance perhaps unknown to any other country than the opposite Ohio state. This prospect makes a most infatuated impression on those poor emigrants destined for Kentucky, and who for seven hundred miles before had their view intercepted by mountains, and chains of mountains, extending through the country, or elevating their heads to the skies. Struck with the beauty and richness of the valley at length seen, they would think the land of promise at last obtained; bless their fate, and pursue their journey to meet with other chains of mountains, and other endless succession of hills. The mountain descended, I lost sight of the valley, and gained the summit of a ridge which conducted me to Washington, a town four times as large as Maysville, and but four miles distance from that place.

It appears that Washington was built, and rose into magnitude at a period when the Kentuckeans, terrified at the warlike spirit and just depredations of the Indians, were afraid to dwell upon the river shores, where canoes could silently arrive in the night, and call upon them for a sudden retribution, or inflict upon them a severe revenge! Since that period it has retained its importance, and probably improved, owing to the necessary contraction of Maysville, and the antipathy of the former to the mountain lying between the cultivated grounds and that town.

Mayslick is a salt-spring formerly worked, since abandoned in consequence of the discovery of less feeble waters. It is yet interesting, from having been the resort of millions of animals who came there to purify their blood at annual intervals, and return to the great barrens, swamps, wildernesses, and cane-breaks, in search of favorite pasture though pregnant with putridity and disease. I amused myself more than an hour in discovering vestiges of facts which occurred in the most remote antiquity. No vegetable whatever grows near the Lick. The soil fit for vegetation being trampled down below the surface, and a blue clay trampled up, is perhaps the cause of this phenomenon. At all events it cannot be attributed to the salt and sulphur of the ground, as other grounds are known saturated with those qualities, to produce vegetation in a rich abundance. In the vicinity of the spring are several holes, marked in such a manner as to proclaim at once that they were formed by animals wallowing in them after they had bathed and satiated. Some banks in the neighbourhood are hollowed out in a semilunar manner from

the action of beasts rubbing against them, and carrying off quantities of the earth on their hides, wet, with the view of tempering the mould, and forming a coat of mail to resist the stings of wasps, and all the armed insect tribe. One of those scooped out hollow banks appeared like the side of a hill from which one hundred thousand loads of soil might have been carried off, and the height of the waste of the bank by friction was so great, that I could not reach it within ten feet, though aided by a pole seven feet long. I admit that some of the upper part might have washed down, and given the place a space not required by attrition, but the impression made on the mind from general appearances of the concavity, which cannot be described, was favourable to an idea that the concave sweep was made in the bent by animals of uncommon height and magnitude; probably by the mammoth, whose bones have been often found not far distant from the spot. Other substances within the area of the salt ground evince their having been licked, and worn by the action of the tongue. It was these indications which induced the first settlers to give the name of salt-licks to saline springs. They abound at Mayslick, and are expressed on stones with more precision than on the banks or surface of the impregnated earth, the impressions of which diminish with the increase of time. The indentation on one stone I found to be four inches deep, that is in its greatest concavity, and seven inches wide. On the same rock were several lesser indentations, and on other rocks, after more minute research. I discovered several more concavities both larger and smaller, than what I have described. The stone appeared to me to be a blue limestone, either impregnated with salt, or receiving it on its surface, from the vapours issuing from the spring, and falling to the earth from incapacity to rise in consequence of its density and weight. To me the taste of sulphur appeared to predominate in the spring more than that of salt; and as the salt water rose and blended with the fresh, it diffused itself in black clouds through the surface, and discoloured it as far as the salt undulation could extend.

Having made these few remarks, I mounted my horse, and continued the road to Lexington, till I arrived at a place called the Blue-lick, both from the colour of the stone and the clay brought to the surface by the constant trampling of thousands of animals which formerly frequented the springs. Here also vegetation entirely ceases. The springs are now in operation; the water has not lost its strength; nine hundred gallons are required to fill a



bushel of salt, the price of which at the furnace is two dollars and a half. The indications of rolling in the mire, attrition of banks, and indentions in rocks, from licking their surface, are more numerous at the Blue than at Mayslick; and an old settler informed me, that on searching for the best fountains of salt, bones were found which required from four to six men to remove. One entire *defence*, or mammoth's horn, was raised up, and lay on the bank till knocked to pieces by persons coming along, and who wished to *find out what it was*.

I pursued my journey for the remainder of the day without any particular occurrence to divert my attention, till I arrived late in the evening at a little town called Millersburgh, where I proposed passing the night. Millersburgh is thirty-seven miles from Limestone, and the road, without any essential exception, is a mere buffalo track, following skillfully the ridges of hills and mountains, to avoid deep ravines and swamps, which occasionally occupy the few interstices and intervals which lie between them. Nothing like a plain did I see the whole day, save what I noticed in the morning, or any other prospect whatever, than one mighty scene of endless mountains covered with ponderous and gloomy wood. I did not even meet with so much interval land as could suffice a single farm, and had I not refreshed at the licks, I might have fasted till my arrival at the town. And yet that part of the country is described by Imlay and others, as a lawn producing shrubs and flowers, and fit for the abode of gods instead of man. Had such writers been aware that their romance might occasion miseries in real life, I am willing to think that they would have controuled the fancy which produced it, and have given the world plain and useful truths, which would have served the unfortunate emigrant as a faithful and honest guide, in the place of offering him flattering and fallacious images, the pursuit of which winds up his history of calamity, disappointment and destruction; and he discovers the nature of romance at the price of his happiness and fortune.

After passing the night very uncomfortably at Millersburgh, a complete *Kentucky inn*, I next morning set out and rode to Paris, which was but eight miles from Millersburgh, to breakfast, and had to notice a vast amelioration in the land, and a sensible disposition in the mountains to subside into plains and valleys of greater range and extent than any I had hitherto seen in the state. The ground about Paris, notwithstanding, was broken with several hills, and the town itself stood on the

high bank of a considerable creek, which gave the face of the country a still more interrupted appearance. On the whole, the situation was beautiful, and highly advantageous, as the creek supplied falls for two mills, and water of a good quality, for domestic and other purposes. Paris contains about one hundred and fifty houses, and, being the county town of Bourbon, has a court-house and other offices of justice. When I rode up to the inn, a *negro girl* took my horse to the stable, and said she was hostler!

I arrived at Paris at so early an hour that few of the family were stirring, and no breakfast appeared likely to be had for some time. This reminded me of a very disagreeable custom prevailing all through America. No individual traveller can get breakfast, dinner, or supper, at times of his own choosing. He must wait for the family hours, and till all the strangers assemble and sit down together. Those who arrive after this species of public breakfast, have to wait for dinner, and such as miss the dinner hour must fast till night. They have other customs calculated also to annoy; for instance, on entering the Paris inn, I expressed a wish to have breakfast as soon as possible, as I had to reach Lexington to dinner. And to expedite the breakfast, I begged to have nothing prepared but tea or coffee. These instructions availed me nothing. Children were dispatched after fowls, which took to the gardens and fields, in vain to prolong their minutes, which were numbered; they were caught, plucked, and put on the fire, part of which was previously occupied baking bread, frying ham, &c. &c. After the expiration of two hours, a table was set out with knives, forks, pickles, &c. &c. covered with several dishes of cold and hot meat, while the tea was held at a distance, to be handed at intervals *for drink*. I made my breakfast on tea and heavy hot bricks, and could not resist telling the landlady that she would have spared herself much trouble, and given me much time, had she made but a cup of tea in the first instance. She observed, that might be, but that she was always *used* to do as she had done, and altered her ways for nobody. I asked her what was to pay, and cast a dollar upon the table, enraged at the low state of some minds, their attachment to wrong, and determination to persist in evil and dull habits, which they know to be adverse to their prosperity and improvement. She took up the dollar, and pitching it to a negro, desired him to *chop it*. "Chop it! ma'am I want it changed." She made no reply, but going to the man, desired him to *chop* out of the dollar one quarter and one

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eighth; in other words, to cut out her charge of one shilling and threepence for my breakfast, and ninepence for my horse. The man did this with great dexterity, and returned me the dollar with nearly one fourth cut out, with an angle running to the middle, which gave it the appearance of three fourths of a circle. Learning that this was the legal mode of procuring change, I got the same dexterous person to transform a couple more dollars with his chisel, into quarters, eighths, and sixteenths. He executed that service in a few moments; I received a handful of small change, which I found of advantage on the road.

Supplied with change and fresh information, I left Paris, and arrived at Lexington, through a country for the most part fertile, and cultivated in the proportion of one enclosed acre to one thousand waste. A very great proportion in favour of agriculture above any part I have seen since my descent of the river, or since my arrival on the west side of the Alleghany mountains. Farewell, I shall resume this route in my next.

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## LETTER XXII.

*Lexington described—Churches—University—Amusements—Concerts and Balls—The Inhabitants, Male and Female—Trade—The Merchants, their great Wealth—The Market—Expence of Boarding—The Town likely to decrease—Climate—Fever—Their Causes—Soil—Farms, Produce, &c.—A Catacomb, with Mummies—Manner of embalming.*

*Maysville, Limestone, July, 1806.*

LEXINGTON stands in that portion of the state of Kentucky which has been so celebrated for its excessive fertility, pre-eminent beauty, and abundant advantages. It is the most flourishing, and with but one exception, the largest inland town in the United States. The site is a valley running between the rise of grounds, which undulate like the sea, and subside into plains whose inclination is merely sufficient to cast off the waters without confining the circulation of air, or circumscribing the prospect around. No situation could be more favourable, except for the absence of water.

The town is composed of upwards of three hundred houses, ranged into streets, intersecting each other at right angles, they are principally built of brick, in a handsome modern manner, and many of them are furnished with some pretensions to European elegance. The public buildings consist of a university, court-house, market hall, bank, and four churches, if they can be so called, one Lutheran, one presbyterian, and two sects of methodists. The inhabitants shew demonstrations of civilization; but at particular times on Sundays and market days they give a loose to their dispositions, and exhibit many traits that should exclusively belong to untutored savages. Their churches have never been finished, and they have all the glass struck out by boys in the day, and the inside torn up by rogues and prostitutes who frequent them at night.

The university is a good brick building, supported by public bounty, eleemosinary collections, and private munificence. Some gentlemen in London have furnished it with books and mathematical instruments. It has a principal, two Latin and Greek, and one English and mathematical professor. These gentlemen are appointed by the governors of the university, who are the head officers of state and citizens of the town of Lexington. The university is not calculated to lodge the scholars who frequent it; they amount to one hundred, and are boarded in the town for sixteen pounds each per annum, washing and lodging inclusive. The course of study and the plan of the university is after the manner of a good English grammar school, and turns out young men who are far from being contemptible scholars.

The prevailing individual amusements of Lexington are drinking, and gambling at billiards and cards. Every idle hour is spent at taverns and billiard rooms. The public amusements consist of concerts and balls, which are well attended, and by a company not expected to be seen on a transmontane state. The ladies express in their opinions and manners a vast superiority over the men. They are in general better educated, and by leading a temperate life of serene repose, they preserve a tranquil and healthy appearance, which the men forfeit at an early period, by a propensity to drinking, and by abandoning themselves at all times to turbulent and unruly passions. The women are fair and florid—many of them might be considered as rude beauties, but none of them have any pretensions to that chaste and elegant form of person and countenance which

distinguish our countrywomen and other ladies of Europe. The absence of that irresistible grace and expression may be attributed to their distance from improved society, and to the savage taste and vulgarity of the men.

A small party of rich citizens are endeavouring to withdraw themselves from the multitude, or to draw a line of distinction between themselves as *gens comme il faut* and the *canaille*. The public at large consider this a dangerous innovation; they wish men to continue all vagrants alike, and fear that the light of a few characters distinguished by a superiority of virtue and integrity, will exhibit general deformity in stronger colours, and render public vice more great and flagitious than what their conduct could wish it to appear. The present better sort of persons consist of six or eight families, who live in a handsome manner, keep livery servants, and admit no persons to their tables of vulgar manners or suspicious character. As wealth increases in Kentucky, the *line of distinction* will extend through Lexington to the minor commercial towns, and may possibly pervade the country after a lapse of some centuries.

The principal business of the town and state is conducted by the heads of the houses emancipated from the vulgar bondage of the people. That business consists of ordering immense quantities of goods from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and in bartering the same through the state for produce, which they forward to Frankfort and Lanesville by land, and from thence to New Orleans by water. The goods are all British of every kind, and the produce taken in exchange consists of flour, corn, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, ginseng, &c. and of live hogs, pork, hams and bacon. The merchants of Lexington not only supply their own state, but that of Tennessee, which lies to the southward of them, and part of the Indian territory, which lies to the north, in consequence they are becoming extremely wealthy, possessing from fifteen to forty thousand dollars a year, and are instrumental to the dissemination of wealth in the town, and all the collateral state settlements.

The market is abundantly supplied with every article of provision found in the first markets of Europe, except fish. I cannot give you a better idea of its cheapness, than by stating certain demands of publicans and others. The highest taverns charge half a dollar a day for lodging and three repasts, each of which consists of a profusion of meat and game, with vegetables of various sorts. The morning and evening meal has in addition, coffee and tea, which are

handed when called for, being considered as no more than auxiliaries to the feast. Inferior taverns find every accommodation for two dollars a week, and boarding houses furnish the same from fifty to one hundred dollars per year.

Under these considerations it might be conceived, that Lexington must become a place of magnitude and importance. There are, however, circumstances which refuse encouragement to such an idea. The state of Kentucky is not likely to increase in population. I may even be nearer to truth in the assertion, that its numbers will decrease, and rapidly decline. There was a time when its reputation was so great, that the stream of emigration set into it from the east, and deposited here the riches and the people of numerous provinces. This people and others brought into the west by the same flood, in the process of a few years explored other regions, and opened avenues to other countries and climes more generally fertile and capable of supplying the comforts and necessities of life. Many have gone north to the Ohio, some north and west to the Indian territory, and thousands have passed to the south, to people the Tennessee, and the remote forests of Louisiana. This spirit of emigration still prevailing, it is evident that the town and state are no longer susceptible of rising into eminence, and that their decline and degeneracy in wealth are reasonably to be apprehended.

In regard to the climate, the winter is mild: snow and frost seldom continue above three or four weeks; the spring is dry, interrupted only by the necessary refreshment of occasional showers; the summer is not violently hot, being tempered by a perpetual breeze: and the autumn is distinguished by the name of the second summer. Controuled by these facts, the public cry is, that Kentucky *must* be healthy, that, enjoying such a climate, it cannot be otherwise, and that no country of the globe can boast such salubrity and such an atmosphere. It is my misfortune to have to dispute and to deny these facts—which I too wished to cherish, but which vanish before investigation and enquiry. A spring, summer, and fall fever regularly visits the town of Lexington, and every settlement of the state: and at the moment I was in Lexington a malignant disease raged with such violence at the town of Frankfort, but twenty-four miles distant, that all intercourse and communication between that town and country were suspended and cut off. Louisville, another town on the Ohio, has lost all its original settlers in the period of ten years; and every other town

and portion of the state are affected with periodical complaints.

On reflection and conviction of the charms of the seasons, I am forced into the opinion that the climate itself is healthy, but subject to corruption from local circumstances and mephitic vapour, introduced into the atmosphere from the southern and western swamps and stagnated waters. There is nothing more common in Kentucky in the fine seasons, than to meet with bodies of warm air, which though they pass rapidly by, very forcibly strike the senses. Their heat is considerably beyond that of the human body. They have been calculated to be about twenty or thirty feet diameter horizontally. Of their height there is no experience, but probably they are globular volumes rolled along with the wind, and generated in the cypress swamps of the corrupt provinces of Louisiana. They are most frequent at sun-set, rare in the middle parts of the day, and hardly ever met with in the morning. That they are noxious there can be but little doubt, from their oppressive heat, and the languor they cause in those whom they strike, and on whose habitations they sometimes tarry. Their motion is very sluggish, except when accelerated by winds, at which times they move with so much velocity as not to afford time to the most sensible thermometer to seize their temperature. To these two causes, local corruptions and disease imported in large volumes of contagious air, I am inclined to attribute the unhealthiness of the country.

Lexington was formerly the capital of the state. That title has been transferred to Frankfort, in consequence, I presume, of that town standing on the head of the navigation of a river of the same name. From the dreadful periodical sickness of that town the legislature is again expected to return to Lexington, where a large court-house is now building, and some other public works going on. If this event does take place, it will add considerably to the consequence of the town, by augmenting its population, and increasing its opulence.

The soil round Lexington is from one to thirty feet deep—the bottom throughout the whole state a solid bed of limestone. The beds of creeks and streams are solid limestone; and the Kentucky river runs through a natural caual, whose perpendicular sides of one hundred feet high, are composed of limestone rock. The farms in the vicinity of Lexington are very neat, and many of them affect the English manner. The produce is great, the price low.

Flour three dollars per barrel—Corn one shilling per bushel. The distribution of water is very unequal through the state. The greatest part of the farms have none but what they procure from wells cut through the limestone rock, several feet thick, and through strata of clay and gravel of infinite hard labor. The wells in general descend sixty feet. Gardens produce with great and excellent abundance. Melons, cucumbers, &c. grow in the open air, without manure or attention. Grapes cluster in the woods, and peaches and pomegranates flourish in the corn fields.

Lexington stands nearly on the site of an old Indian town, which must have been of great extent and magnificence, as is amply evinced by the wide range of its circumvallatory works, and the quantity of ground it once occupied. Time, and the more destructive ravages of man, have nearly levelled these remains of former greatness with the dust, and would possibly allow them to sink into an entire oblivion, were they not connected with a catacomb, formed in the bowels of the limestone rock, about fifteen feet below the surface of the earth, and lying adjacent to the town of Lexington! This grand object, so novel and extraordinary in America, was discovered about twenty years ago by some of the first settlers, whose curiosity was excited by something remarkable in the character of stones which struck their attention while hunting in the woods. They removed these stones, and came to others of singular workmanship; the removal of which laid open the mouth of a cave—deep, gloomy, and terrific. With augmented numbers, and provided with cordage and light, they descended, and entered without obstruction a spacious apartment; the sides and extreme ends were formed into niches and compartments, and occupied by figures representing men! When alarm subsided, and the sentiment of dismay and surprise permitted further research and enquiry, the figures were found to be Indian mummies, preserved by the art of embalming to great preservation and perfection of state!

Unfortunately for antiquity, science, and every thing else held sacred by the illumined and learned, this inestimable discovery was made at a period when a bloody and inveterate warfare was carried on between the Indians and the whites, and the power of the former was displayed in so formidable a manner, that the latter were filled with terror and a spirit of revenge, which manifested itself both on contemptible and important occasions. Animated by this worthless and detestable spirit, the discoverers of the catacomb delighted



to wreak their vengeance even on the Indian dead. They dragged the mummies to the day, tore the bandages open, kicked the bodies into dust, and made a general bonfire of the most ancient remains antiquity could boast: of remains respected by many hundred revolving years, held sacred by time, and unsusceptible of corruption, if not visited by profane and violating hands!

What these despoilers did not accomplish, their followers in the course of time took care to effect. I have explored the catacomb, and can bear testimony to the industry and determination of the *curious* who resort to it to efface every mark of workmanship, and to destroy every evidence of its intention or original design!—The angles and ornaments of the niches are mutilated; all projections and protuberances are struck off; every mummy removed, and so many fires have been made in the place, either to warm the visitors or to burn up the remains, that the shades, dispositions, and aspects, have been tortured into essential difference and change.

The descent is gradually inclined, without a rapid or flight of stairs.—The width four feet, the height seven.—The passage but six feet long, is a proportion larger, and the catacomb extends one hundred paces by thirty-five. It is about eighteen feet high; the roof represents an irregular vault, and the floor an oblong square nearly level. From the niches and shelvings on the sides, it might be conjectured that the catacomb could contain, in appropriate situations, about two thousand mummies. I could never learn the exact quantity it did contain, the answer to my enquiries being “Oh! they burned up and destroyed hundreds.” Nor could I arrive at any knowledge of the fashion, manner, and apparel of the mummies in general, or receive any other information than that “they were well *lapped up*, appeared sound and *red*, and consumed in the fire with a rapidity that baffled all observation and description.”

Not content with such general and traditionary remarks, I employed several hands, and brought to light forty or fifty baskets of rubbish gleaned throughout the vault, both from the sides and from the floor. The dust of the heap was so light, impalpable and pungent, that it rose into the atmosphere and affected the senses so much as to cause effusion of the eyes and sneezing, to a troublesome degree. I still proceeded on a minute investigation, and separated from the general mass, several pieces of human limbs, fragments of bodies, solid, sound, and apparently capable of eternal du-

ration! with much violence they broke into parts, but emitted no dust, or shewed any inclinations to putrization. The impalpable powder arose from the bands and ligatures with which they were bound, the pungency of which denoted their composition to be vegetable matter.

In a cold state the subjects had no smell whatever, but when submitted to the action of fire they consumed with great violence, emitted no smoke, and diffused an agreeable effluvia which scented the air, but with no particular fragrance to which it could be assimilated.

How these bodies were embalmed, how long preserved; by what nation, and from what people descended, no ideas can be formed, nor any calculation made, but what must result from speculative fancy and wild conjectures. For my part, I am lost in the deepest ignorance. My readings afford me no knowledge, my travels no light. I have neither read, heard, nor known of any of the North American Indians who formed catacombs for their dead, or who were acquainted with the art of preservation by embalming. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, had three methods of embalming; but Diodorus observes, that the ancient Egyptians had a fourth method, of far greater superiority. That manner is not mentioned by Diodorus, it has been extinct three thousand years, and yet I cannot think it presumptuous to conceive that the Indians were acquainted with it, or with a mode of equal virtue and effect.

The Kentuckeyans assert in the very words of the Greek, that the features of the face and the form and appearance of the whole body were so well preserved, that they must have been the exact representations of the living subjects. The Indians could not have the art of embalming in the methods made known by Herodotus, because they never could have had the necessary materials—as evidence, let us review the three systems, to which, in Egypt, different prices were attached. In the most esteemed method, they extracted the brains by the nose with a crooked iron, and then poured in drugs, afterwards they opened the body, took out the bowels, washed the inside with palm wine, and having rubbed into it pounded perfumes, filled the cavity with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, and then sewed it up. After this they washed the body with nitre, then let it lie seventy days; and having washed it again, bound it up in folds of linen, besmearing it over with gums which they used instead of glue. The relations then took home the body, and enclosing it in the wooden figure of a man, placed it in the catacombs. Another method of embalming was injecting

turpentine of cedar with a pipe into the body, without cutting it; they then salted it for seventy days, and afterwards drew out the pipe, which brought along with it the intestines. The nitre dried up the flesh, leaving nothing but skin and bones. The third way was only cleansing the inside with salt and water, and salting it for seventy days.

The first of these methods could not have been employed by the Indians, for want of palm wine, myrrh, cassia, and other perfumes. The second could not be that practised by them, as it tended to waste the flesh and preserve the mere skin and bones—and the third is inadmissible, from its incapacity to resist the unremitting destruction and ravages of time.

An argument may be adduced to favor an opinion of the remote antiquity of the Indian mummies, from the entire and complete consumption of their bandages, wrappers, and bands—which on the Egyptian mummies continue to this day in higher preservation than the body they envelop. There is a mummy in an English collection of curiosities, brought from Egypt by the French, and taken from them by one of our privateers, which is remarkable for containing only the head and part of the thigh and leg bones wrapped in folds of fine linen to the consistence of three inches thick. The linen in some parts was as white and perfect as new, and on the legs there was some appearance of the flesh still remaining, although, from a moderate calculation, it must have been embalmed upwards of two thousand years. It may then again be repeated, that the Indian mummies are of higher antiquity than the Egyptian, as the bandages are consumed on the one though not on the other, except, as I had occasion to remark, that the Indian ligatures were of a substance more susceptible of decay than the Egyptian. But this is a subject of too great magnitude, variety, and diffusion, for my purpose. I submit the fact for the consideration of a better judgment, and an abler pen, and conclude by informing you, that I restored every article to the catacomb—save some specimens retained as objects of the first curiosity, and blocking up the entry with the huge stones which originally closed it up, left the spot with the strongest emotions of veneration and displeasure; veneration for so sublime a monument of antiquity, and displeasure against the men whose barbarous and brutal hands reduced it to such a state of waste and desolation.

No other catacomb is known in the state, though barrows abound in various directions.

## LETTER XXIII.

*Excellent Navigation between Limestone and Cincinnati—  
 Augusta—The Little Miami of the Ohio—Columbo—  
 Ticking River—Cincinnati—Details of this important  
 Town—Interesting Anecdote of a Lady.*

*Cincinnati, State of Ohio, July, 1805.*

THE navigation is so very good between Limestone and this town, a distance of sixty-eight miles, that I descended in two short days run, without meeting any obstruction, there being but one island close to the Kentucky shore in the whole course, and I understand that there is no other to be met with for seventy-two miles further down, which leaves a range of one hundred and fifty miles of free navigation—a scope without example in any other of the western waters.

Leaving Limestone seven miles, the first object I came to was Eagle Creek, on the right hand shore. A little above it on the Kentucky side is a small town called Charlestown, opposite to which place, in the middle of the river, is a very large sand bar, the channel part being on the left hand shore. Four miles from Eagle is Bracken Creek, on the Kentucky shore. It gives name to the county through which it runs. The county town is fixed at the mouth of an extensive bottom, and in a very handsome situation. It is yet small, not being long laid out.—Augusta is the name given to it. I am disposed to think very favourably of the taste of the inhabitants, from the judicious manner they have cleared the timber of their settlement. They have left on a very fine bank of gradual descent to the water, six rows of stately trees, which form several grand avenues, and afford shade from the sun, without obstructing the breeze or circulation of air. They have also left clumps of trees and small groves in the improvements, which have a pleasing effect, and strike the attention more forcibly, as Augusta is the only town on the river which has respected the ornaments of nature, or left a single shrub planted by her chaste yet prodigal hand. In all other settlements the predominant rage is to destroy the woods, and what the axe cannot overturn is left to the vigour of fire. This element is applied to a work which mocks the labour of man, and in a short time con-

verts the greatest forests and the richest scenes to a dreary prospect of dissolution and waste.

Between Augusta and the Little Miami of the Ohio, a distance of forty-two miles, I met with no circumstance worth relating. The Little Miami of the Ohio is sixty or seventy yards wide at its mouth, is sixty miles to its source, and affords no navigation. The lands on its banks are reckoned among the richest on the continent of America: they lie low, are considerably settled, and sell for from three to twenty dollars per acre. The river abounds in fish, runs over a rocky channel, and is as clear as fountain water. Just below the junction of this stream with the Ohio is the town of Columbia, which rose out of the woods a few years ago with great rapidity and promise, and now is on the decline, being sickly, and subject to insolation, when the waters of the Miami are backed up the country by the rise of the Ohio in the spring; the current of the Ohio being so impetuous as to hinder the Miami from flowing into the stream.

Directly on turning into Cincinnati, I saw Licking river on the Kentucky shore. It is a large stream navigable for canoes and bateaux a considerable way up. The town of Newport is situated on the point formed by the junctions of this river with the Ohio.

Cincinnati is opposite the mouth of Licking on the right hand shore. It is four hundred and ninety-three miles from Pittsburg, was once the capital of the North Western territory, and is now the largest town of the Ohio state, though not the seat of government; Chillicothe being the capital, and the residence of the governor and legislative body. The town consists of about three hundred houses, frame and log, built on two plains, the higher and the lower, each of which commands a fine view of the opposite shore, the mouth of Licking, the town of Newport, and the Ohio waters, for a considerable way, both up and down. The public buildings consist of a court-house, prison, and two places of worship; and two printing presses are established, which issue papers once a week. Cincinnati is also the line of communication with the chain of forts extended from Fort Washington to the westward, and is the principal town in what is called Symmes's Purchase. The garrison end of the town, is now in a state of ruin. A land office for the sale of Congress lands at two dollars per acre, is held in the town, and made no less than seventeen thousand contracts last year, with persons both from Europe and all parts of the United States. So very great and extensive is

the character of the portion of the state of which this town is the port and capital, that it absorbs the whole reputation of the country, deprives it of its topographical name, and is distinguished by that of the "Miami." In Holland, Germany, Ireland, and the remote parts of America, persons intending to emigrate, declare that they will go to the "Miami."

This reputation gives considerable consequence to the town, by adding to its population, and still more by populating the immense regions of its back country. These regions are already making rapid advances in agriculture, and as Cincinnati is the emporium, its trade must be soon considerable, and ultimately great. The commerce at present is conducted by about the keepers of thirty stores, who issue to farmers and settlers all manner of British goods, and foreign and domestic spirits, in return for which they receive produce which is converted into cash on being forwarded down the river to New Orleans and the West Indies. The produce is abundant, but simple. It consists chiefly of flour and provisions, in beef, butter, and pork. The prices can hardly be adequate to the labour. Flour is three dollars and a half per barrel. Pork two and a half per cwt.; beef two; and butter sixpence per pound. I have no conception how the farmer succeeds. The merchants, however, make an exorbitant profit; those of four years standing, who come with goods obtained at Philadelphia and Baltimore *on credit*, have paid their debts, and now live at their ease.

Of the society of the town it is difficult to give you a just idea, as from its heterogeneous nature it does not admit of being described by leading and characteristic features. The town was originally settled by a few of the officers and men of the disbanded western army; they and their offspring are known by certain aristocratic traits, a distinction in living, and a generous hospitality. These were followed by a number of Dutch and Germans, who are remarkable solely for domestic parsimony, industry, and moral conduct. A body of Irish next settled, and they too have their particular walk, in which they exhibit many virtues blended with strange absurdities, the one making them estimable, and the other rendering them ridiculous; the one manifesting itself in acts of humanity, public spirit and benevolence, and the other in duelling, points of honour, ruin, and flagitiousness! To complete the nations of this population, some French emigrants took up their abode in Cincinnati, and their publicity consists in their introduction of

the dance, music, billiards, and the fabric of liqueurs, sweet-meats, and savoury patties.

I believe you will allow, that until these contrasted materials amalgamate, there is no possibility of predicating any fixed opinion of the society they compose. I am happy notwithstanding to affirm, that in general the people of Cincinnati make a favourable impression; they are orderly, decent, sociable, liberal and unassuming, and were I compelled to live in the western country, I would give their town a decided preference. There are among the citizens several gentlemen of integrity, intelligence, and worth. General's Gano and Finley, and Messieurs Dugan and Moore, would be respected in the first circles of Europe. I experienced from them in my mere quality of stranger, attentions which it would be the blackest ingratitude to forget, and for which they shall ever have my respect and esteem. Nor can I omit telling you that I have been favoured with the friendship and notice of Doctor Goforth, a very skillful physician, and a true lover of learning and science. I derive much pleasure, and glean much information from his society. He has lived in the western world twenty years, and employed the beginning of that period in the study of nature, from which he was turned by the scoffs of the vulgar and the ridicule of fools.

The amusements consist of balls and *amateur* plays, the profits of which going to literary and humane purposes, disposes me to consider them both entertaining and good. But I cannot form any judgment, the winter being the season for such spectacles. I have met with several ladies of comeliness, instruction and taste. They are generally tall, slender, and graceful figures, with much animation and expression. Their affability is very pleasing, being at once remote from a vulgar familiarity and a hypocritical restraint. One young lady in particular is an object of general admiration and regard, pity and commiseration. She is a beauty of the first order, of the most exquisite proportion, and inimitable grace, and was instructed at New York in every art fitted to improve the heart and embellish the mind. Her accomplishments gave delight, her conversations wisdom, and her example instruction. So infinite was her excellence, that it put down all competition of beauty and talent, and the town considered their *Clara* as its pride and boast. On a water excursion a few years ago, *Clara* and a small party were overtaken by a thunder storm. The first flash struck a friend dead at her feet, and the second nearly rent the

boat, and cast it on a rock, from which the remaining party providentially were saved. To the astonishment of all who had known the sensibility and refinement of Clara's mind, she betrayed no horror, uttered no lamentation, and shed no tear! She walked home in silence, and so remains ever since. The flash which deprived her friend of life destroyed her utterance, her hearing and her speech. It destroyed the faculty of mental feeling, the recollection of the past; and the elegant, once instructive Clara, on my introduction to her, was a Medician Venus, dumb, deaf, and imitably beautiful, though entirely insensible and terrifically cold. Her countenance has lost the happy faculty of mental expression, and has assumed a frigid, void, or a constant shew of vacant astonishment distressing to the feeling spectator. In other respects the injury done her senses extends no more than to the obliteration of all actions anterior to her sufferings. She reads, frequents society, and expresses herself on her fingers and on paper with great facility, with reference to future, but never to past events. The young people of the town, of her acquaintance, from a spirit of gallantry and attachment, have all learnt to converse with her on their fingers: with the old, and with strangers, she is fond of using pen and paper. After my introduction, she made signs for a sheet of paper, &c. and wrote with uncommon precision and rapidity a series of questions, leaving blanks for the appropriate answers. I answered the queries, which were generally common-place, and she wrote one more, which demanded, "I cannot comprehend why a man like you can live on waters and in wildernesses. Do tell me what is your motive?" "To study nature and to obtain knowledge," was my reply. She paused for a considerable time, and again wrote a number of queries which occupied a conversation of two hours, and struck some bright coruscations from a mind I am happy to find yet lovely, bright, energetic, and strong.

There is a good market held twice a week: the prices of provisions very nearly the same as at Lexington and at Pittsburg.



## LETTER XXIV.

*Cincinnati—Built on the Site of an ancient Indian Settlement—An astonishing Curiosity—Other Antiquities—Fine Paintings.*

*Cincinnati, State of Ohio, July, 1806.*

THIS town is situated on the site of an Indian settlement of great extent and antiquity. I had to remark in my last letter, that the modern buildings occupied an upper and lower level or plain; the former Indian ones however were solely confined to the highest lawn, at least no traces of art have ever been discovered on the bottom land next the river, though they abound on that above it, and are so conspicuous as to catch the first range of the eye. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that at the remote period of the Indian works, the lowest level formed part of the bed of the Ohio. The retreat of the waters is at this hour discernible, and the cultivator often turns up shells, fossils, and petrifications of aquatic substances, which place the fact beyond contradiction. Some of these are marine productions! A petrified lobster's claw; a conch shell, and quantities of fine coral, elegantly wrought and varied by the richest colours! Surely these infer the residence of water at a distant time, and also I conceive they infer that that water must have been salt! If so, what a vast change must the face of nature have undergone! What vicissitudes of climate! What variations of vegetable produce! What contrast in bulk, form, stature, and duration of animal character and life!

The upper level possesses none of those marine productions, but it has disclosed a curiosity which fills me with greater wonder. A gentleman now living close to Cincinnati, on the upper bank, where he built an excellent brick house, had occasion for a well, and persevered in digging for water, though he met with none at the depth of sixty feet: continuing on, his workmen found themselves at once obstructed by a substance which resisted their labour, though it evidently was not stone. They cleared the surface, and soon made it appear to be the stump of a tree which had been cut down with an axe! The incisions of an axe were perfectly visible, and the chips made by its

action lay scattered about its roots! The stump was three feet in diameter, and two in perpendicular above its knees. It was nearly of the colour and apparent character of coal, but divested of the friable and fusible quality of that mineral. I have these facts from my very intelligent friend, Dr. Goforth, and twenty others of honour and veracity, who saw the chips cast out of the well before the men broke up the body to which they originally adhered. The roots and stump, from being turgid, tough, saturated, and in part petrified, took considerable time to remove. Ten feet beneath water sprang up, and the well is now in constant supply and high repute. After the most industrious search, I obtained a piece of the stump and an original chip, which I shall preserve with all the devotion becoming their rank, as relics of the most indubitable and remote antiquity. It would occupy volumes to submit the various speculations which traverse the mind while it indulges in reverie on this wide and multifarious subject. Those which strike me the most forcibly are :—

1st, That the tree was undoubtedly antediluvian.

2nd, That the river now called the Ohio did not exist anterior to the deluge, in as much as the remains of the tree were found firmly rooted, in their original position, several feet below the bed of that river.

3d, That America was peopled before the flood, as appears from the action of the axe, and the cutting down of the tree.

4th, That the antediluvian Americans were acquainted with the use and properties of iron, of the advantage and knowledge of which the flood deprived their descendants, and from which it would appear that the same flood swept off every individual from whom that knowledge might be derived. I have said in the first part of this letter, that the upper town is erected on the immediate site of an old Indian settlement. There is no such thing as forming an exact opinion as to its antiquity, though a strong judgment may be formed from the growth of the timber now in bloom and decay, on many parts of the remaining works. Several trees were found six feet in diameter, and some nine, hollowed out by the assiduity of time from the summit to the base! The remaining Indian works consist of,

1. A barrow, or funeral pile.
2. An enclosed or fortified camp.
3. Mounds.

The barrow is seated in the centre of the upper and lower

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town, on the edge of the upper bank. The principal street leading from the water is cut through the barrow, and exposes its strata and remains to every person passing by. Children often amuse themselves in undermining the banks, till large quantities fall down, in which they search for, and often find arrow points, beads, and many other curiosities. I made a regular search myself, and found the barrow constructed precisely after the manner of that I described to you near the banks of the Muskingum. The dead repose in double horizontal tiers; between each tier are regular layers of sand, flat surfaced stones, gravel and earth. I counted seven tiers, and might have discovered more, but was compelled to desist from the annoyance of the multitude gathering about me. Three out of seven skeletons were in great preservation, and in a progressive state of putrefaction. With the dead were buried their ornaments, arms and utensils, as appears from my having turned up, in less than three hours scrutinizing, my hat full of beads, several arrow points, two stone hatchets, many pieces of pottery, and a flute made of the great bone of the human leg. It is a very curious instrument, with beautifully engraved or carved figures representing birds, squirrels, and small animals, and perforated holes in the old German manner. When breathed into it emits tones of great melody, but fails in quick and lively transitions. The modern Indians were found without any instrument of this nature. Such were the objects I obtained, but I am informed by Dr. Goforth, that when the street was formed through the barrow, a great variety of interesting and valuable relics were brought to light; among which were human grinders, which on a moderate calculation bespoke a man of four times the size of the modern human race, some brass rings, and an ivory image eminently executed, denoting a female figure in the act of pressing a child to her naked bosom.

Having restored the bones and other substances to the barrow, and closed up the orifice I had made, I went, full of anxiety and perturbation, which I could neither stifle or conceal, from house to house, in pursuit of an image, the material character and description of which differed so essentially from any object ever before discovered in the western world. I was not so successful in my pursuit as to see or procure the image. I obtained, however, some gratification from its history, and a knowledge of the hands in which it is placed. It seems that the catholics availed themselves of the image, and made it a testimony of the anti-

quity of their religion and the extensive range of their worship, by attempting to prove thereby, that the Indian idol was nothing less than a *Madonna and child*, and that the Roman catholic religion by the command of God was the first which rose in the earliest Christian age of the east, and the last which set in the west, where it suffered extinctions by a second deluge, of which all allow the traces evidently appear. The exultation of these enthusiasts spread the reputation of the "graven image" far and near, when an officer under the general government descending the Ohio, obtained it by purchase from the proprietor, and sent it to Mr. Jefferson, who no doubt has made a communication to the American Philosophical Society, and whose account I have infinite anxiety to hear.

The account by tradition says, the idol is seven inches high, the figure full length, the costume a robe in numberless folds, well expressed, and the hair displayed in many ringlets. The child naked near the left breast, and the mother's eyes bent on it with a strong expression of affection and endearment. Thus I give you the facts as they came to my knowledge, on this extraordinary subject; they are dark and mysterious I allow, and yet I cannot cast on them any illumination.

I next visited the fortified camp, which is within five minutes walk of the barrow. It lies close to the well from the bottom of which the remains of the tree were thrown up. Of the camp there is nothing whatever visible but a wall forming a true circle; which contains about three acres of perfectly level ground. The wall is of earth; may be about seven feet high, and twenty broad at its base. On its surface grew several trees, the stumps of which remain, and measure from six to sixteen feet in circumference. The gentleman who sunk the well is the proprietor of the camp, and he has been obliged, for the uniformity of his other improvements, to include segments of the great circle in his garden and enclosed grounds. This necessity is much to be lamented, as it obstructs the *coup d'œil* of the entire work, and predicts in time its complete dissolution. A few years ago it was a correct uninterrupted circle of great beauty and ornament to the town; it is now cut and intersected by walls and fences, but easily made out on looking them over, and following the inclination of the ring. There is one remarkable circumstance attending this wall, that it has no ditch or dyke on either side; and as it is composed of materials supposed to be brought from the shore, there remains no

doubt of its being erected with great difficulty, and at the expence of much assiduity and time. This, and numerous other fortified camps, also prove that the Indians of a former period were not wandering tribes, but a people associated under a regular form of government; acquainted with certain laws of nations, and having bounds to their own, which their camps and strongholds shewed a determination to value and to protect. In the eastern states, where land is sterile and poor, ancient fortifications are rarely met with, and there it is probable a wandering life was preferred to a permanent abode, where existence was to be maintained by perpetual industry and labour.

The mounds are as far from the camp as the camp is from the town. There are two which are within pistol shot of each other. It appears evident that the largest of the two was erected for a post of look-out and observation; at least it is so admirably calculated for that purpose, that the Americans during the Indian war, stationed on it a picquet, and even levelled about twenty feet of its summit. It stands on a plain, is of a spheroidal form, sixty feet high, and one hundred and fifty through its longest horizontal base. I am informed by a continental officer who levelled the summit by order of General St. Clair, that the view from the mound was very extensive when in its primitive state. He could see both up and down the river, across to the Kentucky shore, and all the passes in the mountain, in the rear of the settlement and camp. He also observed that the mound ran nearly to a spiral point, which circumstance induced General St. Clair to conceive it a barrow of the dead, and when the twenty feet were struck off the top, he attended to examine the substance, but could discover nothing on which to establish his opinion. However indisputably calculated it is for a place of observation, I am strongly inclined to meet the General in his conception, and to believe that the mound was originally intended for the mausoleum of a single chief who lies interred immediately under the stupendous heap. My enquiries have enabled me to determine, that there were western nations who honoured their principal sachem and warrior with separate sepulchres placed on the highest grounds, therefore it cannot be rash to consider this the mausoleum of an individual, and also a place of look-out when necessity and circumstances shewed eligible for that intent. The mound adjacent to it, and which is less by twenty degrees, and perfectly round, was certainly a sepulchre. It stands in a part of the plain which is occupied as a race-ground, and the

starting-post rises from its centre. When the post was first sunk, the workmen discovered human bones, and after much examination, traced the remains of one skeleton, and no more.

At the back of the town, and near the foot of the hills which lie between the plain and back country, are two more mounds of an equal size, and about twenty feet high from the centre of their base. I explored one minutely, by cutting a trench from east to west four feet in diameter. At the depth of ten feet I came to some heavy stones, underneath which was a body of composition resembling plaster of Paris. This broke with great difficulty, and exposed a few fragments of a human skeleton extended on a bed of a similar nature with the covering. Determined to ascertain whether the monument was erected in memory of one person, I broke through the bed, and found underneath a stratum of stones, gravel, and earth nearly to the bottom, mixed with bones appertaining to the human frame. The few fragments I carefully collected consisted of one tibia, two pieces of the thigh bone, and the right upper and the left under-jaw. Little observation was necessary to shew that they were not the fragments of the skeleton of an adult! This was a more important fact than I expected to establish, and though my enquiry into the mound was attended with expence and trouble, I considered myself amply recompensed, by proving in the first instance, that mounds in general, are the sepulchres of eminent individuals; and in the second, that the nation who erected the mound in which the child was buried, was governed by a line of hereditary chiefs, as is evident from the nature and distinction of the interment of an infant, who certainly could not have been an elected chief. That the remains belonged to an infant is clear, both from their diminutive size and want of sockets for the cutting-teeth of either jaw.

Wearied of grave-digging, bones, and skeletons, I shall say but two more words on the subject, and then fly to some other. I consider mounds as the tumuli of kings and chieftains, and barrows as sepulchres of the vulgar dead. The former were subject to vary in size according to rank of the individual, or the estimation in which he was held; and the latter varied according to the population of the nation, and increased with number of the interred. Mounds are spherical figures, and barrows are oblong squares. Under particular circumstances, mounds have been made to answer the purpose of a look-out, and in consequence, are often found

distant from the camp, and commanding the most extensive views; but barrows, from having never received a varied purpose, are constantly discovered in the close vicinity of a town, or adjacent to a fort. There is no greater mistake than that which has so long prevailed, that barrows have been erected on fields of battle, to cover and to distinguish the slain. This opinion arose from the circumstance of arrow-points and other war instruments being promiscuously found with the bones. It is now well ascertained that such objects, and many others, both of ornament and use, were always interred with the dead to whom they appertained; and the construction of the barrows, the order, strata, and essential difference in the preservation and decay of the skeletons, prove the whole to be the progressive work of numerous years, and not the hasty production of a people lavishing honors on the slain in battle.

The next relic of antiquity in Cincinnati, is a spherical stone, found a few years since on the fall of a large portion of the bank of the river. It is a green stone, twelve inches in every diameter, divided into twelve sides, each side into twelve equal parts, and each part distinguished by characteristic engravings. What these engravings represented, none of my informers could describe. Some told me they were irregular etchings of which nothing could be made, and others affected to see in them the most scientific design, embracing a mystery, the clue of which it was impossible to find. The fate of this beautiful object, so interesting to science and the history of former times, is not to be traced with the precision to be desired. It is said, that a stranger enamoured with its characters, procured and took it down the river, and that it has since found its way to the federal city, and to the cabinet of arts in Philadelphia.

From the idea I allow myself to form of it, I conceive the stone to have been formed for astronomical calculation, and to convey a knowledge of the movements of heavenly bodies. When I connect this reasonable conjecture with the facts of brass circles having been found impressed with figures, known in Europe by the term "Eastern," I am again tempted to believe that a passage was once open between this country and the north of China and the Indies.

You may recollect in a former letter from Marietta, I mentioned the probability of obtaining some further information respecting the pyrite which I found in artificial balls in a fortified camp near the Muskingum, from Colonel Ludlow of this place. He is dead—a circumstance I regret the

more, as he had the reputation of possessing the learning of a scholar and the manners of a gentleman. Doctor Goforth, who was his particular friend, tells me, that no person was so well versed in the ancient history of his country, (America) that he sought after subjects of antiquity, and data on which to found certain and irrefragable conclusions, with great ardour and zeal, and that had he lived, he would have given the world his fund of interesting research and philosophic enquiries, to beat down the absurdity and errors it had been so long cultivating and acquiring. Accompanied by the doctor, I went to the late colonel's country residence, about five miles from town, and had the mortification to find that he had hardly been dead before the women of his household *cleared the house of his rubbish*, and burnt his manuscripts and other *useless papers*.

Much of the collection being thrown promiscuously into the yard, my friend and I commenced a search through courts, dung-hills, stables, swineries, dove-cotes, &c. &c. and had the good fortune to find—

The horns of a palmated elk—The strait horns of the American elk—The grinder of a mammoth, weighing seven pounds—and a ball of mineral, weighing twenty pounds.

The three first objects speak for themselves, the last is a ball of pyrites, which Dr. Goforth remembers the colonel to have told him he took out of a heap of several hundred which he discovered near an old Indian settlement on the banks of the Little Miami of the Ohio, and that he had also found another heap in an artificial cave on the banks of the Sciota. The colonel was never heard to express an opinion on the rise or utility of the balls to the Indians, and the doctor and myself remained equally in the dark, conceiving merely and widely that they were for religious, gymnastic, or warlike purposes. The ball we obtained consisted of copper pyrites, or quartz, and on our return to town, Dr. Goforth had the goodness to present me with a very fine piece of calcareous spar with sulphureous pyrites from the lakes, which makes my specimens more complete and valuable.

I was about to close this letter, from a conviction that I had related every thing of interest in the place from which it is dated, till my very intelligent friend, the doctor, told me that he was often struck with the beauty of some pictures, the property of an acquaintance in the town, and he recommended me strongly to visit them before my departure. I went, and to my great surprise, found, in the very



mean apartments of a small frame house, inhabited by an old family descended from English origin, the following pictures, which I have no doubt are the works of the great painters whose names I have set after the descriptions.

A Dutch family at a repast—*Vandyke*.

Two Flemish landscapes, including sheep, cows, and other cattle, admirably expressed—*Vandervelt*.

A monk in the act of private devotion—*Anon*.

A nun recluse in her cell—*Anon*.

Group of dancing boys, and female *muscecenne*—*Correggio*.

Two naval views; the style ancient, the ships and costume Roman.

These valuable paintings are in excellent preservation, being executed on copper and oak, except the group of dancing boys, which is on canvas, and much worn.

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## LETTER XXV.

*An Excursion to the Country of the Miamis—Lebanon Town—Interesting Sect of Quakers—Continuance of the Excursion—Horses of the Western Country—State of Farming in the Neighbourhood.*

*Cincinnati, Aug. 1806.*

AFTER dispatching my last letter to you from hence, I went on an excursion through the celebrated country called the Miamis, which is a portion of the Ohio state, divided into counties, ranges, and townships, in the manner of every other place under the administration of the federal government. Being acquainted with the lands adjoining the Sciota, and as high up as the Pickawee Plains, I limited my view of the Miamis to the territory thus bounded by the Ohio on the south, the mountains of the lakes on the north, the Little Miami on the east; and the Great Miami and Mad River on the west; and I directed my excursion accordingly.—Furnished with good horses for myself and Cuff, and a pack-horse for carrying a small tent and provisions, I set off on a north course for a town called Lebanon, thirty miles distant, and lying exactly central between the two Miamis. The first five miles were hilly, but afforded fine rich intervals for farms, and on a creek which I passed in that distance, were two mills that had done much

business that season, and had excellent flour on hand, at four dollars per barrel, and Indian corn meal for one shilling and sixpence per bushel, of the best quality.

For ten miles further on, the land was broken, heavily timbered, and but little elevated. The remaining fifteen miles to Lebanon were nearly the best I ever viewed, and settled considerably for so new a country. The farms were numerous, well improved, and the houses and barns on them built with great care and industry.

Lebanon contains about two hundred inhabitants, dwelling in about forty neat log and frame houses. A place of worship and school-house are also erected, and the town in every respect bids fair to prosper and increase with unprecedented success. Seated in the midst of the finest tract of land in the world, and that tract already thickly settled by a hardy and industrious people, it cannot fail to succeed, if not reduced to a premature ruin by the sudden and violent visitations which have trampled under foot the aspiring hopes of other settlements of the same state. The town is not considered unhealthy, nor is the immediate vicinity poisoned by ponds or swamps. The inhabitants, though few, are composed of several nations, who unite in forming a character of a laborious and religious cast. Their industry is manifest in the extensive improvements and comfortable abodes, all effected within the space of five years, and their religion is displayed in the fashion of their hats and clothes, but more respectably in their decent and moral conduct. One sect has made itself so conspicuous, that I cannot pass it over in silence.

A number of families, several years ago, withdrew from the quakers in the eastern states, in whose tenets they had been bred and instructed, and followed a woman, Jemima Wilkinson, whom they accepted as their religious leader, into the Genessee country, soon after its establishment by Sir William Pulteney. Disgusted with the immoral conduct of that woman, several of the principals apostatized a second time, returned to the great towns of the state, promulgated an entirely novel system of religion, recruited their numbers, and repaired to the western country, where they purchased conjointly the fine and extensive tract of land on which Lebanon now stands. This purchase they vested in the hands of an individual, who holds it in trust, and for the use of "the poor and humble followers of the Lord;" the grand tenet of the society being the renunciation of worldly wealth, the total abandonment of riches, and the

strict and rigid adherence to the doctrine of "take up the cross and follow me." In consequence the individuals of the sect hold nothing as their own, not even the fruit of their labour; every dollar not required by their necessary wants is turned over to the person holding the land in trust, who is their treasurer and high-priest, and in whom every thing is vested as for the service of the Lord. As their present high-priest has been the principal author of the system, I will give you his proceedings in the literal way they occurred since his coming into the western country, from which you can learn a correct idea of so singular a society.

On the completion of the purchase he had the whole surveyed and located into sections of six hundred and forty acres, and into half and quarter sections for the use of small families. He then ordered his flock to assemble beyond the boundary of the purchase, where they formally abjured all worldly wealth, and literally *taking up crosses* prepared for the purpose, followed their leader to the particular sections he had marked for their respective use. The unappropriated sections he disposed of to persons joining the society, by receiving *in trust for the Lord* all their wealth, and by giving them the use of land in proportion to the sacrifice. None of his followers are allowed to live in towns. He settled Lebanon with mechanics and tradesmen for the accommodation of the society, but not as a residence for any of its members. The produce of the sale of town lots, and the profits on all farms he receives into his treasury for the use of the contrite in heart, the meek and lowly followers of the Lord; and that money he disposes of, according to the primitive regulations of the society, in this manner.

He maintains teachers for the instruction of both sexes. He provides them on their marriage with a house, farm, implements of husbandry, cattle, and stock of all kinds, to be held by them in trust for similar benefits to be conferred on their children, and those of others. He maintains the sick and supports the needy, and sees that there is no want in the land. His province also extends to the administration of justice, and to the settlement of all private differences without the interference of the public law.

What a strange association! How wild in theory and absurd in practice! must be the cry of every person endowed with sense. To renounce property and still to retain the advantages of riches: to give up all, and still to be placed beyond the apprehensions of want; to abandon children to the care of Providence, and still to find them secured both

in instruction and wealth; to lay by nothing against casualties and sickness, and yet to know there is ever aid at hand, are paradoxes which must stagger the mind, and reduce it to a state of confusion and unbelief. Astonishing as it may appear, the facts admit of no paradox; experience banishes the necessity even of a philosophic doubt. The society is flourishing to the highest degree! public and individual happiness every where resound; want, misery, and ignorance are entirely unknown, and the treasury of the high-priest overflows. Such is the actual state of the society!

They have no particular place of worship. Their law is, that God resides and is to be worshipped every where. In order that two or three may be gathered together, they associate according to the situation and convenience of a few families, and receive instruction from whoever present is able and willing to give it. Like the sect near Pittsburg, they affect the style of little children, and often sit and play on the ground. From this religious exercise they have acquired the name of *shakers and tremblers*, which they allow to be a vulgar term of derision, in lieu of their own title, which is no more than the simple one of *The Children*. And where that term might imply infants in fact, they add Children of the Lord. Their high-priest they call their leader: he is elected for one year, or during pleasure; and is eligible to be re-elected from year to year; he has the assistance of two persons, the one as an accomptant and the other as an itinerant, whose duty consists in visiting every settlement, and examining into the conduct moral and economical, of each individual member, which conduct he reports to his superior, and he, on dissatisfaction, convenes a meeting of the society, whose vote excludes any person from their sect, against whom profanity, idleness, or any species of vice is proved. This vote also excludes the branded person from all participation in the goods of the Lord; and exposes him to the forfeiture of all the funds he might have given their leader, to be at the Lord's disposal. This one law has more force in its operation than all the volumes of penal law now extant. It exercises a complete dominion over religion and morality, and makes it the decided interest of every person of the sect to pursue an unblemished and industrious life. In summer, I should have observed, they meet their leader on Sundays, in some open space shaded by trees, and as they bring provisions and remain long on the ground, the day is spent in the manner of a religious feast.

On leaving Lebanon, I took the Chillicothe road, if that can be called a road which is no more than a path through a wood, the trees marked with an axe to indicate the direction. The first seven or eight miles from Lebanon consisted of remarkably fine wood land chequered with improvements made by "the children." The remainder of my day's journey, seventeen miles to the borders of the Little Miami, was for the most part through a forest swamp swarming with snakes and insects, and emitting a sickening and nauseous stench. The soil was deep and black, and cast up flowers of extreme richness and beauty considerably above my horse's head. When population increases, this swamp will afford the most productive farms in the state. It can be purged and sweetened with very little labour, as it is intersected by creeks and streams in every direction, and needs nothing more than clearing off the heavy timber to give access to wind and sun, and forming drains of communication with the creeks and streams, which in their turn communicate with the two Miamis, and the Ohio river.

The road is so miry and deep, that I found it impossible to travel above two miles an hour. It was sun-set when I arrived at the Little Miami, on the banks of which, and on a fine open spot to which the air had access, I encamped for the night.

As night advanced, the noise of vermin, reptiles, and insects was so great, particularly the clamour of the great bull-frog, that I felt very little disposition to lie down, though the labour of the day had considerably fatigued me. The uproar which proceeded from the swamp through which I had that day travelled, is indescribable. The voices were too discordant, too numerous, varied and mixed, to submit to verbal description. Let it suffice that the *din* was horrid and unceasing, and so loud, that it obstructed conversation, and appeared to defy the languor of lassitude or the strong dominion of an oppressive sleep. Nature, however, becoming more faint I got some repose, and lay on a tent of dry leaves till near day light.

I was not a little surprised to hear immediately on waking, and before there was any strength of dawn, both the warble and the song of the nightingale. I supposed it to proceed from the Virginia red bird, or from the mocking-bird, but on attention to the voice minutely and attentively, I found it express more judgment and skill than I ever knew such birds to exercise, and to have all the variation and compass of the real nightingale. I must believe it was the

mocking-bird commencing with his own native powers and natural song, before he stooped to copy the less exquisite airs of others. He began with a low and timid voice, and prepared for the hymns to nature, by essaying his powers and attaining his organs; by degrees the sound opened and swelled; burst it into vivid flashes; flowed with smooth volubility; sunk into murmurs, and shook with rapid and violent articulations, pouring the soft breathings of love, gratitude or joy from its inmost soul. For fear such continued richness might satiate the ear, the strains were, at intervals, relieved by powers which shed elevation and dignity throughout the song.

It is not a little singular too, that like the nightingale this fascinating bird chooses the silent hour of night for his chaunt, which heightens the general effect, and hinders any rival or any noise from disturbing the charming and solemn scene. I could not discover the songster; his notes reached me from the opposite side of the stream. The day soon after appeared, and I pursued my journey, after having given the horses a few ears of corn, which were carried on the pack-horse for that purpose.

I must stop to observe a great singularity in the character of the horse of the western country. However wild he may be at his home, and when turned into enclosed pastures, he never wanders from his rider in the woods. He will graze about, and pick up shrubs and provender from the roots of trees, but never loses sight of his camp or the cheering light of its fire. He too is sensible of fear, and protection: he trembles in the gloom of the woods, and on the most distant howl of the wolf, approaches the fire, and often draws up, and looks into the tent of his master!

Determined not to penetrate the woods till the sun had the power of exhalation, I rode along the river bank, which I found extravagantly rich and beautiful. The shrubs and flowers grew to a great size; and for the first time since my arrival in the country, I met with the *Magriola altissima*, which I considered a testimony of a change of soil and climate, as it requires both of a very prolific nature. Having rode about two hours the country began to open, and I passed several well improved plantations: fields teeming with an abundant harvest; houses neatly built, and cattle and stock of an excellent quality grazing in large meadow, the hay of which had been long carried off the ground. I rode up to a cheerful looking farm house, and met with a

very hearty reception from its proprietor, an Englishman, who came into the Miamis on the strength of their high reputation, and his dislike to the eastern states, where he had first settled. During a breakfast, prolonged by a most interesting conversation, I learned from Mr. Digby (so was he called) that the best he could do in the western country, or that any farmer could do, *was just not to starve*. The price of produce was so low, and that of labour so high, that very little profit attended the most laborious exertions of industry. Indian corn, in particular, carried a value so mean, that he never offered to sell it, and for his wheat he made into flour, he could not get but about three dollars per barrel, and even that had for the most part been taken in goods for which he had not always consumption or use. In consequence he was about to abandon a system so little advantageous, and take to grazing cattle, breeding hogs, and rearing horses for distant markets and foreign use, where *money* was to be obtained, and profit equal to the extent and importance of the business: he had already reaped the benefit of this plan, having sent his son in the spring of the year with a boat carrying two hundred live hogs to New Orleans, where they sold all round at the rate of twelve dollars per cwt. though they cost him nothing but the expence of the voyage and some small attendance in the woods, where they breed and maintain themselves all the year round.

Before the winter, Mr. Digby proposes taking a drove of cattle and horses over the mountains to the great eastern marts of Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Thus from the nature of the country, and the tyranny of circumstances, we find an industrious, intelligent, active man, abandons a heavy course of agriculture, and turns his views to a system of farming from which immense wealth is to be derived, though his nearest market, Baltimore, is at the distance of eleven hundred miles; and New Orleans from sixteen to seventeen hundred!

He did not consider the spot he was on unhealthy, but there were swamps in the rear of his plantation which emitted infectious smells, and caused a nausea when he had occasion to remain in or near them. His fine meadows were wood swamps till he cleared off the trees, and drained them into creeks communicating with the low country and with the river. He has no other fault with the land than that it is too rich—forcing every thing into a stalk like timber, and making the hay so coarse, that he often destroys the first

growth, and only saves the after-grass when a foot high or under. The Indian corn produces one hundred bushels per acre, and grows on a stem of such strength, that cattle, when it spreads its tassel, and has shed or received its farinaceous impregnation, are allowed to rove among it without being capable of rendering it any injury. The land must be weakened and reduced by successive and heavy crops of corn, before it be fit for wheat. Put into unreduced land, wheat rambles ten or twelve feet high, and bears little fruit. Fifty and sixty bushels to an acre is a common crop! Vegetables succeed remarkably well, and fruit-trees bear at times in too great profusion, and at other times do not bear at all. The depth of the soil was never ascertained. Where drains were made twelve feet deep, nothing but a rich black mould appeared—a compost of decayed vegetable substance accumulating some thousand years!

Furnished with this information, and refreshed with a good breakfast, I took leave of Mr. D. and pursued my journey, the particulars of which you will have in my next.

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#### LETTER XXVI.

*Dayton Town, its fine Situation—A Snake, or Snapping Tortoise—Timber of this Country—The Sugar Maple—An Indian Camp.*

*Cincinnati, August, 1806.*

ON leaving Mr. Digby's I continued my journey up the Little Miami for about ten miles, when I arrived at some hilly and broken land which deterred me from pursuing a northern route any longer, especially as I understood that the ground held similar features as high up as the Pickawnee Plains, and other prairies, with the locality and nature of which I was previously acquainted. Accordingly I bent a west by north course, by compass, which I judged would strike the Great Miami, near Dayton, a small town lately built on the confluence of that and the Mad River. The distance from the Little Miami, from whence I turned to that part of the Great Miami, for which I made, I conjectured to be between forty-five and sixty miles. The surface in the first instance swelled into the hills and sunk into dales of great fertility and richness, and was much more



sound and less noxious than that I traversed the preceding day. One particular part contained a greater variety of advantage and beauty than I ever beheld embraced in the same compass.

Entering an opening between the feet of two hills, through which rushed a rapid transparent stream, I had a view of a circular piece of ground, so thinly wooded, that the hill by which it was girt was distinctly seen crowned with sumptuous trees, representing a fine amphitheatre, which met the eye in every direction around. The water was visible in many places, and traversed the plain numerous times in search of the *sortie* through which I entered, and through which it dashed with as much exulting violence as if sensible of the liberty it regained. It entered the plain from the north west, in which situation it possessed several falls of sufficient power for any over-shot and grist-mills. This advantage, connected with a variety of others, renders the spot the most eligible imaginable for all the purposes of rural economy and contracted desires of primitive life. The plain contains perhaps twelve hundred acres; the land could easily be cleared; the soil a rich black mould, could be cultivated with little labour; from the facility of being drained, no offensive vapours could arise, and a house seated in the declivity of the hill, from which the stream descended in quick and rapid falls, could command an uninterrupted view of an abundant and enchanting prospect.

From the thin state and growth of the wood there remained no doubt of the plain having been formerly under cultivation. No traces of Indian settlements notwithstanding appeared. I journeyed on for the remainder of the day through a wilderness of melancholy gloom and endless extent.

I stopped to refresh at a fine creek, and while my travelling and faithful companion was occupied in making a fire, I took my gun to range for something for dinner. I had not advanced twenty yards before my dog barked with considerable irritation, and ran round an object which on a nearer approach I discovered to be a snake-tortoise. He was as large as a turtle of sixty pounds weight, and in disposition appeared excessively fierce and mischievous. Whenever he snapt at the dog, which he frequently did with great premeditation and venom, his jaws fell together with much violence and noise. Well convinced that Cuff was acquainted with the natural history of the animal, and all his various attributes; I called him up, and took the dog off, fearful every

moment of his losing his life in so unequal a conflict. I was perfectly right in my conjecture; the Mandanean knew all his habits. While exposed to the dog the creature never presented a vulnerable part; nothing was to be seen but a strong coat of mail, into which he drew his head and legs till prepared to bite, when he prolonged his jaws, or rather neck, which appeared to have great agility, and snapt with a clangour to be heard one hundred yards round. But when the man came up and placed on his back a large flat stone, he exposed his head and feet, and began to move towards the water with more rapidity than I presumed attributable to his nature, or consistent with his magnitude and form. On turning him from the water he seized the stick I made use of in his mouth, and retained his hold, though the man and I raised him from the ground in our efforts to disengage it. It appeared that nothing but fire could induce him to move or to quit his hold. I held a fire-brand near his back, and notwithstanding the extraordinary thickness of the shell, his sensibility took an immediate alarm, and he again advanced with much speed and precipitate action. The Indians call this by a name which implies the snapping tortoise, from its remaining perfectly tranquil till the object is within its reach, on which it makes one sudden snap, and sinks under water. The weight which the one that was the immediate subject of my investigation carried on his back, was inconceivably great, and still he moved without any apparent embarrassment or difficulty. To turn him on his back was very arduous. He resisted with great power and strong manifestations of despair and passion: turning and snapping at the stick whenever he found it acting as a lever upon him. After being upset he made no farther resistance, and died without much struggle. The body was very plump and fine;—I cut from it several steaks, and enjoyed a dinner of exquisite richness and flavour. During the repast I was entertained by the chattering of a flock of parquets, who had taken up their abode in the trees around me. There were the green and the red neck, that very particular species which are held the most rare in Europe, and which were once highly valued by the Greeks and Romans.

Perfectly refreshed, I again pursued my journey towards the Great Miami, and travelled for four hours over the finest tract of woodland I ever beheld. It was nearly a level, but healthy and dry, in consequence of being intersected by a number of rapid little streams, which carried off rains, and left no ponds for the creation of noxious and putrescent mat-

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ter. The soil was deep and black, and the following timber grew in great magnitude, beauty, and abundance :

Maple	Cherry
Sycamore	Buckwood, or Horse Chesnut
Black Mulberry	Honey Locust
White ditto	Elm, two species
Black Walnut	Cucumber Tree
White ditto	Lynn Tree
White Oak	Gum Tree
Black ditto	Iron Wood
Red ditto	Ash, three species
Spanish ditto	Aspin
Chesnut ditto	Sassafras
Butter Nut	Crab Apple Tree
Chesnut	Papaw
Hickory, three species	Plum Tree, several kinds.

Besides these there were nine species of bark, spice, and leather wood bushes; the judas tree, the dog wood, and many others whose names and properties I had not capacity to ascertain. The land in every direction produced vast quantities of grapes of various sorts, and cotton, growing in great perfection, shewed itself to be the natural production of the country. The sugar maple is the most valuable tree for an inland state. One tree can yield about ten pounds of sugar a year, and the labour is very trifling. The sap, which is extracted about February and March, is received in a vessel placed at the foot of a tree, under an incision made for the purpose, and into which a piece of cane is inserted, and through which the sap, on a warm day after a frosty night, often flows in a continued stream for several hours. The collected sap of several trees tapped on the same day, is granulated, by the simple operation of boiling, to a sugar very near equal in flavour and whiteness to the best muscovado.

This valuable tree, like every other valuable gift of nature to this western world, is hastening to dissolution and decline. In the spring of the year *sugar camps* extend through the whole country; and the persons employed give the trees such great and unnecessary wounds, that their whole virtue runs out, and they perish perhaps in a season. So violent has been the prodigality of the people of Kentucky, that they have nearly annihilated the maple altogether, by hack-

ing the trees with an axe, and never closing the wounds from which they drew the sap, though they well knew that the timber would perish from such treatment. Persons of better regulated minds tap the trees with an auger, insert a cane, draw off the liquor, and then stop up the flowing and the wound, by which means the trees recover their vigour, and afford fresh supplies from three to twelve years.

I soon came up to a small Indian camp of three tents, and a fire already prepared. I alighted, and advanced with affability and confidence to the oldest man of the party, who gave me his hand with much courtesy, and afterwards offered me his pipe with an expression of great kindness. I received it as the calumet of peace, and entered into an alliance of friendship, the violation of which, on either side, according to the Indian's own rule, "would be deserving the wrath of the Good Spirit, and the immediate punishment of Heaven."

Having fallen into such excellent company, I resolved to remain among them for the night, and, with permission, I pitched my tent, and made my fire immediately in the vicinity of the spring which the Indians had chosen for their camp. I soon discovered that the party I fell in with was a family of the Mingoes—a nation formerly powerful, inhabiting the banks of the Scioto, and now attached to that river, though reduced to the small number of forty-five!—The family consisted of a father, a married son and daughter, and five of their children, one of which was at the breast, and another but three years old. They manifested no manner of surprise on my arrival, and expressed no curiosity at the sight of the objects with which I was furnished, though they differed so entirely from any they had ever before beheld. Nor was I asked from whence I came; whither I was going; or, any other question whatever. This little appetite to curiosity has exposed almost all Indian nations to the charge of stupidity and insipience of character. Never was charge more ill-founded and unjust. Their apparent want of curiosity is the result of habit growing out of maxims, and the first instructions of their youth—which tend to suppress idle enquiries.

After a very interesting conversation with Onamo, the head, I retired to rest, and reposed with the utmost peace, security, and confidence.

## LETTER XXVII.

*Dayton—a rich and fine Country—Trees, Shrubs, and Flowers—Humming Birds—Mad River—Situation of the Inhabitants on its Banks—The Great Miami—Hamilton Town.*

*Cincinnati, August, 1806.*

NEXT morning, after passing through a delightful range of country, I reached the town of Dayton, which is composed of about forty houses, standing on a point of land formed by the junction of the Mad and the Great Miami rivers. I put up at an excellent inn, kept by a Dutch family, whom I found well disposed and assiduous in business. The site of the town is more favourable to commerce than to health. On the rise of the Miami, the waters of the Mad River are subject to *back*, and to inundate its bank in the vicinity of the town, and consequently to spread the seeds of pestilence and fever. The inhabitants, principally Dutch and Irish, had lost the florid feature of their own country, and the children looked pale, emaciated, and languid. These unfavourable appearances are entirely to be attributed to the local cause I have mentioned—for the inhabitants of high prairies, or meadows, and of other parts distant from the inundations, look perfectly cheerful, and as fresh and high complexioned as can be expected in persons, who, for nine months in the year, are in a constant state of copious perspiration, owing as well to the excessive heat of the sun, as to the perpetual toil imposed by necessity on all new settlers.

The principal stream of emigration has, for a few years, flowed towards the Mad River. After a variety of folly, disappointment, and error, the unfortunate and the perturbed in spirit, have at length found and fixed upon a truly rich and distinguished abode. I rode forty miles up the right bank, and returned on the left to Dayton; and must candidly confess, I never beheld a tract of land so favoured by nature, and so susceptible of improvement by art. Nearly the whole tract is a chain of prairies, partly obscured from each other by groves of magnificent trees, and shrubberies diffusing every species of perfume, and exhibiting the bloom and radiance of every flower. Among the trees the

splendid magnolia and tulip are found, and among the shrubs are seen, the althæa, arbutus, honey-locust, and various other aromatics. The uncultivated portions of the prairies abound in flowers of such luxuriance and height, that, in riding through, it is often necessary to turn them from the face with the whip; and the general herbage, plants, and flowers, rise to the saddle skirts. The most conspicuous flowers were the geranium, holy oak, and passion-flower, to which the sweet pea, and many blossoming creepers, ran up and closely adhered. These prairies were formerly the favourite resort of buffaloes, but the wanton carnage committed among their droves, has made them retreat, and pass indignant to less savage lands. Some few herds of deer still linger in their favourite haunt, and at this season browse in safety under the protection of the pasture, which effectually covers them from sight. The little humming birds alone retain their empire over the flowery waste; like bees, they fly from blossom to blossom, nor heed the traveller who stops to admire their burnished plumage and diminutive structure, displaying in their nature the utmost harmony in expression, and the greatest chastity in taste. At the moment they insert their bill into a blossom, and hum with delight, and strong manifestations of passion, there is no difficulty in catching them; but the common practice is to shoot them with sand through a trunk gun. They seldom, however, survive; I met but one instance where they brooked the harsh confinement of the cage. In that instance a French lady had several; she fed them with honey impregnated with scents, lodged in a sponge covered with lace, and disguised in forms and colours which imitated the buds and flowers on which she perceived them, in a state of nature, most partial to dwell. The little creatures repaid her kindness by the most affecting endearments. On freeing them from the cage they generally roved round her for several turns, and then fondly clustered in her extended hand or breast, in which she commonly put some inviting sweets or tempting flowers. She had kept them for fifteen months, during which time they had shewn no disposition to become dull or torpid, though some naturalists alledge, that during the winter season they remain so, suspending themselves by the bill to the bark of a tree; and are awakened into life from that state when the flowers begin to blow, and nature herself assumes the greatest degree of beauty and bloom. There is one fact of more importance, which their existence in particular places proclaims, that is, the fertility of the soil, and the

salubrity of the climate. They never inhabit swamps or countries exposed to a severity of season. Therefore, in fixing in the western world, I know no better guide than the humming bird, who is sure to direct to a sound soil, a short winter, and a long delightful spring.

The Mad River, which meanders through this tract of country, is remarkable for the fine quality of the water, and the great purity of the stream. It received its name in consequence of its perpetual impetuosity, it being the only river in the western country, which does not subside in the summer and fall of the year. All the other rivers owe their great periodical volume to the effusion of ice and mountain snows, whereas the Mad River issues out of Lake Huron, which affords it an equal supply without variation or end. It abounds with fish, and is so transparent, that they are driven with great facility into nets and snares; and are besides, often speared.

The banks of the river are settling with unparalleled success, and the title of all the adjacent lands is already bought up from Congress by individuals, and by speculators, who propose selling again at an advanced price. Most of the prairie-grounds are now as high as from twenty to fifty dollars per acre, and the wood-land adjoining the river, sells at from five to sixteen dollars per acre. I visited at least one hundred farms, and found the inhabitants in the possession of abundance of every common necessary, and every absolute comfort essential to a modest and unassuming life. Nor does their situation or temptations suggest any desires but what may be gratified by the humble means within their reach. There appeared no manner of discontent among them, and no material difference of rank or fortune to excite it. You, who have been always accustomed to the refinement of luxury, will scarce be able to conceive how these settlers, with no other clothing than coarse home-made apparel, with no other shelter but a log house constructed with the rudest art, and with no food but of the coarsest kind, and destitute of coffee, tea, wine, and foreign spirits, can enjoy any happiness; and yet, as I observed, to judge from their manners, language, and external appearance, their state may be envied by the wealthy of the most refined nations, because their forgetfulness or ignorance of extravagant desires and vicious pursuits, excludes every wish beyond their present situation, and leaves them virtuous and happy. They are composed of all nations, and live as yet in a kind of native freedom and independence; in a kind of equality of rank

which banishes all distinctions but those of age and merit—for the old controul the parochial administration, and the learned govern the legal and ecclesiastical. However, as population increases, and as towns and villages abound, vice, which appears the propensity of man, will erect its power, and call for the influence of the general regulations of the state, and destroy the innocent and primitive characters which now distinguish the republic of the Mad River. Nothing in truth can be more primitive. Justice is administered with decency, but no form; in the open air, and on Sunday, the people gather together in appointed groves, and silently attend to any person endowed with the grace and talent of instruction.

On returning to Cincinnati, I pursued the Miami to the town of Hamilton for forty miles.

The Great Miami is a very fine river, uninterrupted by falls. Its navigation, as well as that of the Scioto and Muskingum, approaches very near to the navigable waters of the lakes; and like them, the banks towards the source are furnished with springs, coal mines, white and blue clay, and various metallic and mineral productions. It is about two hundred yards wide at its mouth, and is reduced to thirty at the Pickawee towns, notwithstanding which it is navigable fifty miles higher up. The portage from its western branch into the Miami of Lake Erie, is five miles; that from its eastern branch into Sanduskey river, is nine miles.

From Dayton to Hamilton there is an excellent beaten public road, the borders of which are sprinkled with settlements and neat improved farms. The forest trees and lands were of a very superior quality. Hamilton was a fort and garrison during the Indian war, it is now a smart little town on the banks of the Miami, and does considerable business, in collecting the produce of the settlers of the back country, and giving in return goods of every description furnished by the merchants of Cincinnati. Hamilton being but thirty miles from this, I reached it in another day's ride, and met with no occurrence worth remarking.



## LETTER XXVIII.

*Judge Symmes's Residence—An elegant Mansion, in a charming Situation—His Family, &c.—Indian Territory—Big-bone Lick—Grant's Lick, its excellent Salt—Nitre, Caves, and Hills—Frankfort, the Capital of Kentucky—Kentucky River—Its magnificent Banks—Antiquities—Louisville—Passage of the Falls—A terrific Scene.*

*Louisville, Falls of the Ohio,  
Lat. 38. 8 N. Aug. 1806.*

I LEFT Cincinnati with an impression very favourable to its inhabitants, and with a higher opinion of its back country than I entertain of any other. Seven miles below my departure, at a place called the North Bend, I stopped to take breakfast with the hospitable judge Symmes, the original proprietor, after the extinction of the Indian title, of the whole of the country lying between the two Miamis. The situation which the judge has chosen for his residence cannot be equalled for the variety and elegance of its prospects. Improved farms, villages, seats, and the remains of ancient and modern military works, decorate the banks of the finest piece of water in the world, and present themselves to view from the principal apartments of the house, which is a noble stone mansion, erected at great expence, and on a plan which does infinite honour to the artist, and to the taste of the proprietor. Differing from other settlers, Mr. Symmes has been studious to give the river sides a pastoral effect, by preserving woods, planting orchards, and diversifying these with corn-fields, sloping pastures, and every other effect incidental both to an improved and rural life. From this expression of elevated judgment, you may be prepared to know that the proprietor formerly resided in England, and after in New York, where he married his present wife, a lady distinguished by elegance of mind, and a general and correct information. They have no children, but there resides with them a Miss Livingston, on whom they fix their affections; and whom they treat with parental kindness and respectful urbanity, the one being due to her intrinsic merit, and the other to her family, which is eminent for birth, property, and talent, in the state of New York.

The judge passes his time in directing his various works, and the ladies read, walk, and attend to various birds and animals, which they domesticate both for entertainment and use. Miss L. is much of a botanist—a practical one. She collects seeds from such plants and flowers as are most conspicuous in the prairies, and cultivates them with care on the banks, and in the vicinity of the house. She is forming a shrubbery also, which will be entirely composed of magnolia, calalpa, papaw, rose, and tulip trees, and all others distinguished for blossom and fragrance. In the middle is erected a small Indian temple, where this young lady preserves seeds and plants, and classes specimens of wood, which contribute much to her knowledge and entertainment. When the beauties of the fine season fade, and the country becomes somewhat inert and insipid, the judge and the ladies remove to Cincinnati, and revolve in its pleasures till fatigued; when they again return to their rural economy, to the prosecution of happy and inoffensive designs. I could with difficulty tear myself from persons so amiable.

Fourteen miles from the North Bend, and twenty-one from Cincinnati, I passed the mouth of the Great Miami: on the right hand shore from it is the western boundary of the Ohio state, and the eastern commencement of the Indian territory, which, in a short time, and with the increase of population, will receive the title of a state, and become the brightest star in the galaxy of the union. The land is for a great part richly wooded, fertile, and applicable to all the purposes of agriculture, and extensive and productive improvement. The territory is upwards of six hundred miles square, and is thus copiously watered: on the north by the Lakes; on the south by the Ohio; and on the west by the Mississippi. Through it also runs, generally in a south course, the Wabash, the Illinois, and a variety of creeks and streams. Knowing of no obstacles in the river, and finding it to increase in grandeur and safety, I determined on floating all night. I met with no alarms or accident, and arrived in the morning early at Big Bone Lick, thirty-two miles from the Miami.

The salt spring is very weak at the Big Bone Lick. One thousand gallons of water yield but a bushel of salt. About twenty miles back of the Big Bone, is Grant's Lick, one hundred gallons of which make a bushel of salt of a very strong and fine quality. I should think there could be no great difficulty in ascertaining whether the water of Grant's Lick does not issue from a salt rock in its

immediate vicinity. It is to be regretted that no person of leisure and intelligence has yet investigated a subject of such public utility and importance; as I make no doubt that at the same springs which are now worked with little advantage and great labour, water could be found of tenfold strength, and possibly the rock from which it undoubtedly issues. There are other springs in the neighbourhood of the Big Bone Lick, and through several parts of Kentucky, which are said to be medicinal, and to have the property of relieving various disorders incident to the spring and fall of the year. All that I have met with are strongly impregnated with sulphur, and some so hot as to be within twenty degrees of boiling water. A sulphur spring near the Big Bone Lick turned a dollar black in less than five minutes. Nitre caves, and hills impregnated with nitre, are also common throughout the state, and are worked to great profit, every bushel of earth yielding, on an average, three pounds of nitre.

In the course of another day and night's navigation, I dropped forty-four miles lower down, and put into the mouth of the Kentucky river, which gives name to the state it intersects nearly in equal halves. It flows in innumerable meanders, and through a very extensive body of good land, except within fifty or more miles of the Ohio, where it is too mountainous for the purposes of a profitable agriculture. It is navigable for loaded boats during a considerable part of the year upwards of one hundred and fifty miles.

Frankfort, the capital of the state, is situated on the west bank, about seventy miles from its confluence with the Ohio. The legislature and the supreme courts hold their sessions there. The state house is a large stone building. The situation is so unhealthy, that the town must eventually be abandoned. There is also a mean little town on one side of the confluence, called William's Port, and another on the other side, of equal insignificance. They are subject to periodical inundations, inductive of fever, and every species of lassitude and sickness. Were it not for this, the towns would rise into eminence, and obtain importance from the growing commerce of the country and the navigation of the river.

The Kentucky is about ninety yards at its mouth. Its banks, or rather precipices, ought to be reckoned among the grandest natural curiosities of the country. There the astonished eye beholds three hundred, and often five hundred feet of solid perpendicular rock, in some parts of lime-

stone, and in others of fine white marble, chequered with strata of extraordinary beauty and regularity, which gives the river the appearance of an immensely deep and artificial canal, whose rocky banks are crowned with sumptuous cedar, and other trees, of a perpetual verdure.

While exploring the banks, I fell in with some antiquities peculiar to the country. They consist of old forts, not circular, like the many I have pointed out, but oblong, and situated on strong well-chosen grounds, and always contiguous to the best landings of the river. When, by whom, and for what purpose thrown up, is, most unfortunately uncertain. They are undoubtedly very ancient, as there is not the least visible difference in the age or size of the timber growing on or within those forts, and that which grows without; and I never yet could obtain any satisfactory tradition respecting them. Doctor Cutler, who has accurately examined the trees in those forts, and which he thinks, from the appearances are the second growth, is of opinion that they must have been built upwards of one thousand years. One fact is also clear; they must have been the efforts of a people acquainted with some science, and capable of infinite labour; and it is difficult to conceive how they could be constructed without the use of iron tools, and the instruments we are compelled to employ in works of much less magnitude and character. At a small distance from each fort there stands a mound of earth, thrown up in the manner of a pyramid.

The water, owing to its low state, beginning to flow in a very sluggish manner, it took two days and two nights to bear me along to Louisville, from which I now write. The distance seventy-seven miles; in which run the river presented nothing very remarkable, though I observed it increase in breadth, grandeur, and sublimity, and to appear more awful from the height of its banks, and the silence which prevailed from the distance of the habitations of man, and the absence of population and society. I amused myself each day by going ashore with my gun, and walking along for hours together, while the boat dropped down with the stream. I killed several dozen of fine ducks, and one deer, in the act of swimming across the water to elude the pursuit of a wolf that had been long chasing him.

Late in the year, and in the spring season, the river is covered with wild geese, swans, and ducks of various descriptions. In the summer, and at this season, they visit the

lakes, where they breed, and bring up their young in great multitudes. One species of duck alone remain permanently on the river, and that is the worst of the whole kind. I killed a few young turkeys, which were exquisite in taste and flavour. The shores abound in subjects of speculation and interest. Animal and vegetable petrifications may be picked up nearly at every step, and in the highest state of purity and perfection; so much so, that the characters of each object are distinct and visible, and nothing wanting in the one but sense, softness, and colour, and in the other, the active principle of life, all the waters of the Ohio and of its tributaries are gifted with the powers of petrification.

The first intimation I had of the approach to Louisville was the roaring of the falls, which reached me at the distance of fifteen miles. Four miles farther on gave me a fine view of the town, which stands about two miles above the falls, on the Kentucky shore. The entire *coup d'oeil* is very grand, but the disposition to admire is drowned in the murmur of the waters, and the danger it announces to the mind. As the falls cannot be passed without a pilot, and a number of extra hands to govern the helm and the oars, it is always necessary to look out within five or six miles, and pull in for the left shore before there is a possibility of getting into the suction of the fall stream, and from thence into the vortex of the flood. By my not attending to this in time I was very near perishing. The velocity of the water increased; the uproar of the falls became tremendous, and nothing but the continued and vigorous exertion of the oars saved us from sudden and violent perdition. We rowed one hour across the stream, and got into dull water but five minutes before our deaths must have been certain; whereas had I pulled in on seeing the town, I might have dropped quietly down along the bank, and enjoyed the grandeur and sublimity of the general scene, in the place of experiencing so much labour and apprehension.

Having secured the boat in the mouth of Bear Grass Creek, I walked up to the town of Louisville, which is situated on a high and level bank of the Ohio, about two hundred poles above the commencement of the rapid descent of the water, and contains about eighty dwellings, besides the court house of Jefferson county, and other public buildings. The prospect from the town is very extensive, commanding a view up the river, for some distance above what is called Six Mile island; and on the opposite shore, which is the distance of one mile and a quarter, the eye is

carried over an extent of level country, terminated by the hills of Silver Creek, which are five miles distant, and down the river to Clarksville, about two miles below.

Here the magnificence of the scene, the grandeur of the falls, the unceasing brawl of the cataract, and the beauty of the surrounding prospect, all contribute to render the place truly delightful, and to impress every man of observation who beholds it, with ideas of its future importance, till he inquires more minutely, and discovers a character of unhealthiness in the place, which forbids the encouragement of any hope of its permanency or improvement.

A ship yard is erected below the rapids by the company of Tavascon, Brothers, and James Beeth. The latter of whom now resides here. This certainly is the most eligible place on the river Ohio; and a greater prospect of the advantages of such an establishment now opens, since the vast territory of Louisiana has become the property of the United States.

Louisville is a port of entry. It is about nine hundred and thirteen miles by way of the river to Philadelphia, and by land about seven hundred. It is seventy miles from Lexington, and forty from Frankfort, in Kentucky, of which state it forms a part, and conducts all its export, which principally consists of the articles before named, and which are taken in exchange for foreign spirits and British goods, brought into the country by the way of Pittsburg.

The inhabitants are universally addicted to gambling and drinking. The billiard rooms are crowded from morning to night, and often all night through. I am the more concerned to see the prevalence of these vices, as I experience a liberality and attention in the town, which has given me an interest in the general welfare of its people.

I visited the falls of the Ohio on the sand side, and found them occasioned by a ledge of rocks which extend quite across the river, and are hardly to be perceived by the navigator in times of high freshes, unless by the superior velocity of the vessel. When the water is low, as it is at this period, the greater part of the rock becomes visible, and then the passage becomes highly dangerous. There are three channels in the rock through which the water passes. The rapids descend about thirty feet in the length of a mile and a half. The rise of the waters does not exceed twelve or fourteen feet, and has at times sunk to ten inches. A part of the rock remains in the middle of the river, and has never been overflowed, though it wastes every day by

the constant action of the waters, and attrition of pebble stones cast up by the impetuosity of the current. It commands the settlement of Louisville. The fort, however, is situated at the head of the falls.

A pilot for the safe conduct of boats through those falls, has been regularly appointed by the state ; he is answerable for all damages sustained through his neglect or bad management. The prices for pilotage of all kinds are regulated by the same authority. A light boat can pass at all times when directed by a skilful pilot ; and if it should be found necessary to unload at Bear Grass, and re-load below the rapids, the portage is very inconsiderable, being only two miles.

Notwithstanding the low state of the water, and imminent peril of the passage, I determined on taking the *chute* without farther delay, and lay my boat up below the falls, while I returned to the town, and made a short excursion through the country. I accordingly sent for the head pilot. He informed me that he feared a thunder gust was collecting. The late violent heats, and the prognostics declared by the noise of the falls, and the vapour suspended over them, were strong portentions of a storm, and made the passage too hazardous to be undertaken at the pilot's risk. Whenever I have determined on acting, I have not easily been turned from my intentions. This habit or obstinacy made me persist in going, and I told the pilot to prepare immediately, and that I would take the consequences of any loss on my own head. He agreed, and repaired to my boat with six additional hands, and I shortly followed him, accompanied by two ladies and gentlemen, who had courage to take the fall out of mere curiosity, notwithstanding the great peril with which the act was allied. We all embarked. The oars were manned with four men each. The pilot and I governed the helm, and my passengers sat on the roof of the boat. A profound silence reigned. A sentiment of awe and terror occupied every mind, and urged the necessity of a fixed and resolute duty. In a few minutes we worked across the eddy, and reached the current of the north fall, which hurried us on with an awful swiftness, and made impressions vain to describe. The water soon rushed with a more horrid fury, and seemed to threaten destruction even to the solid rock which opposed its passage in the centre of the river, and the terrific and incessant din with which this was accompanied, almost overcame and unnerved the heart. At the distance of half a mile a thick mist, like volumes of smoke, rose to the skies,

and as we advanced we heard a more sullen noise, which soon after almost stunned our ears. Making as we proceeded the north side, we were struck with the most terrific event and awful scene. The expected thunder burst at once in heavy peals over our heads, and the gust with which it was accompanied raged up the river, and held our boat in agitated suspense on the verge of the precipitating flood. The lightning, too, glanced and flashed on the furious cataract, which rushed down with tremendous fury within sight of the eye. We doubled the most fatal rock, and though the storm increased to a dreadful degree, we held the boat in the channel, took the *chute*, and following with skilful helm its narrow and winding bed, filled with rocks, and confined by a vortex which appears the residence of death, we floated in uninterrupted water of one calm continued sheet. The instant of taking the fall was certainly sublime and awful. The organs of perception were hurried along, and partook of the turbulence of the roaring water. The powers of recollection were even suspended by the sudden shock; and it was not till after a considerable time that I was enabled to look back and contemplate the sublime horrors of the scene from which I had made so fortunate an escape.

When in smooth water, and my mind somewhat collected, I attended to the ladies who had the temerity to honour me with their company through the hazard of the falls. I found them in a very exhausted state. The thunder had entirely unnerved them. I must do them the justice, however, to say, that they shewed great magnanimity:—they suppressed their feeling, and never uttered a cry, for fear of intimidating or interrupting the hands. On getting on shore they quickly recovered, and we enjoyed a pleasant walk back to the town, and passed the evening with that serene delight which is only known to those who have experienced an equally extraordinary and eventful day.

Very shortly there will be no necessity of boats encountering such rocks. A canal is now constructing on each side of the Ohio, by which means vessels may descend at all seasons, and without the possibility of accident or danger. For some time back from eight to twelve boats have been lost annually, and many have been detained for want of water. Therefore the canal must prove a grand acquisition, and extend benefit far and wide. It is to be finished in two years, and will be about three miles in length.



## LETTER XXIX.

*Excursion from Louisville—View of the Country and its Productions—Kentuckeyan mode of Life—Medicinal Herbs—Birds—Snakes—Remarkable Mocking Bird—A rich Vale—Beardstown.*

*Louisville, Aug. 1806.*

I HAVE just returned from an excursion, of which I transmit you my notes.

Accommodated with two excellent saddle and one good pack-horse for the conveyance of my tent and a few common necessities, I took a south course with the intention of reaching Beardstown, a rising settlement, about fifty miles off. I was very glad to find that the hills were neither so rugged nor numerous as I had previously experienced in most other parts of the state; but I passed several swamps and ponds, which emitted a most noxious smell, and affected for a moment both the stomach and the head. I found the country exceedingly well timbered. Sugar maple, the coffee, the papaw, the hackberry and the cucumber tree every where abounded. The coffee tree resemble the black oak, and bears a pod, which encloses a seed, of which a drink is made, thought by inferior tastes to be as good as coffee. Besides these, I met with the honey locust, black mulberry, and wild cherry of a very large size, and the magnolia, bearing a beautiful blossom, and shedding an exquisite fragrance. Numerous farms chequered this rich scene, producing wheat, corn, oats, flax, hemp, tobacco, cotton, and vegetables of all kinds, common to a mild climate, and which appeared to yield abundantly. The wheat promising sixty, and the corn one hundred bushels per acre, in many well cultivated plantations. The fruit made no appearance. The trees bear too much at a season, and perish untimely. Some peach brandy is manufactured, but no cyder is made in the country. I rode about fifteen or seventeen miles through this kind of mingled scenery, when I slept at the house of a cultivator whom I had fallen in with on the road, and took such refreshment as we found prepared. I shall mention it to you, because it conveys a

general idea of the mode of living through the state. On entering the house, which was a log one, fitted up very well, the Kentuckeyan never exchanged a word with his wife or his children, who were worrying a kangaroo on the floor before him, notwithstanding he had been absent several days. No tender enquiry, no affection or sentiment, but a contemptuous silence, and a stern brutality, which block up all the avenues to the heart. The poor woman, whom I pitied (for 'tis a fact that the women do not degenerate in proportion to the men, but continue to this day amiable) made a large bowl of drink, called *toddy*, composed of sugar, water, whiskey, and peach-juice, and handed it to her husband with all the servility of a menial; he drank, and handed it to me, who followed his example, and found the liquor excellent.

The dinner consisted of a large piece of salt bacon, a dish of homslic, and a tureen of squirrel broth. I dined entirely on the last dish, which I found incomparably good, and the meat equal to the most delicate chicken. The Kentuckeyan eat nothing but bacon, which indeed is the favourite diet of all the inhabitants of the state, and drank nothing but whiskey, which soon made him more than two thirds drunk. In this last practice he is also supported by the public habit. In a country then, where bacon and spirits form the favourite summer repast, it cannot be just to attribute entirely the causes of infirmity to the climate. No people on earth live with less regard to regimen. They eat salt meat three times a day, seldom or never have any vegetable, and drink ardent spirits from morning till night! They have not only an aversion to fresh meat, but a vulgar prejudice that it is unwholesome. The truth is, their stomachs are depraved with burning liquors, and they have no appetite for any thing but what is highly flavoured and strongly impregnated with salt. Disgusted with the subject of these reflections, I rose from table, cast a dollar on it for my entertainment, and hastening Cuff to prepare my horses, rode off, determined to pay no more such visits, and to want convenience and information sooner than seek them at such a source.

I had advanced but a few miles, when I left the ridgy regions which confine the Ohio, and travelled through a delightful country, presenting to view one extended plain, interspersed with trees, and covered with herbs and blossoms which embalmed the air with the sweetest odours, and added to the luxury of the charming scene. Many spots were en-

riched by shady groves, and many enlivened with lillies, roses, gilly-flowers, and jessamines, and a thousand other flowers, joined to the finest and most aromatic violets in the world. My servant, who is far a better botanist than myself, presented to my notice several herbs made use of by the wise men of his nation. I knew one to be the *eustracia*, which, by being soaked in warm water and applied moist to the eye, restores a weak sight, or stops the fountain of the worst cataract. The next was that extraordinary herb called the *excursionera*, which is an antidote against all sorts of poison, and a remedy for the bite of the worst vipers. It is also said to be serviceable in the yellow fever; in fits, paroxysms and vapours, and capable of dispelling gloom and melancholy. There was also another vegetable whose flower was very beautiful, and which the Indians used in all cases of fever and flux. The same exists in Portugal, and is known by the name of *anagris*.

Birds of every description, plumage, and song, were met with. Quail and partridge held the vicinity of cultivated grounds; pheasants and black cocks abounded in the deepest woods, and the blue linnet, red bird, purple finch, and hundreds of such others, claimed the protection of smaller detached bouquets and rural bowers.

On the approach of evening, I chose for my encampment one of those favoured spots which nature had exerted herself to adorn. It was the bank of a small stream finely wooded, interspersed with shrubs and flowers, and resorted to by many birds, which gave life and harmony to the embellished scene. The rapid little creek forced its way through the rocky channel beneath, and the trees that overhung the stream exhibited an assemblage truly picturesque. On such a spot I encamped with my faithful follower, and soon prepared a supper out of the fortune of the day. I had killed a very fine black cock, and several quails. The flesh of the black cock was of the most exquisite relish. This bird is known in the highlands of Scotland. He is not commonly found in so southern a latitude as this. In the winter of 1788, these birds were taken plentifully about Quebec. Whenever the winter of the arctic region sets in with rain, so as to cover the branches and leaves of trees with a glaze of ice, they are deprived of their food, and obliged to fly to a milder climate. They differ much from those of Europe in colour, the feathers being mostly white, and a coronet of a dark grey displayed on the head.

After the repast, I began to prepare for the night. To

prevent the robberies frequently perpetrated in Kentucky, I charged my rifle and pistols, and placed a *couteau de chasse* where I intended laying my head. My next care was to guard against wild cats, wolves and panthers; and above all, against my most hated enemy, the crawling and deadly snake. In all my wandering they have cost me the greatest portion of pain and uneasiness; and I have never encamped but when my friend Cuff has led my mind to the contemplation, by relating stories of serpents sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. We called to recollection at least forty different species which infest these countries.

On taking every precaution which fear could suggest against such a host of enemies, I at length lay down, and from excessive fatigue passed a night of the most tranquil and undisturbed repose. I was waked in the morning before the sun-rise by an extraordinarily fine mocking-bird. He began by natural notes, musical and solemn, and then assumed the tones of numerous other animals, whether quadrupeds or birds. He seemed to divert himself alternately with alluring or terrifying other birds, and to sport with their hopes and fears. Sometimes he enticed them with the call of their mates, and on their approach terrified them with the screams of the eagle, or some other bird of prey. After this, he again took up his own native melody, and rising to the top of the highest tree, poured forth the sweetest and most various strains that imagination could conceive, and more than any other creature is endowed with the faculty to perform. This enchanting bird continued while I prepared and sat at my breakfast, and I heard his notes long after I left the place of his rest.

The remainder of my ride to Beardstown was highly interesting. It lay through an enchanting vale, in many places cultivated to the summit of the hills that formed it, and in all others covered with luxuriant timber and aromatic plants and shrubs. The vale is twenty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth; and as the splendid productions of nature, with which it abounds, are mingled with neat farm-houses, and settlements of considerable improvement, I know of no place that can vie with it for richness of scenery and rural perfection. No doubt, this vale and one other nearly similar to it, have been the cause of the extraordinary and extravagant reports which have been so industriously circulated in favour of Kentucky. The authors of such reports, filled with enthusiasm by the abundant beauties of such spots, lost sight of the general deformity of the

country, and led the world astray by publishing the impressions made on them by a local and particular place.

Having conversed with a planter of some civilization and intelligence, I learned that the vale had been the favourite residence of a nation of Indians, called from tradition, Pono Cognorago, or the Vale of Spirits—which bears an exact analogy to our Garden of Eden, or Paradise, such places as have been deigned worthy the care and the walks of God.

Beardstown is situated on the southern verge of the Vale of Spirits, and where the ground is diversified by easy risings, and enriched with noble forests and improved land, abounding in domestic cattle, and all manner of wild game; the prodigality of the inhabitants not as yet having been equal to the accomplishment of its ruin. The town consists of about fifty houses, frame, log, and brick, and derives much of its consequence from receiving the road through it which leads from the eastern states, through Pittsburg, Chillicothe, and Lexington, to New Orleans, and stations on the Mexican Gulf: a route of about eighteen hundred miles, for the most part over mountains, and through swamps and wildernesses; but which have now small taverns placed at convenient distances through its whole length. It is also the great post road to Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Its market is extraordinarily cheap, as may be judged from the terms of board and lodging, being but from a dollar to a dollar and a half per week. Of the inhabitants I have already said enough to make humanity shudder. They trample on all the advantages spread before them by nature, and live in a brutal ignorance of the charms and luxuries which surround them.

The principal part of the produce of the country about Beardstown is conveyed to the Ohio by means of the Green River, which rises near the head of Salt River, and pursuing a westerly course, empties itself into the Ohio, about fifty miles above the Wabash River. To the S. E. lie the Great Barrens—several million of acres, of no utility to man or beast, being entirely destitute of water. To the west, a considerable way, flow the two great rivers called Cumberland and Tennessee.

The whole country, as far as has been explored, is found to lie on a bed of limestone, which generally lies six feet below the surface, except in valleys where the soil is much thinner.

I remained but one night at Beardstown. The following day I returned here by a different direction, but met with nothing to be described without a dull tautology.

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### LETTER XXX.

*Jefferson's Town and Canal—Clarksville—General View  
of the River Two Hundred and Seventy-two Miles down  
—Henderson's Town—Diamond Island.*

*Mouth of the Wabash, Indiana Territory,  
September, 1806.*

PREVIOUSLY to leaving Louisville, I crossed the river and visited the town of Jefferson, which is also seated about two miles above the falls. It is yet very small, but the inhabitants appear determined to add to its character and opulence, being now employed in forming a canal, by which navigators may avoid all dangers, and proceed down the river at all seasons of the year. I surveyed the line of the canal, and think it much more practicable than that marked off on the opposite shore. I entertain no doubt of the commerce of the river being adequate to the support of both undertakings, and that the proprietors will be hereafter amply remunerated.

I descended the falls by the shore, and once more enjoyed their grandeur, though from a different point of view. I then crossed over to my boat which lay at Clarksville, a small settlement lying near the eddy formed by the recoiling flood. It is as yet a village of no importance, however, is it form the mouth of the intended canal its rise is certain. Twenty-five miles from Louisville I passed the mouth of Salt River, on the Kentucky shore. All I could learn respecting it, was, that it received its name from the number of salines on its banks, which impregnate its waters when in a low state, and fifty-seven miles farther down I put into Blue River, on the Indiana side, which takes its name from its colour being a fine azure.

In the whole run to the Wabash, of two hundred and seventy-two miles, effected in six days, and I made little or no stop, and met with no event to be called interesting; I very strongly perceived that occurrences capable of affording information and anecdote were ceasing. Above the falls,

the banks of the river are enlivened by plantations, towns, and villages; below, nothing is seen but the state of nature, broken at vast distances, of from twenty to thirty miles, with wretched huts, the residence of solitude and misfortune. Most of the settlers on the lower parts of the waters are criminals, who either escaped from or were apprehensive of public justice. On descending the river they fix on some inviting spot, without ever looking after the proprietor of the soil, erect a log-hut, plant a little corn, make salt at a neighbouring saline; coffee from the wild pea; and extract sugar from the maple tree. In time they extend their labours, and embrace all the necessaries of life. Some do more—from living in habits of industry they lose the practice of vice, and learn the consequence of virtue; while unhappily some other pursue their former crimes, and live by the means of murder and the plunder of various boats.

The aspect and banks of the river in the late run I have made, are nearly similar to those above the falls, and from below Pittsburg. The banks are formed of a chain of mountains; some rising up and above the rest; and some are so low, interwoven and contrasted, that they form an agreeable diversity of hills and dales. From several points of view the opposite bank looks like an immense amphitheatre, which has all the charms that can be produced by an infinite variety of the most sumptuous trees and shrubs, reflecting uncommon beauties on each other, and on the bosom of their favourite flood. Twenty miles below Blue River I crossed the mouth of another river on the same side. I believe it has not been named. The navigation of the three last rivers I have mentioned is very trifling. Their waters are low, and broken by rocks and rapids.

About ninety miles below the Blue River, and eight hundred and thirty-nine from Pittsburg, is Yellow-bank creek; so called from the banks changing their general colour and quality of a black mould to a bright yellow clay. In the space of eight miles below this creek, I passed a chain of islands six in number, which added much to the effect and beauty of the water, and gave more variety to the general scene. The islands were richly wooded, as are all others on the river. Between a creek called Haeden's and the Yellow-bank, which maintains its colour for the distance of a mile, the low lands commence. The high hills, which up the river are uniformly to be met with, now entirely disappear, and there is nothing to be seen on either hand but an extensive level

country. It is remarkable, that the hills should subside on each shore exactly at equal distances down, and in a similar distinction and manner twenty-five miles from the Yellow-bank. I crossed the mouth of Green River on the Kentucky shore. It is the fine water which I mentioned in my last. It is navigated by bateaux at one season, and by flat-bottomed boats through the year. The lands are healthy, and inhabited by a stout race of people. Nearer the Ohio it is subject to inundation, is sickly, and thinly settled. Lower down, twenty-five miles more, I came to a place called the Red-bank, in consequence of its varying from the general colour, and assuming a deep red. I could not learn that any mineral or any ore had ever been discovered in the Red or Yellow Banks. This colour would encourage a belief that they contain something analogous to its distinction from that of the common and adjoining soil. The United States should order such appearances to be analyzed and explored. At the Red-bank, which is included in a grant by Congress to one Henderson, of two hundred thousand acres, a town is laid out, owing to a remarkable bend in the river, though the distance from the mouth of Green River to Henderson, by water, is twenty-five miles, yet by land it is only about seven. Henderson consists of about twenty houses, and inhabited by a people whose doom is fixed. I never saw the same number of persons look so languid, emaciated, and sick. The whole settlement was attacked in the spring by the ague, which subsided in a nervous fever, and is now followed by a violent and wasting flux.

I left Henderson with the commiseration due to the sufferings of its inhabitants, and after a run of fifteen miles came in view of Diamond island, which is by far the finest in the river, and perhaps the most beautiful in the world. It is higher than the adjoining main land, containing twenty thousand acres; and is of the exact form of a diamond, whose angles point directly up and down, and to each side of the expanded river. The shades, views, and perspective of an island so situated, clothed with aromatic shrubs, crowned with timber, surrounded by water, bounded by an extensive and delightful country, are too numerous, varied, and sublime, to come under the controul of written description.

I visited the island in several directions, and found established on it a few French families, who live nearly in the original Indian state, and bestow very little labour on the



ground. They have planted a few peach orchards which thrive well, as do every other exotic introduced. Native grapes abound, and I tasted a wine expressed from them, which was as good as any inferior Bourdeaux. Fish are innumerable in the water, and swans, ducks, and geese reside eight months in the year around the island. It also abounds with game of every description, and is often visited by herds of deer, which swim from the main land to enjoy its fragrant herbage and luxuriant pasture.

The Wabash enters on the Indian or N. W. side. It is nine hundred and forty-nine miles from Pittsburg, and is one of the most considerable rivers between that town and the mouth of the Ohio. It is very beautiful, four hundred yards wide at its mouth, and three hundred at St. Vincennes, which is one hundred miles above the mouth in a direct line. Within this space there are two small rapids which give very little obstruction to the navigation. In the spring and autumn it is passable for bateaux drawing three feet water; four hundred and twelve miles to Ouiatonan, a small French settlement on the west side of the river; and for large canoes it is navigable for one hundred and ninety-seven miles further, to the Miami carrying-place, which is nine miles from the Miami village. This village stands on Miami River, which empties into the S. W. part of Lake Erie. The communication between Detroit and the Illinois and Indiana country, is up Miami river to Miami village; thence, by land nine miles through a level country to the Wabash, and through the various branches of the Wabash to the respective places of distinction.

A silver mine has been discovered about twenty-eight miles above Ouiatonan, and salt-springs, lime, free-stone, blue, yellow, and white clay, are found in abundance on this river's banks.

## LETTER XXXI.

*Remarkable Cave—Vengeance of the Illinois on the Kentuckeyans—Wilson's Gang—Particular Description of the Cave—Hieroglyphics.*

*Cave in the Rock. Ohio Bank, Sept. 1806.*

I HAD descended but twenty-two miles from the Wabash, when I came to on the Indiana shore to examine a very grand and interesting natural curiosity. It is a cave in a rock which presents itself to view a little above the water when high, and close to the bank of the river, and is darkened by the shade of some catalpa trees standing before the entrance, which adds much to the sublimity of its character. On each side the gently ascending copses of wood, and the extensive view of the water, profound, wide, and transparent, tend to render the cave an object truly delightful, and worthy of the most minute attention. I resolved to explore it, though it bore the reputation of being the residence of a band of robbers, who for many years have infested the river, but I find the cavern at first became an object of terror and astonishment from having been the retreat of the remains of an Indian nation exasperated against the Americans, and resolved to put as many of them as possible to death, to revenge the injuries and insults they and their friends had experienced from them since their coming into the country. It was a party of the Illinois who adopted this fatal resolution, and who carried it out for several years with the most bloody effect, till a large party of Kentuckeyans resolved to attack, and endeavour to exterminate them. With this intent fifty well armed men descended to the cave and attacked the Illinois, who were about double that number. Several fell on both sides, and the victory being doubtful till the Illinois, annoyed by the distance and length of the combat, rushed upon the enemy with lifted tomahawks, and horrid cries, and drove them to the mouth of the cave, into which they entered, and made a long and terrible resistance. In an instant the Illinois changed their mode: they cast up a heap of dry wood, reeds and cane, immediately before the entrance, which they undoubtedly guarded, and setting fire to the piles, suffocated all these

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who had not resolution to rush through the flame, and brave death in another effort with their successful enemy. Some had vigour to make this desperate attempt. It was fruitless. The life of one man alone was spared. The rest perished by the fire, or fell under the hatchet. The man whose life was given him, was sent back to the government of Kentucky with this message: "Tell your wise men, that the Illinois have glutted their vengeance, and that their spirit is satisfied and appeased. On the borders of the lake we will bury the hatchet. Woe to those who make us take it from the ground." Soon after this act they departed, and reside to this time on the spot they mentioned for their intended retreat. The first who visited the cave witnessed a dreadful spectacle. The putrid bodies of the Americans were strewed all around; and as wolves, panthers, buzzards, and vultures, had made them their prey for several days, it must be difficult to form an idea of their mangled and terrible appearance. The remains were gathered together and buried under some sand at the far end of the cave, where they are frequently disturbed to gratify the curiosity of the river navigators.

About three years after this distinguished act of national and Indian vengeance, the cave became possessed by a party of Kentuckeians, called "Wilson's gang." Wilson, in the first instance, brought his family to the cave, fitted it up as a spacious dwelling, and erected a sign post on the water side, on which were these words: "Wilson's liquor vault, and house for entertainment." The novelty of such a tavern induced almost all boats descending the river to call and stop for refreshment and amusement. Attracted by these circumstances, several idle characters took up their abode at the cave, after which it continually resounded with the shouts of the licentious, the clamour of riot, and the blasphemy of gamblers. Out of such customers as these, Wilson found no difficulty in forming a band of robbers, with whom he formed the plan of murdering the crews of every boat that stopped at his tavern, and send the boats manned by some of his party to New Orleans, and there sell their lading for cash, which was to be conveyed to the cave by land through the states of Tennessee and Kentucky; the party returning with it being instructed to murder and rob on all good occasions presented by the road. After a lapse of some time the merchants of the upper country began to be alarmed on finding their property make no return, and that their people never came back. Several families

and respectable men who had gone down the river were never more heard of, and the losses became so frequent, that it raised at length a cry of individual and general distress. This naturally led to inquiry, and large rewards were offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of such unparalleled crimes. It soon came out that Wilson with an organized party of forty-five men, was the cause of such waste of blood and treasure; that he had a station at Hurricane Island to arrest boats that passed by the mouth of the cavern, and that he had agents at the Natchez and New Orleans, of presumed respectability, who converted his assignments into cash, though they knew the goods to be stolen, or obtained by the commission of murder! The publicity of Wilson's transactions soon broke up his party: some dispersed, others were taken prisoners, and he himself was killed by one of his associates, who was tempted by the original reward offered for the head of the captain of the gang.

These facts, which I had heard before, came direct to my memory on my arrival at the cave, and I confess to you, that I hesitated some moments before I resolved to explore it. My men had already heard accounts of the cavern which made them tremble, and recommended me strongly to depart, for fear of any dreadful accident. I was not to be turned from my purpose. I ordered light and arms, and entered the gloomy and spacious fabric of nature. After meditating a few moments on the general outline and grandeur of the scene, I descended to particulars, and found the cave to measure two hundred feet long, and forty feet high, the entrance forming a semicircular arch of ninety feet at its base, and forty-five in its perpendicular. The interior walls are smooth rock stained by fire, and marked with names of persons and dates, and other remarks, etched by former inhabitants, and nearly by every visitor. The floor is very remarkable; it is level through the whole length of its centre, and rises to the sides in stone grades, in the manner of seats in the pit of a theatre. On a diligent scrutiny of the walls, I could plainly discern that the Indians, at a very remote period, made use of the cave as a house of deliberation and council. The walls bear many hieroglyphics, well executed in the Indian manner; and some of them represented animals which bear no resemblance to any I have ever heard of or seen. While occupied in this research, I discovered an orifice in the roof of the cave, which appeared to work up a funnel to the surface of

the earth. It was as large as an ordinary chimney, and placed directly in the centre of the roof. The access was very difficult, and yet an increase of curiosity determined me to find out whither the passage led. In consequence I ordered a long hickory to be cut down, to be notched for the feet, and reared up against the mouth of the opening. My men seemed to think the passage might lead to the lurking-place of a banditti. They were much alarmed, and used every persuasion to turn me from my design. It was to no purpose. With a dirk in my breast, and a pair of pistols in my girdle, I mounted by means of the tree, and received a light from my servant, who insisted on following me, while Cuff remained as a centinel below, ready to fire a signal on any person's approach. With much difficulty I strained through the aperture, which appeared to form a perpendicular passage of fourteen feet; and to my great astonishment arrived in an apartment of greater magnitude than that from which I had immediately ascended, and of infinitely more splendour, magnificence, and variety. It expanded on all sides of the orifice through which I mounted, and at first gave no determinate ideas. The mind, on the contrary, was confused and stupified by so vague and incomprehensible a scene of gloom, diversity, and vastness. As I advanced, by the assistance of the lights, I began to discover the outlines of a large vault of great height and proportionate extent. The roof, which was arched, the sides and natural pillars that supported it, seemed at first sight to be cut out and wrought into innumerable figures and ornaments, not unlike those of a gothic cathedral. These were formed by a thousand perpetual distillations of the coldest and most petrifying quality imaginable, and which besides exhibited an infinite number of objects that bore some imperfect resemblance to many different kinds of animals. At the farther end of this large vault was an opening, which served as a descent to another vault of very great depth, as I judged from a stone cast in, whose reverberation was not returned for the space of several seconds. The descent was too rapid to be practicable, and can never be attempted but by some rash adventurer, careless whether he survives or perishes. While contemplating the frightful chasm, my servant approached me with some agitation, and recommended me to descend. On demanding the cause, he conducted me to a part of the cave he had been examining, and there I had the horror to discover the objects of his apprehension; they consisted of human bones,

some in a promiscuous heap, and some forming a complete skeleton. . . These were the skeletons of very recent subjects; and five others, by their difference in preservation, appeared to belong to a very remote period. Two of the skulls were beaten in, and several bones were fractured and broken, from which I inferred that murder had been committed, and that the dreadful reports respecting the cave were neither fabulous nor exaggerated. I met with a number of other fragments of skeletons, and some bones of deer and other animals, from which I presume that the banditti who infested the river sometimes dwelt in the upper as well as in the lower cave, and that most of their victims were immolated therein to save appearances and avoid detection. From the remains, it would appear that upwards of sixty persons must have perished in the cave, either by the hand of the assassin or from want, as it is possible that some unfortunate beings might have taken shelter there from pursuit, and not been able to extricate themselves again from the labyrinth; for with the assistance of light, of which the persecuted could not have been prepared, I found it extremely difficult to find the aperture which I entered. Perhaps less than an hour was occupied in the painful search. I had a pistol off, which I knew would bring my faithful Mandarin to our relief, but I did not know that its effect would be terrific and its report tremendous. The operation was too rapid to submit to description, and the facts too glaring to invite belief. No thunder could exceed the explosion, no echo return so strong a voice. My man fell as insensible at my feet, and I staggered several paces before I could recover my equilibrium. The light extinguished: the echo of the shot again rebounded "through the long sounding aisle and fretted vault," and all the demons of the place awoke at once to appal and confound me. Owls screamed in their retreats, bats fluttered through the air, and a direful contention of sounds and cries vied with each other to sear the heart, and fill the soul with horror and dismay. Before the tumult ceased, I discovered beams of light issuing from the lower cave, and in a moment after appeared my trusty Lohan rising through the orifice with a torch in one hand and a sabre in the other, and exclaiming, *ohing, ohawa sanguiché*: "my chief, my chief, have a strong heart." The tears which had been fastening upon me instantly fell off, and I had composure to contemplate a subject for a sombre picture too grand and various to be expressed by human art. The gloom visibly receded from the rising light; the columns dis-

played their ponderous magnitude ; the roof exhibited its ample dome, and the whole glittered with distillations, like the firmament when studded with stars, and embellished with falling meteors. We found here, to my astonishment, abundance of shells, principally of the muscle kind. They were all open, and lay scattered on the floor and shelving sides of the cave, in a manner that fully convinced me they were there originally concreted and inhabited by fish, at a period when the place in which I found them was a sub-marine vault. From this fact it would appear that this country lay for ages under a flood, and that the waters retired from it from other causes than those ascribed to the general and universal deluge, which we are instructed to believe rose and retreated in a space and manner that entirely checked every other proceeding of nature, and made an awful pause in her operation and works. That the shells were introduced into the cave by a rising deluge, or by man, to live on their contents, is completely inadmissible from what I have already observed respecting the situations in which they are found, and the certain character, method and number they exhibit through the whole place. Surely this fact is worth the future speculations of the learned.

At the instant of a disposition to descend to the lower apartment of the rock, and to the light of heaven which I ardently longed to see, a persisting curiosity led me to visit a recess in the side of the cave, the opening to which was so low that I had to stoop considerably, and advance with care, to avoid the rugged walls of the passage, and the roof hung with cristallizations, as pointed and bright as the most polished spear.

I had advanced, however, but a few steps when the scene changed : I entered an apartment of an indefinite space of gloom. No pillars supported the dome ; no crystal stars illumined the dismal firmament. It was a black domain, a dead-like asylum. I might have contemplated the forbidding scene sometime longer, had I not been warned to collect my thoughts and employ them quickly against an approaching danger. My torch grew dim, a smell of sulphur affected my senses, the air of the place became inflammable, the expanse instantaneously lighted up, and hell and all its fire and furies, satellites and inhabitants, suddenly burst on and around me. I made but one spring to the passage through which I entered, and escaped through it mangled and bruised. Notwithstanding the impression of danger which remained on my mind, I could not resist looking back on the orifice

from which I emerged; the lightning broke through it with such inconceivable rapidity and eclat, that, expecting to hear the crack and rattle of thunder every instant, I ordered my people to follow me, and descended to the lower cave with the precipitation of a coward.

An apprehension that the rock and caverns would explode, induced us to retire to some distance: that idle fear soon wore off, and I returned to the cave to examine its walls and trace out some of its hieroglyphics.

I have, before this day, remarked an existing analogy in Indian and Grecian customs and practices; and it remains for me to give you a more ample and certain proof of a direct affinity and strong resemblance.

The hieroglyphics of the cave consist of—the sun in different stages of rise and declension; the moon under various phases; a snake, representing an orb, biting his tail; a viper; a vulture; buzzards tearing out the bowels of a prostrate man; a panther held by the ears by a child; a crocodile, several trees and shrubs, a fox, a curious kind of hydra serpent, two doves, many bears, several scorpions, an eagle, an owl, some quails, eight representations of animals which are now unknown, but whose former existence I before asserted, from the character and number of bones I have already described to have been found. Three out of the eight are like the elephant in all respects except the tusk and tail. Two more resemble the tyger, one a wild boar, another a sloth, and the last appears a creature of fancy, being a quadruman instead of a quadrupede; the claws being alibi, and in the act of conveying something to the mouth, which lay in the centre of the monster; and several fine representations of men and women, not naked, but clothed in a manner which bespoke, in the Indian, much of the costume of Greece and Rome.

You must at once perceive, that a person of the meanest judgment and most confined reading, is compelled to allow that these objects, with an exception or two, were employed by the Greeks to display the nature of the world, the omnipotence of God, the attributes of man, and the utility of rendering his knowledge immortal and systematic. Suppose we enter into a short inquiry of the science of conveying instruction from several kinds of hieroglyphics drawn from the works of nature and the dispositions of living animals. It may be interesting, and cannot be entirely irrelevant to our subject.

All human sciences flourished among the Egyptians long before they were common to any other people.



The Grecians, in the days of Solon, Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Plato, acquired in Egypt all that knowledge of nature which rendered them so eminent and remarkable. But the Egyptian priests did not divulge their doctrines without the aid of signs and figurative emblems. Their manner was to discover to their auditors the mysteries of God and of Nature in hieroglyphics, which were certain visible shapes and forms of creatures, whose inclinations and dispositions led to the knowledge of the truths intended for instruction. All their divinity, philosophy, and their greatest secrets, were comprehended in these ingenious characters, for fear they should be profaned by a familiar acquaintance with the commonality. The learned of antiquity seem not willing to make them share in any part of the profound sciences; therefore Alexander was displeased at Aristotle for publishing in a vulgar language, some of his treatises which contained an account of the curiosities of nature.

I shall now proceed to shew you that the same knowledge of hieroglyphics flourished in America for the same design, and with as much ingenuity and art.

It requires but a rapid and cursory view of the hieroglyphics above enumerated, to convince you of their intention, and also that the vault wherein they are found engraven, was originally a place of worship and sanctuary of Indian priests. I make a brief review.

1. The sun, the most glorious of all visible beings, represented their chief God, and received their adoration for causing all the fruits of their earth to bring forth their increase.

2. The moon denoted the next most beautiful object in the creation, and was worshipped for her own peculiar usefulness, and more particularly for supplying the place of the departed sun.

3. The snake, in the form of an orb, biting his tail, pointed out the continual mutation of creatures, and the change of one being into another; or it represented the perpetual motion of the world itself. If so, this construing agrees with the Greek figure of the same kind, which implies that the world feeds upon itself, and receives from itself in return, a continual supply for renovation and nourishment. Claudian was acquainted with this hieroglyphic, which he beautifully describes:

"Perpetuumque virens squammis caudamque reducto  
"Ore vorans, tacito relegens exordia."

Perhaps the same symbol designated the year, which revolves round and ends where it at first began. I believe the ancients gave it this import or meaning.

4. The viper, the most venomous of all creatures, was the emblem of the devil, or wicked angel; for, as its poison is quick and powerful, so is the destroying spirit in bringing on mankind evils which can only be opposed by the grace and power of God.

5. The vulture; I am at a loss to give this hieroglyphic a just interpretation. I am persuaded it will bear the one given it by the Greeks, who made it express nature.

6. The buzzard's tearing out the bowels of a prostrate man, seems a moral intending to reprove fierceness and cruelty, and to inculcate compassion and peace.

7. The panther held by the ears by a child, was meant to impress a sense of the dominion of innocence and virtue over oppression and vice, or perhaps it bore the Greek meaning of a wretch encompassed with difficulties which he vainly attempts to avoid.

8. The crocodile, from its power and might, was another symbol of the Great Spirit; or its being the only creature without a tongue, might have given it a title to the same honour, as all Indian nations concur in representing their God, beholding and doing all things in heaven and earth in a profound silence.

9. The several trees and shrubs were undoubtedly emblematical of particular virtues, or represented in the temple from a veneration for their aromatic and healing properties. Among the ancients, we know that the palm and the laurel were emblems of victory and deserved honour; the myrtle, of pleasure; the cedar, of eternity; the oak, of strength; the olive-tree, of fruitfulness; the vine, of delight and joy; and the lilly, of beauty, &c. But what those in the cave imply, it is not possible to determine, as nothing of their character can be deduced from the manner they were sketched on the surface of a rough wall, where the design is obscured by smoke, or nearly obliterated from the effect of damp and the gradual decay of time.

10. The fox, from every authority, was put to denote subtilty and craftiness. Even now, an entire nation, goes by the name of the Fox Nation, a title their ancestors assumed at a remote period, when they subdued their enemies more by the use of cunning and art, than by the force of combat or dint of arms.

11. The hydra serpent possibly signified malice and envy :  
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passions which the hieroglyphic taught mankind to avoid ; or it may have implied an unsatisfied desire and thirst which nothing could assuage, and which ought never to be suffered to reside in the human breast. It may bear some other signification also, which I have not divination to find out.

12. The two doves were hieroglyphic of continency, and were represented to recommend chastity, and mutual and conjugal love. All nations agree in this, and admire the attachment of doves, and their extreme affection for each other. They might also convey a moral to suppress choler, the dove having none ; and to impose a love of meekness and good temper in the mind of man.

13. The bears. There is a difficulty in ascertaining the intent of this hieroglyphic. I apprehend it means to imply labour and assiduity, as an Indian opinion prevails, that the cubs come into the world in mishapen parts, and that their eyes, ears, and other members are licked into form by the mother, who passes several days in that anxious and unceasing employ : therefore they may have been considered the emblem of labour, which gives beauty and perfection in return for perseverance and toil.

14. The scorpions were calculated to inspire a detestation for malignity and vice. The present race of Indians hold these animals in great disgust. They are well acquainted with their fierce and venomous nature, and heal wounds inflicted by them by a preparation of their own blood. They might from this circumstance embrace considerable meaning in their hieroglyphic, and more than I here note.

15. The eagle was represented, and is held to this day, as the emblem of a great, noble, and liberal mind. When the Indians speak of a warrior who soars above the multitude in person and endowments, they say, " he is like the eagle, who destroys his enemies and gives protection and abundance to the weak of his own tribe."

16. The owl must have been set up to deter men from deceit and hypocrisy. He cannot endure the light of the sun, nor can hypocrites bear that of truth and sincerity. He may have been the emblem of death and wretchedness, as among the Egyptians, or of victory and prosperity, when in a flying attitude, as among the Greeks : I conceive my first conclusion, however, to be the most admissible.

17. The quails afford no clue to their hieroglyphic. Probably they denoted the corn season, and pointed out the time for the usage of some particular rites and ceremonies. With the Greeks they were emblematical of impiety, from a

belief that they enrage and torment themselves when the crescent of the new moon first appears.

18. The representations of the large animals were indicative of the power and attributes of the Great Spirit. The mammoth might have been emblematical of his greatness, justice, resolution, and mercy; the tyger of his strength, authority, and capacity of inflicting injuries; the wild boar of his wrath and vengeance; the sloth of his patience and forbearance, and the non-descript figure of his hidden virtues, which they knew themselves incapable to find out.

19. The human figures give a wider range for conjecture than any of the other objects I have named. The men may represent chiefs, princes, or warriors, who had made themselves eminent in the government, in the council, or in the field; or who had manifested that bravery of disposition, which contemns the difficulties of the world, and sets the disgraces of fortune at defiance. One fact, however, results from the costume of the figures, which is of great interest and moment. The dress resembles the Roman, and the figures would be taken for European antiquies, were it not for the character and manner of the heads, which resemble those of the Indians of the present time. The dress consists of—  
1. A *carbasus*, or rich cloak. 2. A *sabucula*, or waistcoat, or shirt. 3. A *supparura*, or breeches open at the knees. 4. *Solea*, or sandals tied across the toes and heels. 5. The head embraced by a bandana and crowned with high feathers.

20. What the females were meant to represent, is as dubious as that of the men; the head dresses have a Grecian cast; the hair encircling the crown and confined by a *boluskin*. The remaining costume is Roman. 1. The garment called *stola*, or perhaps the *toga pura*, flowed from the shoulders to the ground. 2. An *indusium* appeared underneath. 3. The *indusium* was confined under the breast by a *zona* or *cestus*. And 4. sandals in the manner of those of the men.

I fear not then to declare my mind and again to assert, that the Indians possessed habits and manners similar to other nations of antiquity. In common they were the unsophisticated children of nature. In common they adopted the religion of nature, which is nothing more than the acknowledgment of God in his works, and worshipping those objects to which he is pleased to impart the most manifest degree of his character and power. It is not the individual thing itself that is adored, but the attribute of the Supreme Being, which its dispositions and capacity figuratively unfolds.

The similitude in Indian and Grecian hieroglyphic is too natural to require authority to account for it. All nations have made use of this species of science, and nearly for the same purpose, and after the same manner. There are several nations distant from each other on the continent of Asia, whose languages are as different as the Greek and Hebrew, and yet they understand the writings of one another, which cannot be but by certain hieroglyphics, or universal characters, representing the shapes of things known to men of all nations, and of all tongues. Therefore the hieroglyphics of the Americans not only agree with those of ancient Europe, but bear a vast resemblance to the symbols made use of by Asian, African, and South-Sea tribes. I shall illustrate this subject for you by an historical fact, which proves the existence of hieroglyphics in America upwards of one hundred years back; and shews how they were employed in the place of written characters—as in former Egypt, Greece, &c.

Soon after Canada was invaded by the French, the Iroquois, with whom they had many combats of various success, etched the following characters on a plane-tree plank, after the decision of an engagement, and sent it in the nature of a dispatch to their different and distant tribes.

1. The arms of France and a hatchet erect above them. The hatchet being the symbol of war, shewed that the French had taken it from the ground and declared vengeance against them. Round this figure were eighteen characters, each representing the number of ten, which implied that the French were one hundred and eighty strong.

2. In a line underneath are designated, a bird in the act of springing from the top of a mountain, which was well depicted. The mountain denoted Montreal, and the bird, that it was the place from which the Indians took their departure.

3. On the same line are seen a deer with a moon expressed on his back, shewing that they started on the first quarter of the moon in the month of July, called by them the Deer's month.

4. Under this is a canoe and twenty-one dots, which imply that they travelled by water one and twenty days.

5. On another line is a man's foot and seven dots, shewing that they marched by land seven days.

6. These are succeeded by a hand and three cabins, to note that they had arrived within three days' journey of the village of the Isonontouans, which is expressed on the same line by a cabin with a tree at each end, which is the people of that tribe; and the sun is represented at the east end of the

cabin, to mark the direction on which they arrived at the village.

7. On another line the arms of the same people are exhibited together, with twelve marks of the figure of ten, and a man extended in the act of sleeping, which proves that the village contained one hundred and twenty warriors who were taken by surprise, as appears from the man in a recumbent posture, and deprived by sleep of his vigilance and senses.

8. Then follows a tomahawk and eleven heads, to testify that eleven were killed; and on the same line are five men standing on a figure representing ten, indicating that fifty were taken prisoners.

9. In the space of a bow are nine heads, meaning that nine of the aggressors of the vanquished party were put to death, and on the same line are twelve marks, to shew that that number were wounded.

10. On a separate space are two flights of arrows opposed to each other in the air, which express that both parties fought with vigour, and met with powerful resistance.

11. The dispatch closes with a flight of arrows all in one direction, to make known that the enemy were at length put to flight, or beat in disorder and confusion.

12. Recapitulation. One hundred and eighty Iroquois left Montreal the first quarter of the moon in the month of July, and navigated one and twenty days: after which they travelled ten days, and surprised one hundred and twenty Isonontouans; eleven of whom lost their lives in battle, fifty were taken prisoners, nine were put to death as principals, twelve were wounded, and the combat was fought with courage on both sides.

From the length of my communications from this celebrated place, and the extent, of what will probably be called, my idle speculations, you will understand that I got familiarized to the horrors of the vault, to which I have to add that I took up my abode in it. The fact is, I thought but right to unload and overhaul my boat before I reached the Mississippi, and where could I be better accommodated, during that process, than in the cave, where I had abundant space for my baggage, and ample amusement for my leisure hours? The apprehensions which first seized me soon wore off, though I cannot say my first night's lodging in the rock was altogether sound and free from restraint: we held an alternate watch every two hours, and kept up large fires to preserve ourselves from reptiles and beasts. Nor can I say that we were comfortable; the place was too immense, and too

much connected with tragical events, to allow the mind to sink into indifference, or to relax into that disengaged state which alone is favourable to comfort and tranquil happiness. The days past more equal and serene. In the morning I fish for my breakfast; before dinner I amuse myself in a ramble with my gun, and the evening is devoted to writing, and visiting the works of my servants.

I must not leave this without giving you an opportunity of participating a pleasure of a very grateful nature which this desolate place has but just now afforded me.

I descended the river this morning (Sunday) about a mile, to explore a spot which presented indications of lead ore. I succeeded in discovering a very fine vein, and was returning with a specimen, when my steps and attention were arrested by the sudden and extraordinary sound of church-music at one time swelling in the breeze, and at another dying on the stream. I stood in the attitude of one doubting the existence of a fact, and falling into the belief of génie and enchanted ground. It was a mystery I could by no means solve, and I advanced agitated with contending ideas of supernatural agency, and of the moral and ordinary laws of the world, which deny encouragement to absurdity and certain impossibilities. As I approached, the sound designed an anthem, swelled to a great pitch by numerous voices. Filled with awe and reverence, I hastened to the mouth of the cave whence the divine melody issued, and entered it at the moment that a devout multitude were casting themselves on their knees, and supplicating for the mercy and protection of a great and benevolent Providence. Without wasting a time so precious in frigid speculations of so sublime a spectacle, I followed the bright example; nay more, I prostrated myself in the dust, poured out an effusion of praise to God, and implored him aloud to accept in this splendid tabernacle built by his own hands, the only tribute I had to offer, not the words from my lips, but the blood which emotion ejaculated from my heart, and the tears which gratitude impelled from my eyes. Hurried away by fervid and holy passions, I never perceived that my instantaneous worship had no relation to the general service of the place. The congregation indulged me in so sacred an error. They were silent, and remained so till I recovered serenity, and cast off my surprise. They then continued, and finally concluded their devotion with an excellent prayer, and sound though simple discourse. I have to tell you, that the congregation which caused me so much astonishment and

reverential delight, was composed of about forty religious families who have lately formed a settlement a few miles back, and who have chosen the cave as their place of worship. I had known nothing of this, therefore my delusion was at once grand and enthusiastic. On casting my eye over what I have just written, I find I have given you a very faint idea of the impression made on me on first hearing the sacred hymn. At times the sounds were wafted in their full quire of melody to the ear, and again, melting like the notes of the Eolian harp, they reached it in tremulous, and almost imperceptible vibration. There was a transport in the mysterious and simple music, of which I did not conceive myself susceptible. It touched the most sympathetic chord of my heart, and awakened recollection the most sublime and beautiful.

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#### LETTER XXXIII.

*Hurricane Island—A violent Hurricane—Cumberland River—The Tennessee State—Its Produce, Commerce, &c.—Indian Tribes—Tennessee River—The White—Shawnee Village, an Indian Settlement—Its Inhabitants—Interesting Characteristics and Habits—Indian Gallantries—Song of Logan—Shawnee Practice of Physic—Jugglers—Various Customs—Marriage and Divorce—Other Habits and Traits of the Shawnee Character.*

*Shawnee Village, River Ohio, Sept. 1806.*

I HAVE at length left the cave.

Three miles below is Hurricane Island, notorious for having been the place of residence of a party of Wilson's gang. It was chosen for that purpose from this circumstance: in consequence of the contraction of the river, the current runs with great force: I calculated at six miles an hour. The island is clothed with fine trees, and the opposite banks are level, and capable of high cultivation. But since I left the village of Henderson, I have not seen twenty settlements, and I understand the last three hundred miles have been little more than an uninterrupted wilderness. The river also is more dangerous than above. It abounds in sand bars, and is subject to violent and tempestuous winds.



On leaving the island I was struck by an hurricane, which came so unexpectedly that I had not time to pull in shore. It rushed up the river, and raised a sea in which all our art was required to preserve us from foundering. When the boat was first struck, she backed against the body of the current, and remained a few moments in the situation of a ship that had missed her stays. The water began to bear her down. I clapt the helm about, and succeeded in putting her head *up stream*, whither she went with as much velocity as I ever knew her descend. My situation was still perilous, and was rendered more so by the storm which suddenly chopped round, and made it necessary for me again to put about in a dangerous channel, and amidst contending waves. This done, I made an effort to gain the windward shore, which I soon found a very rash attempt. The hurricane tore the trees up by the roots, or laid them prostrate with dreadful force in the water; the smallest touch of one of which would have sent my boat to the bottom. Hearing the tremendous noise of the falling woods, I had to keep the open river, bale out the water I had taken in, and keep steady in the suck of the current. When the storm abated, and the river fell, you can hardly conceive the elating effect it had on me. I profited by a gentle breeze, into which the tempest subsided, and ran without intermission for sixteen hours. That time brought me to the mouth of Cumberland river, into which I put to repair my damages.

Cumberland, or Shawanee river, intersects the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina, sixty miles from the Mississippi, and again one hundred and ninety-eight miles from the same river a little above the entrance of Obey's river into Cumberland. Its clear fork crosses the same boundary about three hundred miles from the Mississippi. Cumberland is a very gentle stream; navigable for loaded bateaux for eight hundred miles without interruption; then intervene some rapids of fifteen miles in length, after which it is again navigable for seventy miles upwards, which is within two miles of the great Cumberland mountains. It is about one hundred and twenty yards wide through its whole course. This river waters the country called Tennessee, lying to the south of Kentuckey, and has on its banks the principal towns of that state.

The Tennessee state bears a very high character. It is bounded north by Kentuckey and part of Virginia; east by North Carolina; south by South Carolina and Georgia; and west by the Mississippi. The climate is very tempe-

rate, and said not to be unhealthy. It is watered by seven navigable rivers, the Cumberland and Tennessee, which empty into the Ohio; and the Wolf, Hatchie, Deer, Obion, and Reelfoot, which empty into the Mississippi. The Cumberland, or great laurel ridge of mountains, is the most stupendous pile in the United States. It abounds with ginseng and physical plants, and contains sloan coal in a vast abundance.

A few years since Tennessee abounded with herds of wild cattle and buffaloes. Elk are still seen in some places, chiefly among the mountains. The deer are become comparatively scarce. Bears and wolves yet remain, beavers and otters are caught on the upper branches of all the rivers.

The mammoth, that stupendous animal, formerly inhabited the Tennessee: his remains are often found.

Very valuable articles are exported from the state. Fine waggon and saddle horses, beef, cattle, ginseng, deer skins and furs, cotton, hemp and flax; also iron, timber, pork, and flour.

The state government have very judiciously erected public schools and places of worship in the principal towns, and from all accounts the country is likely to prosper and flourish.

There are still two Indian tribes within and in the vicinity of the state: they are the Cherokees and Chickasaws. The Cherokees have been a warlike and numerous nation; but by continual wars in which they have been engaged with the northern Indian tribes, they are now reduced, and become dejected and pusillanimous.

The Chickasaws, of all the Indian tribes within the limits of the United States, merit the most from Americans, having at all times maintained a friendship towards them. They glory in saying that they never shed the blood of an Anglo-American. There is so great an affinity between the Chickasaw and the Choctaw language, that the people can converse together, each speaking his own dialect. They are a personable race of men, and have an openness in their countenance and behaviour uncommon among savages. These nations say, they are a remnant of a great nation that once lived far to the west, which was discharged by the Spaniards, for whom they still retain an hereditary hatred.

The banks of the Tennessee for more than two hundred miles up are nothing more than a wilderness; they are subject to inundation, which forms an atmosphere unfavourable to health. I had no temptation to tarry in such situation,

and dropped down to the mouth of the Tennessee river, which is but twelve miles to that of the Cumberland. Perhaps the world does not afford a similar fact, that of three rivers, one thousand miles each in length, and separated one thousand miles each at their source, conjoin within the space of a few miles.

The Tennessee river, called also the Cherokee's, is the largest tributary of the Ohio. It rises in the mountains of Virginia, and pursues a course of more than one thousand miles, south and south-west, receiving from both sides a number of large and navigable streams. It then turns to the north, in a circuitous course, and mingles with the Ohio about sixty miles from its mouth. From its entrance into the Ohio, to the muscle shoals, two hundred and fifty miles, its current is very gentle, and the river deep enough on all occasions for the largest row-boats. The muscle shoals are about twenty miles in length. At this place the river spreads to the width of three miles, forms a number of islands, and is of very difficult passage. From these shoals to the whirl or suck, the place where the river breaks through the great ridge of Cumberland mountains, is two hundred and fifty miles; the navigation all the way is excellent for boats of forty or fifty tons.

The whirlpool or whirl, as it is called, is reckoned a great curiosity. The river, which a few miles above is half a mile wide, is here compressed within one hundred yards. Just as it enters the mountain a large rock projects from the northern shore, in an oblique direction, which renders the bed of the river still narrower, and causes a sudden bend; the water of the river is of course thrown with great rapidity against the southern shore, whence it rebounds around the point of the rock, and produces the *whirl*, which is about eighty yards in circumference. Canoes have been often carried into the whirl, and escaped by the dexterity of the rowers without damage. But several boats not so readily worked, have been sucked in and lost beyond redemption, or vomited up in the wreck together with trees and stumps about a mile below. It is avoided by keeping close to the bank on the south side. There are but a few miles portage between a navigable branch of this river and the waters of the Mobile, which runs into the Gulf of Mexico. This river is subject to inundations. I quitted its mouth in haste to avoid vermin and putrid exhalations from ponds, swamps, and mud, exposed to the action of the sun, on the subsiding of the waters.

After leaving the Tennessee, a short day's run brought me abreast of the Shawance village, mentioned in a former letter from the mouth of the Great Kenhaway. My boat was quickly surrounded by canoes, containing men, women, and children. The village, consisting of about thirty huts, stood in a beautiful bend of the river, and commanded a delightful view of great extent. I put to shore with a view of passing the night with the real proprietors of the soil of America. My determination gave the natives great satisfaction; many of them jumped into my boat, and worked her to land in a few minutes. Their behaviour was very orderly, even marked with studious propriety and correct manners. I was affected notwithstanding, to perceive that their only motive for approaching me was to beg or purchase whiskey. Finding that I had none, they went off to their different pursuits, and left me to my own meditations. I walked about the village unnoticed, and contemplated the scene before me without any kind of molestation. The evening was fine, the situation rural, and the inhabitants employed; their men in repairing canoes and fishing tackle, their women in preparing supper, and making mocasons, and the children in exercising their bows and arrows, and dancing in groups under the shadow of the neighbouring trees. All these occupations and amusements were carried on out of doors, and in a manner as simple and artificial as before the introduction of European wares. They remain to this day the same primitive people, and are in no measure altered, except in the vices they have acquired in trading with us, and a passion for drink which acknowledges no bounds or moderation. It would have been difficult to contemplate this ruin of the Shawance nation, without contrasting their present with their former situation. A few years back they consisted of several thousand souls, and possessed an extent of territory of one hundred square miles. They were famous in battle, and often drove the Americans to the Alleghany hills. They were the first nation who raised the hatchet, and the last who buried it with bleeding reluctance in the ground. And what is now their history? The whole nation has passed away as the effusion of the snow. It has wasted down to about thirty families, who live on the bounty of their invaders, and on a spot of land limited to a certain extent. This melancholy fact leads to another reflection. Forty years ago it was ascertained that four million Indians inhabited the banks of the Ohio and her tributary streams. The sword, the small pox, and the poison of ardent spirits, have wasted them down to about two

thousand, who live in places allotted them by the states, and in habits between savage and civilized.

The men are tall and well made, and are endowed with considerable strength and agility. They, together with the women, are of a darker copper colour than I have hitherto seen. The women's faces are handsome, and their hands beautifully small, their eyes are large and black, the hair also black, their teeth as white as ivory, and their breath as pure as the air they imbibe. They do not appear as athletic as Europeans, but they possess great activity; are indefatigable in their pursuits, inured to hardship, and taught to brave all the severities of heat and cold, and every privation and inconvenience. The women wear their hair in a broad plait down to the small of the back, and never cut it on any account—whereas the men wear their's short, and cut it every month. Their dress consisted of but as much as is absolutely necessary for decency. In winter, the men add to this a blanket, and the women a kind of garment which descends below the knees, and is fastened round the waist by a girdle. Both sexes sit on the ground. The houses are constructed of logs, and have more of the American than the Indian taste. They keep out the elements, but are not comfortable or cleanly. The diet consists of roast and boiled meats, soups and fish of various sorts. I could not discover that they employed either salt or spices in their dishes. They are very healthy, and are exempt from many diseases afflicting those who use salt and spices immoderately. They are never troubled with the palsy, dropsy, gout, asthma, gravel, or stone. There were two men at least ninety years old among them. It is common for the old and infirm to retire from their tribe, and liberate life with their own hands.

The entire village supped together at the same time. The prelude to it was a dance of an hour. The dancers chaunting singly their own exploits, and jointly those of their ancestors. Those who did not dance sat round in a circle, and marked each cadence with a tone resembling hé hé hé. Immediately after supper, dancing was renewed, and continued till a late hour, with infinite festivity and good humour.

On descending to the river side after my evening's amusement, I was very agreeably surprised by some Indian boys playing on reeds at a distance. They were delightfully wild and harmonic, and plaintive to an affecting degree.

Nor was this music played in vain. It was for the purpose of seducing the young women out of the village, and:

of giving their favourites an opportunity of telling their loves in the silence of the woods, or on the borders of the murmuring stream. On the subject of love no persons have been less understood than the Indians. It is said of them that they have no affection, and that the intercourse of the sexes is sustained by a brutal passion, remote from tenderness and sensibility. This is one of the many gross errors which have been propagated to calumniate these innocent people; and it has arisen from its being remarked by all observers, that no expressions of endearment or tenderness ever escape the Indian sexes towards each other. They have been always seen to maintain a rigid distance, and to be equally strangers to love and amity. But these observers ought to have known that such reserve is only practised in the day time, and that, in compliance with a political and religious law, which stigmatizes youth wasting their time in female dalliance, except when covered with the veil of night and beyond the prying eye of man. In consequence of this law, gallantry is strictly avoided during the day time. And were a young savage to tell his mistress before the sun was yet set, that he loved her better than he did its light, she would run from—or look upon him with disdain. For my part, I never saw gallantry conducted with much more mystery or refinement, than I did during my stay with the Shawanee nation.

I returned to the village, where I found all the fires put out, and every object under the shadow of night and mystery. I went to the tent of Adario, the chief of the tribe, with whom I had much previous conversation, and took him through the settlement to acquire some further knowledge of its interesting inhabitants. We had gone but a few steps when we perceived an Indian with a lighted calumet in his hand. I learned from Adario that he was going *a calumeting*; that is, a practice of gallantry among the Indians. To comprehend it well, you must know that as the savages have no distinction of property, superiority, or subordination, they live on a footing of equality, and without the fear of thieves or of enmity from one another. Consequently they leave their doors open day and night, and fear no interruption whatever. The lover takes advantage of this liberty; lights his calumet, enters the cabin of his mistress, and gently presents it to her. If she extinguishes it, she admits him to her arms; but if she suffers it to burn unnoticed he softly retires with a disappointed and throbbing heart, knowing, that while there was light she never could consent to his wishes.

That spirit of nocturnal amour and intrigue is attended with one dreadful practice: the girls drink the juice of a certain herb which prevents conception, and often renders them barren through life. They have recourse to this to avoid the shame of having a child; a circumstance in which alone the disgrace of their conduct consists, and which would be thought a thing so heinous, as to deprive them for ever from respect, and religious and marriage rites. The crime is in the discovery.

The day following I made some inquiries about Logan, a former chief of the Shawanee nation. He still lives in their memory, and they often sing his praise in a funeral song, the literal substance of which I have procured from Adario, but without any knowledge of its time or measure. You will be more pleased with it verbatim:

"This is the song of the mighty Logan; the conqueror of white men: the pride of his nation, and the beloved of the author of life. He was good, valourous, and warlike; the soul of his army, and the executor of vengeance. He was the light of our camps and villages. His hatchet was always raised up in their defence, and his bosom glowed with the love of his brethren.

"Logan, valiant and triumphant chieftain, may the Great Spirit, in whose defence you often warred, account with you in the land of souls, and give you a garden of beauty and harmony, and a pond of water like the moon in her full, on which the sun reflects his light, and round which the birds and beasts may delight to play!

"Young warriors of Logan's tribe, bear in view the honours he reaped when living, and the glorious recompense which awaits him dead! May the Great Spirit prosper his work, and never permit his enemies to be avenged of him! May his gardens flourish beyond their's, and may the fountain of his waters have flavour and brightness, when their's are putrid and dried up!

"Friends of Logan, mitigate your sorrow; remember his actions; improve by them; and let this song go down from child to child, to commemorate his virtues and his worth!"

I know nothing which merits more serious investigation than the Shawanee practice of physic.

Such disorders as are common among them they treat with infinite skill. I saw a subject who had neglected taking remedies for a venereal complaint, which had made such a ravage on parts of his body, that his flesh was falling to pieces, and yet he was in a fair way of recovery, by drinking repeated draughts of a decoction made from certain roots ca-

pable of effectually annihilating that dreadful distemper. The diet made use of in illness always consists in meat or fish-soup. The Shawanese betray no fear of the loss of life from illness. They prefer death to a lingering sickness. When ill, their first object is to promote sleep and transpiration: if these fail, their friends visit and dance around them, or bring a priest and juggler, to endeavour to effect a cure, or to amuse the remains of life, if it refuses to be prolonged.

A juggler is a mixed character, representing a *mamae*, physician, and priest; or to speak more properly, he is a mountebank, who, having escaped a dangerous infirmity, supposes himself immortal, and professes to cure every species of disease by powers delegated to him by good and evil spirits. When in health, the Shawanese laugh at the jugglers, and esteem them fools deprived of reason in paroxysm of some malady; but when they themselves are violently attacked, and find their own remedies ineffectual, they send for the jugglers, who dance, tell extraordinary stories, make horrid contortions and grimaces, leap, jump, and howl and roar, in the manner of wolves and other beasts of prey, in order to appear possessed and under the influence of supernatural operations. After this prelude a feast is ordered, of which the juggler and friends partake, without much feeling for the patient, who silently pines in the midst of their up-  
 roar and enjoyment.

After the repast, the sick man is carefully examined by the juggler, who exclaims aloud, "If the Evil Spirit be here, he is commanded by the Great Manitou to depart!" He then goes into a separate tent, dances, sings, and repeats the howls of the wolf, and returns to the sick, whose leg or arm he sucks, and casting from his mouth some substance he had previously put into it, says, "There! take courage, the Evil Spirit has lost his charm, you now can be cured!" On this, he gives the patient the juice of some plants, which act as purgatives or sudorifics. When the process was attended with success, the juggler was again feasted and treated with high distinction; but if it failed, and that the person died, it was a former practice to kill the physician on the spot, and send him to the shades with him whom he had murdered. This custom no longer prevails among the Shawanese: they only banish the juggler for a time when the patient dies, to assuage the sorrow of his friends.

Purges and sweats caused by vegetable decoctions, are the favourite remedies for all Indian disorders.

The Shawanese seldom pass ten days without enduring an



artificial sweat, whether they be in good or bad health, and in summer, when in the highest state of perspiration, they pitch themselves into the coldest water they can meet. I partook of their steam-bath, but dare not follow their example in jumping into the river till perfectly free from heat.

The village has a public bath, in which six may perspire at a time. It is a hut, the floor of which is an oven heated from the outside with cedar, gum, and spice woods. The floor is perforated with two small holes to admit the heat, and is covered with furs to give it the convenience of a couch or a seat. When I first went in, the warmth was so intense, and the odour so strong, that I could with difficulty endure the situation: but in a few moments I recovered resolution to remain, and fell into the most copious perspiration it was possible to create in the same space of time. It was so abundant, that it appeared more like a dissolution than a sweat, and caused me to remain two or three hours in a state of supine relaxation. I found its effects soon after salutary and beneficial, and am determined to repeat the sudation whenever the opportunity is afforded me. On leaving the steam-bath, I went to the house of Adario, and dined on squirrels and fish, which his daughter had carefully prepared.

Wounds and dislocations they cure by the application of herbs, with whose properties they are well acquainted; and, what is more remarkable, gangrene and mortification never have been known to seize the parts to which such simple remedies have been applied.

When one of the nation dies, he is washed and dressed with the utmost care possible, but no tears are shed over him. Parents, sisters, or brothers, in place of manifesting affliction, rejoice that their relative is beyond the power of suffering, and that he has left a world which is only considered as a passage to another and a better life. When dressed, he is placed on a mat or bear's skin, and addressed by all his relations in turn, who recount his exploits and those of his ancestors, and then shut him up for twenty hours in a small public building called "the Cabin of Death." During this period the nation celebrate a dance and feast; and on its expiration, the Cabin of Death is opened, the corpse is put into a bark coffin, together with his hunting instruments and arms, and carried to the grave, followed by dancers, and the parents and friends chaunting hymns and songs.

The marriages are so simple, that they hardly deserve the

name. I witnessed no ceremony of the kind, but I understand from Adario, that when two young persons agree on the subject, they make known their intentions to their parents, who are not at liberty to refuse their consent, it being a Shawanee law, that the father and mother have no dominion over the person of a child. All the friends assemble at the cabin of the most ancient branch of the family, without respect to nearness of kindred, and there dance and enjoy a feast of great profusion and extent. After this festival all the friends of this party retire, except four of the oldest of each side, who require the couple to stand on a mat, and there attend to a discourse on conjugal affection, and the charms of a chaste and honest mind. On which the lovers break a small stick in pieces, and give the fragments to their friends, who keep them as evidence of the marriage, which cannot, while the stick can be put together, be denied. This ceremony is followed by inviting the nation to dance, sing, and amuse themselves till a late hour. The wedding over, the bride is conducted to her parent's home, where she is visited by her husband till she bears a child: and if that event do not take place in the ordinary course of time, the parents assemble, collect the bits of broken sticks, see that they fit together, and then dissolve the marriage, by committing the testimony to the flames. Independent of this cause of dissolution, both men and women are permitted to separate at any time they think proper, giving eight day's notice, in order that the bits of sticks may be collected and consumed. It is worthy of remark, that these kind of separations are attended with no kind of dispute, quarrel, or contradiction whatever. The women are at liberty as well as the men, to re-marry whom they may think proper, but in general they seldom enter into a second engagement till after the expiration of three and six months. On separation the children are equally divided: if the number be odd, the wife is allowed one more than the husband.

Notwithstanding this facility to change, I learn from Adario that advantage is seldom taken of it—in his nation not once in ten years. And an inviolate fidelity is maintained on both sides during marriage. As soon as a wife is announced in a state of pregnancy the matrimonial rights are suspended, and continency preserved with a religious and mystical scrupularity till nine weeks after the *accouchement*. When a woman is on the eve of that event, she retires to a private cabin, from which men are excluded,

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and delivers herself without any assistance whatever. She remains there, attended by a few female relatives, while undergoing a purification, which lasts thirty days for a girl, and continues forty for a boy; after which she returns to the cabin of her husband. The poor child no sooner appears in the world than he is plunged into moderately warm water, then bandaged gently to a plank lined with cotton, and on which he is carried with great ease from place to place; or suspended from trees in the open air. The women always nurse their own children. That mother would be lapidated by them as a monster, who would separate herself from her new born child. When mothers lose children before they are weaned, they have recourse to a very affecting and melancholy expedient; they search the woods for some young opossum, kangaroo, or other wild beast, and rear it with their milk with the utmost care and tenderness.

The husband or wife dying, the widowhood continues six months. Mourning is not in use. In a single state the Shawanese are susceptible of jealousy; in a married one they are ignorant of that passion; the men conceiving that no person could be found sufficiently infamous to injure his neighbour's honour, and the women would suffer death sooner than inflict on their husbands so flagitious a wound. A married woman made this beautiful reply to a person who met her in the woods, and implored her to love and look on him: "*Oulamar, who is for ever before my eyes, hinders me from seeing you or any other person.*"

The children always take the name of the mother. On asking Adario the reason, he replied, that as the child received its substance from the mother, it was but reasonable it should transmit her name to posterity, and be a recompense for attentions and trouble.

When a woman has lost her husband, if he has left any brothers it is expected that she should marry one of them after the customary period of widowhood; and when a wife dies and leaves any sisters 'tis understood that the husband should marry one.

Among the Shawanese there are a few who observe celibacy. They are treated with great consideration:—I could not learn why. Idiots are also treated with great respect. Of the motive of this I am also ignorant. I have remarked that when once a single woman bears a child she can never after get married; and I should have added, that, though many take drugs to prevent this misfortune, there

are many who prefer pregnancy, which entitles them to lead without reproach a future life of freedom and dissipation. This class of women are called, *Tekoue ne Keoussa*, nymphs of the woods, because they are addicted to hunting, and associate with the men in all the perils and hardships of the chase. The parents never restrain them from this conduct: on the contrary, they appear to approve of it, saying, that their daughters are mistresses of their own persons, —that they have a right to dispose of them, and to act as they think proper. The children are reckoned legitimate, and enjoy all the privileges of those born in wedlock, with this difference, that the chiefs and elders of council are not allowed to make them their heirs, nor are they suffered to intermarry into certain families, remarkable in the nation for military valour or political wisdom.

Such are the particulars I have obtained respecting the Shawanee people, in whose history I am persuaded you take an interest.

The people of the village carry on a considerable trade with the boats which descend the river. They sell them furs and horn tips, and receive in exchange ball, powder, whiskey, tobacco, beads, ornaments, and blankets.

The land around the village is not of the best quality, and if it were it would remain neglected. Indians seldom cultivate more than a little corn for their own immediate want. They have a very fine breed of dogs, and domesticated fowls abound about their settlements. As the Mississippi furnishes nothing, no boat should leave the Ohio without six weeks provision at least. I took advantage of this knowledge, and filled my coops with fowls, and bought a couple of live pigs. I had no occasion to procure any thing more, for Adario sent me twenty haunches of venison excellently preserved, and some bear's meat well dried, in lieu of a little tobacco I had given him, —an agreeable trait of Indian gratitude.

## LETTER XXXIV.

*Massae Fort—The Commandant's successful Means of preventing Disease—Entrance of the Mississippi—A View of that immense River—St. Charles, Bon-homme, and New Versailles Villages—Osage, Kanous, and other Indian Nations—Kaskaskia River and Town—Kahokia Village—Illinois River—Other Rivers joining the Mississippi.*

*Mouth of the Ohio, Sept. 1806.*

A FEW hours after I left the Shawanee village I arrived at Massae, a fort garrisoned by a company of regulars of the United States, and commanded by a captain, from whom I received much attention and intelligence. Massae stands on a high bank in the bend of the river, and commands a very extensive view of hill, dale, and water. It is composed of about twenty houses, the offices, dwelling, and the soldiers' barracks, which give it a novel appearance.

Some years ago Massae was as unhealthy as the worst island in the West Indies, the garrison perished for several successive seasons, and the reputation of the place became so bad that the soldiers deserted, and officers threw up their commissions, when ordered on its service. Now out of one hundred men there are but seven on the doctor's list, and only twenty have died within three years. A circumstance so uncommon excited all my curiosity, and brought me to the knowledge of a fact, that the unwholesomeness of America is to be attributed to local causes, and not to a deleterious climate.

When captain R., a philosopher and a man of science, came to fort Massae about three years ago, he took a view of the vicinity of the town, and sought the principles of that malignant disease which had been so destructive to all who had before garrisoned the fort. He soon discovered that the back of the town was subject to inundation, and that a chain of ponds received the waters of the flush, and retained them till exhausted by evaporation, a gradual process effected principally by the action of a burning sun, water stagnated, or drawn into the atmosphere in a state

sufficient to impregnate it with foetid smells, and fatal poison. Having satisfied himself of these causes of the prevailing disorders of the fort, captain R. resolutely resolved to remove them. With this intent he employed the whole of his garrison in opening communications between one pond and another, and in making canals to the ponds both from the upper and lower part of the river. The first spring flush entered by the upper channel, passed like a mill-course through the ponds, and as the water subsided, carried all their foul and putrid contents through the lower channel into the river. The following season saw this labour crowned with the happiest success; the vernal fever was suppressed, the summer flux was gone, and the autumnal vomit and hæmorrhage entirely disappeared. Nothing remained but the complaints common to all parts of the river; such intermittents, pleurisies, and a species of slow disease which consumes the body, extinguishes the natural heat of the blood, and changes the complexion into a livid pale.

The particular regulations which captain R. sees observed in the garrison, contribute much to the preservation of its health. The consumption of whiskey is limited, cleanliness is insisted on, and industry rewarded: the men employed according to their original professions, and paid tenpence per day over and above their pay as soldiers of the United States.

As the gentlemen are fond of sport, they find much amusement in the adjacent country, which abounds with game of every sort. The fishing is also good immediately under the battery. Nor is sporting a mere act of pastime but of necessity. The garrison being furnished by government with nothing more than rations of bread and salt pork, is compelled to seek for fresh provisions in the woods, or to procure them from Indians in exchange for spirits, powder, and toys. The Indians are a few Illinois settled in the rear of the fort.

There are about twenty American plantations around Massae, who furnish the inhabitants with corn, poultry, and hogs, and at a much dearer rate than I have as yet heard on the river banks. This is owing to there being such few settlements, and also to the number of boats which put in for refreshment, causing a greater demand than the supply can at all times meet.

I left Massae with the sentiments which ought ever to occupy the mind of a stranger, after experiencing a generous and courteous reception from persons on whose hospitality

and kindness he had no manner of claim, and gained this position in a short day's run of twenty-five miles, which afforded me no matter fit to advance your information or entertainment. I had to be sure to observe that the river increased in width and beauty, and that the current, though entirely contrary to my expectations, became so sluggish, that I was forced to have recourse to my oars to make any kind of way. On approachig within a few miles of the Louisiana shore I discovered this strange effect : it was the Mississippi, which in awful grandeur crossed the mouth of the Ohio, and backed the water up against the stream. The contention of the floods, the dreadful accounts I had heard of the navigation of the Mississippi, the magnificence of the objects around me, and the general impression, created an inexpressible sensation of a view of nature on a scale of such sublimity, diversity, and magnitude.

Under these influences I lay by here under the point of land formed by the intersection of the two rivers, and sprang ashore on the right bank of the Ohio.

No river in the world can vie with the Mississippi for magnificence and utility. Its source is ascertained to be three thousand miles from the sea, following its windings. From nearly opposite the Illinois river, the western bank of the Mississippi is generally higher than the eastern. From Miner-a-fu to the Iberville, the eastern is the highest. It is so remarkably crooked, that from the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans, in a direct line, which does not exceed six hundred miles, the distance by water is more than one thousand miles. In common seasons it generally affords fifteen feet of water from the mouth of the Messauri to that of the Ohio. In time of flushes a first rate man of war may descend with safety. The mean velocity of its current may be computed to be four miles an hour. Its length is various, from one and a half to two miles. Its mouth is divided into several channels, which continually change their direction and depth.

From the mouth of the Ohio to that of the Messauri is two hundred and thirty miles by water, and one hundred and forty by land. The Mississippi below the Messauri is always muddy. The current is so rapid, that it never can be stemmed by the force of the wind alone acting on sails. A *bateau* passes from the mouth of the Ohio to the mouth of the Mississippi in three weeks, and takes three months to return, with the help of the wind and the constant labour of sixteen oars. During its floods, which are as periodical as those of the

Nile, the largest vessels may descend. The inundations extend farther, and rather on the western than on the eastern side, covering the lands in some places for more than one hundred miles from its banks. These floods begin in April, and do not entirely subside till the end of August. Above the mouth of the Messauri, the Mississippi is as clear and gentle as the Ohio, and nearly as wide: the period of its floods are nearly the same, but not rising to so great a height.

The Mississippi yields turtle of a peculiar sort, perch, trout, gar, pike, mullets, herrings, carp, spatula, a fish of fifty-six pounds weight, cat-fish of one hundred pound weight, buffalo fish and sturgeon. Alligators abound, and have been seen as high up as the Acanas. It also has a prodigious quantity of herons, cranes, ducks, brants, geese, swans, and water-pelicans swimming on its surface, and breeding in its vicinity.

The Messauri is in fact the principal river, contributing more to the common stream than does the Mississippi, even after its junction with the Illinois. It is remarkably cold, muddy, and rapid. Its overflowings are considerable. They happen during the months of June and July. Six miles above the mouth it is brought to the compass of a quarter of a mile's width, and yet is navigable two thousand miles upwards. It heads far westward of the Rio Norte. The mouth of the Ohio from Santa Fé on the river Norte, is one thousand miles. From Santa Fé to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico is one thousand two hundred miles. The road from New Orleans to Mexico, the Rio Norte at a port called by the same name, eight hundred miles below Santa Fé: and from this post to New Orleans is about one thousand two hundred miles; this making two thousand miles between Santa Fé and New Orleans, passing down the North River, Red River, and Mississippi; whereas it is two thousand two hundred and thirty miles through the Messauri and Mississippi. From the same port of Rio Norte, passing near the mines of La Sierra and Languana, which are between the north river and the river Salina, is three hundred and seventy-five miles; and thence passing the mines of Charsas, Zaccatcas, and Potosi, to the city of Mexico, is three hundred and seventy-five miles more, making in all one thousand five hundred and fifty from Santa Fé to the city of Mexico. From New Orleans to the city of Mexico is then about one thousand nine hundred and fifty miles: the roads, after setting out from the Red River, near Natchitoches, are generally



parallel with the coast, and about two hundred miles from it, till it enters the city of Mexico.

Thirty miles up, and on the north side of the Messauri, is a village called St. Charles. It is of a tolerable size, and the principal trade is with the Indians. About eight miles above this, the village and settlement of Bon homme opens to view; twenty-six miles further up is the village of New Versailles; and about seven hundred and fifty miles above, a little off from the river, is the Grand Sors, a principal Indian trading town.

The Osage nation of Indians reside on the banks of a river of the same name, eighty leagues from where it enters the Messauri on the right. They consist of about one thousand warriors of a gigantic stature, being seldom under six feet, and frequently between six and seven in height. They are accused of being a cruel and ferocious race, and are feared and hated by all the other Indian tribes. From the mouth of the Messauri to that of the Osage river is computed at eighty leagues.

The river Kanous empties in about sixty leagues farther up on the same side, and eighty leagues up it reside the Kanous nation, consisting of about three hundred warriors.

Sixty leagues above the Kanous, and two hundred from the mouth of the Messauri, still on the right bank, is the Riviere Platte, or Shallow River, remarkable for its quick-sands; near its confluence dwell the Octatoetas, a nation of Indians of about two hundred warriors. Forty leagues up Riviere Platte, and far distant from Santa Fé, is a nation of Indians called Panis, in number about seven hundred warriors, who reside in four villages, hunt but little, and seem disposed to follow agricultural pursuits.

The villages of the Mohos nation are three hundred leagues from the Mississippi, and one hundred from the Riviere Platte. This nation consisted, in 1791, of five hundred warriors: I am now informed that the small pox has almost entirely cut them off.

The Poncas nation dwell about fifty leagues above the Mohos Indians, on the left bank of the Messauri, in number near two hundred warriors. About four hundred and fifty leagues from the Mississippi, on the right bank of the Messauri, reside the Aricaras nation, to the number of seven hundred warriors. This nation is friendly towards the whites; its members have been continual victims of the Sioux and Mandawessee, who, being better provided with firearms than themselves, have always taken advantage of the

helpless situation of the friends of *white men*, and murdered them on all occasions without mercy.

Farther up the Messauri there are many other nations of Indians; the Mandan, Cahago, &c. of whom very little is as yet known, either of their numbers, manners, or customs. But the Manducesees, who frequent the country between the north bank of the Messauri and Mississippi, take every method to prevent all communication between the nations higher up and those below them; and when this is attempted they massacre all who fall into their hands.

Kaskaskias river enters on the east side thirty miles above, and the town of Kaskaskia is situated six miles up it in a beautiful plain. At present many of the buildings are standing vacant, and the place has a dreary and forsaken appearance. It was settled more than one hundred years ago by emigrants from Lower Canada.

Sixty miles farther up is the village of Kaholua, situated at the mouth of a river of the same name. It is a considerable and pleasant place, and courts of justice are held there for that part of the Indiana territory.

Seventeen miles above on the west side is the Messauri, and twenty miles above the Messauri on the east or right hand side, the Illinois river enters. Up the Illinois are coal mines and salt ponds, a stone called fliche, from which the Indians make their flints and arrow points; and on the high banks of the river, one hundred and ninety miles up, are red and white cedar and pine trees; and it is said that an alum hill is on a branch emptying into it, called Mine river, about two hundred and twenty miles up. Mulberry trees are there large and numerous; indigo has been raised with success, and tobacco, hemp, and flax can be cultivated with little labour. The sugar maple grows to great perfection. Fruit trees of all kinds succeed admirably, and drying and medicinal plants every where abound.

About one hundred and sixty miles above the Illinois, Riviere á la Roche empties itself into the Mississippi, on the same side as the Illinois.

Farther up, two hundred and ten miles, Riviere á la Mene enters, and is navigable for fifty miles.

Ouiconson river is one hundred and twenty miles above, navigable near two hundred miles.

Black river empties in further up, one hundred and fifty miles, and is navigable one hundred miles.

Buffalo river flows in sixty-five miles above; navigable near one hundred miles.

Sotaux river is fifteen miles above; navigable eighty miles.

St. Croix river, with numerous lakes, sixty miles; these are navigable nearly two hundred miles.

The above rivers all enter the Mississippi on the east or right hand side.

From the mouth of St. Croix to the falls of St. Anthony is about ninety miles. These falls are in latitude 45 N. and from the mouth of the Mississippi are two thousand two hundred and eighty miles. Boats may pass over these falls in safety in high water, but when the water is low they are very dangerous. Above the falls are numerous small lakes which communicate with each other; and into a principal one on the N. W. side empties the Blue river, which is very considerable, and has been navigated by French traders three hundred miles up; so that the Mississippi, in fact, loses its name at the falls of St. Anthony, and from thence northward takes the name of the Blue river. Admitting that the Mississippi still retains its name above the falls, it is said to take its source in the White Bear Lake, in lat. 48. 15. long. 23. 17. west.

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#### LETTER XXXV.

*Louisiana—Its History—Progress through the Country—Cape Farida—Happle Creek—St. Genevieve—Lead-Mines—St. Louis Town—The Valley of Bones—Confluence of the Messauri and Mississippi.*

*St. Louis, Upper Louisiana,  
September, 1806.*

ON landing on the Louisiana or west side of the Mississippi, for the first time I felt a very proud and pleasing emotion. I had successfully explored a vast extent of country, and I then arrived in one to me more perfectly new than any other, and consequently more interesting.

The country east and west of the Mississippi was called Florida, by Sebastian Cabot, who visited that part of America, by order of Henry VII. of England, about the year 1497.

John Pontio de Leon, a Spaniard, arrived on the coast, anno 1512, attempted a settlement, and erected a small fort.

The subjects of Charles X. of France, seem to have made several attempts to settle in the country, but were always defeated by the Spaniards, until the year 1684, when M. de la Sale discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, and built on the bay a fort which he called Fort Louis. The founder having been assassinated, the fort was abandoned, until anno 1698, when captain Iberville penetrated up the Mississippi, and, having planted a few settlers, called the country Louisiana. Until this time the Spaniards had a few forts on the coast, of which Pensacola seems to have been the principal; fourteen leagues east of the Isle of Dauphin. About the year 1720, M. la Sueur navigated the river seven hundred and sixty leagues up, and asserted that he had not arrived at its source. From that time it remained in the hands of France, whose monarchs made several grants to its traders, in particular to M. Crossat, in 1712, and some years after to the well known projector, M. Law, who relinquished it in 1731.

By a secret convention, 3d of November, 1762, the French government ceded so much of the province of Louisiana as lies beyond the Mississippi, as well as the island of New Orleans, to Spain.

In 1763, it was ceded by France and Spain to Great Britain, from whom it was conquered by Spain during the American revolutionary war, and confirmed to Spain by treaty, 1783.

By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, 1st October, 1800, which was confirmed by that of Madrid, of the 21st March, 1801, the whole province was ceded by Spain to France, and from France it passed by treaty and sale to the American Government, who took possession of it on the 20th of December, 1803.

It now goes by the name of the Upper and Lower Louisiana; St. Louis being the chief town of the former, and New Orleans that of the latter province. Each has a governor residing in the respective principal places, and the laws and administrations are changed from the Spanish to the American.

The eastern boundary is the Mississippi, the western is not ascertained. The southern is the Gulph of Mexico, and the northern is the country of Hudson's Bay and the Lakes.

I no sooner landed on the Louisiana shore, than I made for the only house I could perceive in sight. I reached it

in a few minutes, and was very courteously received by don Castro, the proprietor.

He also keeps a tavern, or house of entertainment, as it is called, adjoining his own dwelling, and furnishes travellers, merchants, and boatmen, with every accommodation during their stay, and with the provisions, &c.

When Louisiana belonged to the king of Spain, the Spanish cultivators valued their improved lands at from twenty to one hundred dollars per acre. Now that it appertains to the United States, they offer the same settlements for one dollar per acre: in many instances for a quarter of a dollar, and some families of a high sense of honour and national pride, abandon their possessions and go into Mexico without receiving any benefit from their former pursuits, or the many years they consumed in the application and toil attending agricultural improvement.

I passed but one night at don Castro's. In the morning he provided me with a guide and horses for myself and servant. I departed very early, as it was my intention to reach Cape Jarido, a distance of forty-five miles, by night. I found the country very much broken, hilly, and so thick of wood, that the prospect was every where intercepted.

After a toilsome ride, and an indifferent accommodation during the night at a Louisiana inn, on turning out with the sun in the morning, I discovered Cape Jarido to be a small settlement inhabited by a few French Canadians. Several Spanish families resided in it a few years ago; they abandoned it when it became subject to the laws of the American government.

I pursued my journey, and arrived at Happle Creek, twenty-five miles from Jarido, in time for dinner. The country through which I passed was hilly, wooded, and uninhabited. Happle Creek is also a small French settlement. The inhabitants, as well as those of Jarido, live in the manner of Indians, that is, by hunting, and in bartering the furs for powder, ball, arms, blankets, and spirits. They cultivate very little ground, and build houses which are neither wind nor water-proof. On the same afternoon I rode fifteen miles farther on, and stopped at the house of an Arcadian for the night. I found him a plain hospitable man. He was a Scotchman by birth, a Frenchman by education, a Spaniard by adoption, and an American *par force*. His name originally was Gordon, but having served in the army of Spain, his comrades conferred on him, according to their

practice, a *nomme de guerre*, since when he has been known as don Gordano.

The evening of the day I left don Gordano's I arrived at St. Genevieve; and what was very interesting, I heard the bells of the catholic church ring for vespers, long before I entered the town.

I did not wander from the peal, but rode on with speed and animation, and put up at an inn which had strong indication of comfort. I was by no means disappointed: the landlord, a lively Frenchman, looked after my horses, and his wife made me a cup of coffee with as much perfection as I ever drank it at the *Palais Royale*, or at the foot of *Pont Neuf*. After which I lounged through the village, and chatted *en passant* with the inhabitants, who were all in groups outside their doors: the women at work, the children at play, and the men performing music, singing songs, or telling stories. It needed but a *coup d'œil* to discover in this the vestige of Spanish customs. A little more observation soon convinced me of the justice of the conjecture. St. Genevieve was once principally inhabited by Spaniards; a disgust to an American connection has driven them nearly all off; but their manners and habits remain with the French settlers who originally resided among them. Hence I have heard the guitar resound soon after sun-set, with the complaints and amorous tales of the village swains, and heard the same hand which toiled all day in the wilderness and in the waste, strike the tender notes of love in the evening.

The custom seemed to pervade all ranks. Nearly every house had its group, and every group its guitar, fidler, story-teller, or singer. As the evening advanced and the heat diminished, walking commenced, and towards midnight the music of the village united, the little world crowded to the spot, and danced with infinite gaiety and mirth till past one in the morning. The waltz had most votaries; the *pas de deux* next, and the fandango was the favourite of the few remaining Spaniards of the village.

St. Genevieve stands on the west bank of the river, is formed of about sixty neat low houses, and contains about four hundred souls. The present population principally consists of Canadian, French, and Anglo-Americans. There are three public buildings, a church, federal court, and market-house. The church is a Spanish structure decorated and improved by the French. At the upper end there is a beautiful altar, the *fronton* of which is brass, gilt

and enriched in *medio-relievo*, representing the religious of the old, diffusing the benefits of the gospel over the new world. In the middle of the altar there is a crucifix of brass, gilt, and underneath a picture well copied from Raphael, representing the Madona and Child, St. Elizabeth, and St. John. In a second group there is a St. Joseph; all perfectly well drawn and coloured. The action, beauty, and grace of the virgin are beyond expression, and the little Jesus and St. John are charming.

The Genevieseans' commerce is tolerably extensive for their numbers and isolate situation. They export lead to a great amount, and import flour, British goods, French and West-India produce. Their profit or floating wealth is employed in the purchase of land. Every Genevieseane is a land proprietor.

Lands in the vicinity of wealthy settlements fetch five dollars per acre; at a distance or near any Indian connection, they may be had for about twopence, and often less.

The country about St. Genevieve, for a little distance, is well adapted for settlements, and has a few scattered ones, which make some show of opulence and improvement. I rode fifteen miles west of the village, to visit a lead furnace, where any quantity of lead may be had, from three to five halfpence per pound. The country abounds in lead mines. Mines of antimony are also said to have been found in the bowels of the earth. This idea has obtained so far, as to induce a company of gentlemen of Philadelphia to send an agent in pursuit of so useful an article. I am not able to ascertain his success. I found the face of the land around the lead-mine very broken and barren. The hills appeared cast together as in some convulsion of nature, and exhibited rugged projecting cliffs and deep yawning caves.

This town, St. Louis, called by some Pain Cone, is the capital of the Upper Louisiana. It contains about three hundred houses, eighteen hundred souls, and several extensive mercantile stores. Before its possession by the United States, which took place on the 20th December 1803, it was the residence of the Spanish governor.

St. Louis was settled about the year 1765, by a number of French families from the east side of the river, and contained in 1769, one hundred and twenty families, reckoned at eight hundred souls; and there belonged to the village two hundred negro slaves, eight hundred black cattle, and swine and poultry in abundance.

The town and settlement are said to be very healthy. I

believe from my own observations, that the Messauri is more favourable to health and longevity than the Ohio and Mississippi.

Above twenty miles above St. Louis, the Messauri empties itself into the Mississippi on the west side.

This place had formerly the reputation of being extremely agreeable, and the inhabitants to be as virtuous as the people of St. Genevieve; but since the arrival of a host of Americans, the conduct, the manners, and the pursuits of the inhabitants are changed. Billiards and gaming of all sorts are carried on to a shameful excess; and drunkenness, fighting, violence, and rapine, are pursued with as much zeal as they are in the Virginian and Kentuckeyan states.

The environs are full of gardens and fruit-trees, which, in the proper season must perfume the air, and be highly pleasing. One of the entertainments of the inhabitants is to rove in the fields and gardens after sun-set, and enjoy the delightful odours of the flowers, or refresh themselves with fruits of exquisite taste and flavour. The hills which lie to the south and west of the town, branch off in so happy a manner, that they form a great number of charming vales, enlivened and enriched by numberless rills of water.

I passed on through these vales, and to the back of the hills in search of a quantity of bones, said to cover a large space of ground in that direction.

Two leagues brought me to the Valley of Bones. It is three hundred paces long, and not quite so many wide. They lie in the same promiscuous manner, and are of the same numerous and extraordinary species I have before described. I dug up several bones of immense magnitude, and some entire skeletons of non-descript animals.

Returned from this expedition, I struck across the country to the Messauri, to a place about thirty miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. Having sent my horses back, I embarked in a skiff, and descended by water to this place. The Messauri, at that distance from its mouth, passes through a vale, which it enriches and adorns to so wonderful a degree, that it scarcely can be equalled; for the situations through which it passes and sports, are so picturesque, so various and surprising, that the senses may rather be said to be ravished than simply to be pleased. In some places the river forces its way through cliffs, and bursts impetuous through all impediments, and rages and dashes against the sides and rocks, and in others it spreads out into a liquid plain, grows smooth and gentle, and forms



meanders through the verdure which it creates and nourishes. The junction of the two rivers is very beautiful; the waters of the Messauri being white, and those of the Mississippi a transparent green. They do not mix for a considerable time, but repel each other, and preserve their particular colours for five or six miles at least. The water of the Messauri is so thick, that one third of a tumbler is always a strong sediment: the sediment, which precipitates very fast, leaves a water palatable and pleasant. On turning out of the mouth of the Messauri into the Mississippi, I found the current running four miles an hour, and descended with it to here in less than six hours.

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### LETTER XXXVI.

*Mississippi River—An Evergreen Species of Plane Tree  
—A curious Cavern—Chalk Bank—Bayeau de She—  
New Madrid.*

*New Madrid, or Lance le Grass, Bank of the  
Mississippi, Oct. 1806.*

IN many respects the Mississippi is far inferior to the Ohio. The Mississippi is one continued scene of terrific grandeur, of unmixed sublimity, impressing a veneration and awe, which are adverse to satisfaction and enjoyment, whereas the general magnificence of the Ohio is chequered every here and there by a profusion of local beauties, on which the mind can relax and repose in safety and comfort. However, I am too far advanced to recede; and shall continue on to the end of my destined voyage, though I see it pregnant with sufferings and danger.

On the Indiana side above the Ohio, I discovered a remarkably fine plane-tree, not of the common species, as I perceived from the certain characteristics it possessed, and from being informed that it never in winter sheds its leaves. This tree has never been noticed as a native of America, that I know of, notwithstanding its utility, being of great bulk, and permanent beauty and foliage.

I went in pursuit of a cave which I heard much celebrated by the hunters I had met with in the upper country. I found it after infinite labour, for there is no penetrating the woods without groping the way through reeds and vines,

and hesitating at every step for fear of vipers and snakes, I was only accompanied by Cuff, having to leave the other man to guard the boat, and ward off floating trees, which would otherwise make her drift from the bank. On discovering the mouth of the cavern we each lighted a large flambeau of gum-wood, and entered a passage which wound about like a labyrinth for more than fifty yards, and at length led to a spacious apartment of one hundred and fifty paces in length, and upwards of one hundred feet high; the form irregular, and the floor uncommonly rough; the roof arched, and in several places rising out into large round knobs, some bristling with bright points, and others regularly dented, representing bunches of grapes, festoons of flowers, and lances of considerable length. The vault and sides also, were covered with innumerable productions which represented the roots, branches, and heads of various shrubs, executed with as much perfection as if nature meant to shew the extent of her power by operating in the vegetation of stones. The figures are all white, transparent, crystallized, and generally aslant, and in different beds like the Judaic stone. The splendour of the place when illuminated by torches is indescribable. At the extremity of the cave I entered another passage, which had so many turnings and intricate windings, that I feared to be entangled, and made the best of my way out. In the mouth or entrance, which is six feet high, and nine wide, my attention was struck by several names and dates engraven on the sides. Two of the dates were very far remote, they were 1699 and 1714. I had no conception that the river had been explored at such periods. The engravings are made out with great facility, though the letters are no longer sunk, but swelled out, either from the vegetation of the rock, or from some adventitious or external cause. When the persons were engraving their names on the walls of the passage to the cavern, little did they imagine that the furrowing wrought by their knives would be insensibly filled up, and in time advanced with a kind of embroidery, about a line high in some places, and near three lines in others: so that the characters, instead of being hollow and concave, as they were at first, are now turned convex, and come out of the rock like *basso relievo*, or embossed work. The matter of them is white, though the stone they issue from is grey. Perhaps this *basso relievo* may be a kind of callosity formed by the nutritious juice of the stone, extravasated insensibly into the channelings made by the engraver.

ASHE.]

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Two miles below the Iron red-banks, I came abreast of a large island called Wolf Island, and put in shore to examine a place called the *Chalk Banks*. I am of opinion that the bank is formed of a substance highly esteemed by the ancients, and known to us by the name of *terra cimolia*. The substance is a white chalk, very heavy, without taste, and abounds with a small grit, which sets the teeth on edge: it is easily crumbled, but it does not ferment, nor has it the least effervescence when put into water; it only melts away, and becomes soapy and adhesive. Being much at a loss for soap, I took several pieces of the chalk into my boat, and found it answer all the purposes of that necessary article. It is very cleansing and pleasant to the hand, and my man has made a lye from some of it, with which he washes the linen, and esteems it preferable to soap. There is one good use of it, and I believe the ancients employed the same material (if it be the *terra cimolia*) medicinally, and attributed to it the virtue of discussing tumours, and assisting to remove other sources of disease. I believe Pliny mentions it, and says that it is successfully employed in cleaning silks and stuffs.

Four miles below the Chalk Banks, I passed by the mouth of *Bayeau de Shé*, on the left hand shore. As there is nothing more formidable to the navigator than a *bayeau*, I must endeavour to give you some faint idea of its character and power.

As the Mississippi for the most part flows through an excavated ridge, like an artificial canal, whose banks are elevated above the adjacent country, it is subject to extraordinary inundations; when in the highest state, which form those extensive swamps, that occasion the nuisance of myriads of mosquitoes and other insects, and also supply streams called bayeaux with a body of water, which issuing from the main river with astonishing rapidity, causes a violent vortex, whose action extends a considerable way into the river. Boats once dragged into a bayeau are next to lost, it being almost impossible to force so unwieldy a machine as a flat bottomed boat against so powerful a current.

After a run of four miles, I put into a cove in a small willow-island, for the night, and a dreary one I passed at it. The mosquitoes attacked me with unusual ferocity, and the soil was too rotten to suffer me to sleep on shore. My only amusement was fishing, and firing at some pelicans which floated past me in the stream. I could get no manner of rest from the mosquitoes, till weary with their re-

peated attacks, I lay down on the roof of my boat, covered close over with bears' skins. This expedient succeeded, but caused as violent a sudation as I experienced in the Strawanee bath. It relaxed me so much that I had to throw myself into the river, to recover strength and energy sufficient to steer my boat. I left this island by dawn of day, and after having passed three other islands in the course of sixteen miles, arrived here to breakfast.

This town, which is situated on the west bank of the river, and in lat. 36. 30 north, contains about forty log and frame houses, a prison, and a church. It owes its origin to a colonel George Morgan, who conceiving the site favourable for the establishment of a town, applied for a grant, and obtained it from the king of Spain, then lord of the soil. Furnished with the grant, the colonel repaired to the eastern states, and there propagated so exalted an opinion of his new possessions, that he soon prevailed on numbers to embark with him in the speculation, and to erect a town, and dignify it with the name of *New Madrid*. In the first instance the society were delighted with the situation, in a beautiful rich plain; but experience soon taught them that it did not run two miles back, that the front was limited to a mile, and that the vicinity of the swamp would render it periodically unhealthy. Add to this, that an inundation occurred, which swept off the greatest part of the new town, carried off the government house, and laid a foundation for a belief, that the entire plain will, in process of time, be consumed by the river. In the last ten years the plain has lost one hundred yards along its front, and in ten years more there is no moral probability that the town will be in existence; the bank on which it stands being a fine mould of fifty feet deep, can make no resistance to the body of water which beats against it. It every hour gives way, and though the inhabitants recede, and build their houses nearer the swamp, they find the river gain on them, and that they must one day perish in some untimely flood, or abandon the establishment of the town, according to their original intention.

I must give you an unfavourable account of the inhabitants. A stupid insensibility makes the foundation of their character. Averse to labour, indifferent to any motive of honour, occupied by mean associations, without solicitude for the future, and incapable of foresight and reflection, they pass their lives without thinking, and are growing

old without getting out of their infancy, all the faults of which they studiously retain. Gaming and drinking at times rouse them from this supine state into a depravation of manners, and furious spirit of outrage, which debase still more the distorted features of their mind. They are composed of the dregs of Kentucky, France, and Spain, and subsist by hunting, and trading with the Indians, who exchange with them rich furs for whiskey, blankets, ammunition and arms. Gardens succeed well—there are several about the town; and some peach orchards of great promise. Agriculture is entirely neglected. I could not get a loaf of bread in the town, nor any kind of provisions whatever, though I offered any price.

The Roman church is yet sustained, and service performed, though the revenue allotted it by the government of Spain is withheld by the United States.

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## LETTER XXXVII.

### *Little Prairie—Chickassaw Bluffs—A Hurricane.*

*Mouth of the Ozark, or Arkansas River.  
October, 1806.*

THE Mississippi affords so little subject for anecdote or interesting description, that I have made a run of three hundred and fifty miles since I last wrote to you, in search of materials for your information.

On leaving New Madrid, the first settlement I perceived was that of *Little Prairie*: it consists of from twenty to thirty houses, built on an elevated plain, whose extent is limited by a swampy boundary. It is a wretched sickly place, and would be evacuated, were the inhabitants not encouraged to remain by the trade with the Indians, which they find profitable, though attended by periodical or rather perpetual attacks of sickness.

The next and only settlement after the *Prairie* is the third *Chickassaw Bluffs*, making a distance of nearly one hundred miles without a habitation. The *Chickassaw Bluffs* are one hundred and fifty one miles from the mouth of the *Ohio*, I should have found it a very lonesome stretch, had

I not been incessantly employed in preserving the boat from danger, from rocks, sawyers, and snags; and from the eddies, gulphs, baycaus, points, and bends in the river.

The attention is also kept awake by the necessity of looking out for islands, in order to choose the proper channel, and to pull for it in time, or before the boat falls into the race of a wrong one. Numbers of boats are lost annually, on account of not paying attention to this important point.

The Chickassaw Bluff is a very high red bank on the eastern side of the river. On it are erected a fort, barracks for a company of soldiers and a few artillery men, and houses and stores for two state commissioners, who reside there for the purpose of conducting the public trade existing between the American government and the Choctaw and Chickataw nations, who live, by permission, in the country east of the fort. The high plain on which the buildings are erected, is very beautiful; but, like the other settlements on the Mississippi which I have mentioned, is limited, and subsides into ponds and swamps. It maintains about a dozen families, who raise corn, breed poultry and pigs, and supply boats descending the river with what common provisions they may want. Neither the settlers nor the garrison consider the Bluffs unhealthy, though they are visited by intermittent fevers and various other periodical attacks. The land is as rich as possible; and in a garden belonging to the garrison, all kinds of fruits and vegetables succeed to a perfection seldom attained elsewhere. The view from the fort is one of those grand ones which nature occasionally gives to excite admiration and wonder. Over the Louisiana shore the sight has no limit, but rushes unrestrained over an immense expanse of forest. To the right it is arrested by a fantastic bend in the river, where the banks are embellished with uncommon beauty; to the left it strays amidst a cluster of islands, through the channels of which the water meanders; and in the rear it rambles over cultivated fields and pasture lands, of much rural character and extent. The view of the fort, on approaching it from the opposite side, has a very fine and picturesque effect. In consequence of the bend in the river, it is hurried on the view from a very favourable point. In the distance the principal Bluff forms a noble object. Its front is shaggy and broken, and the interstices of soil are filled with trees and shrubs. On its summit stands a lonely watch-tower; on its brow the garrison and fort mounted with guns. The gardens and improvements are elevated

and extensive ; and the offices and commissioners' buildings add greatly to the general effect. You may not conceive highly of a view of this nature, but I can assure you, after a long and dreary voyage, it has charms for the mind which cannot be described.

In compliment to me, the governor invited all the gentlemen of the establishment to dine ; and a very sumptuous dinner we had ; it consisted of fish, venison, squirrels, and bear's meat, with a profusion of wine and dessert of Illinois nuts, a forest fruit. It was one in the morning before we parted. Some of the party reposed under the table an hour before : for my part, the dangers and fatigues I had gone through made me too dull to get drunk ; at least I could not have been so, or I would have broken my neck in scrambling down one hundred and fifty feet of a steep declivity which led to my boat, in which I lay till roused by the garrison reveillé in the morning.

There having been no ladies at dinner the day before, I naturally concluded there were none at the fort. I was deceived. On going to breakfast, by appointment, with the governor, I was introduced to his daughter, a very interesting and fine girl of sixteen years of age. She had lost her mother a twelvemonth before ; and was left in so desolate a place without a single friend or companion of her own sex to mitigate her sufferings created by so irreparable a loss. These unhappy circumstances have given her countenance an expression of sorrow and modest confusion, which moves the heart of every beholder.

I was much pleased to discover from her conversation, which was luminous and elegant, that her father takes great pains to improve and cultivate her mind. She has read much, and, I fear, of books which excite more refinement and sensibility than are necessary for the kind of world in which she is destined to live. When the discourse turned on the virtues and decease of her mother, her fine eyes filled with tears and she silently left the hall. The father and I soon followed, and found her reclining on a little mausoleum, erected on a tumulus of earth, planted with cypress and yew trees. " This," said the father, " is the work of her own hands : the poor girl's mother lies buried here, and we often visit it when disposed to sorrow, or when events bring her strongly to our recollection."

I respected such an evidence of affliction and tenderness too much to give it interruption ; and, therefore, turned through the garden, and made preparations to depart. In a short

time I took a friendly leave of the gentlemen of the garrison, and pursued my voyage, much pleased and refreshed by my stay at the fort. I had not passed some islands which lie immediately below the Bluffs ten minutes, before very strong demonstrations of a hurricane appeared. The wind suddenly died away; the sun assumed a deep red, and glowed with unusual fury; the atmosphere was sensibly decomposed; the spring of the air relaxed to cause a difficulty of breathing; and Nature reposed in a calm, in order to gather strength for some intended work of desolation and ruin. I benefited by the fortunate interval, and pulled into the eastern shore, where I secured my boat, and waited, with deep emotion, the event of the approaching storm. A small cloud announced its intention of coming from the west. That cloud soon dilated its volume to an immense expanse, and moved with astonishing velocity towards me. The noise it made in the woods was like that of the sea in its utmost rage; and the havoc it made was dreadful. The beasts of the forest rushed howling to the water's edge; and the birds flew agitated and screaming over it. The trees were heard to crackle and fall; and as the storm reached the river, I could plainly perceive that it travelled in a direct line, leaving after it a strait avenue of several miles extent, in which nothing could be seen but prostrate trees, and the stumps and scattered limbs of those it had broken. On striking the water, into which it hurled every tree on the banks, it made it labour like a vortex in commotion; and as it passed over the eastern shore, it again renewed its dreadful operation, driving all before it, rending up the heaviest timber by the roots, and carrying in its convulsed bosom birds, plants, and shrubs. The effect on my boat was terrible; it drove her into the mud banks, half way across her breadth, filled her with water, and covered her over with branches and wood, propelled from the opposite side; in fine, she appeared no better than a wreck. During the action of the tempest on the river, the men and I had to jump into the water, not being able to hold on to the boat. The cloud, rapidly moving, having arrived at its destination, or having performed its office of decomposing the air of such places as occasioned it to possess most gravity, varied its course, and rushed to the southward with increased violence and velocity. After varying from point to point, it ascended the river, and forced its way northwardly, in which direction I perceived another cloud forming, of equal magnitude, and as capable of filling the mind with solicitude and terror. This latter cloud



descended the river. However, as the first hurricane had restored to the air between the two clouds its elastic and repulsive power, and true gravity, they could not approach each other but by very slow degrees, subject to pauses of considerable length, silence, and terrible solemnity. Two hours elapsed before they came into contact. The awful event was announced by vivid flashes of lightning, unceasing peals of thunder, and the precipitation of the watery parts in streams and torrents of rain. But when the two clouds rushed into the same circle, and formed but one immense globe in the dark bosom of which the electric fluid began its direful operation, my reason stood appalled, and I thought the gates of chaos, hell, and confusion were opened wide above me. The lightning, which before flashed in fine lambent flames and intermittent flakes, now took eccentric, hostile, and zigzag shapes, which perpetually traversed and opposed each other, or else it formed balls of fire, which shot in all directions through the air, rolled along the ground, or bessed over the surface of the water; and the thunder, which commenced by single peals, continued with constant and dreadful clamour. The explosions never died, and the reverberations appeared to vie with them in impetuosity and power. After an hour's contest, disputed in a style of sublime greatness, the northern cloud proved victorious, and descended the river, fertilized its burning banks, and reanimated a drooping people with the refreshment afforded by its accumulated fluid.

When the storm was over, I found I had sufficient to do without investigating meteorological appearances. My boat was water-logged, and so sunk in the mud, that I despaired for a long time of ever righting her. I at length succeeded, but not without a labour which rendered us incapable to depart: independent of fatigue, we had abundance to do to dry and clean our clothes and provisions, great part of which was entirely spoiled. Fortunately the gum-tree and cotton-tree are inflammable, and soon made an excellent fire, notwithstanding the late drenching wet. I found the storm productive of one good consequence; it annihilated the mosquitoes within its range, and allowed me to pass the remainder of the day in comfort and ease.

## LETTER XXXVII.

*River St. Francis—Mule River—Effects of Thunder Storms—Attack of an Alligator—Orkansas River—Ozark Village—Indians—Their Adoration to the Sun—Their Hymns.*

*Mouth of the Ozark, or Orkansas River,  
October, 1806.*

FROM the situation in which I was last left, I made a run of one hundred miles without meeting any remarkable event. The whole course was destitute, nor had it on either side as much dry ground as was eligible for the safe and comfortable residence of a single individual. At the conclusion of this dismal range I passed the mouth of the river St. Francis, and came to a beautiful prairie a little below it, on which I found one solitary dwelling, inhabited by a family who traded with the Indians up the river, and occasionally dealt with the boats which descended the Mississippi.

The St. Francis enters on the right, or Louisiana side; is about three hundred yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable two hundred miles upwards. Near its confluence with the Mississippi, it is subject to inundations, but towards the head of its navigation it has high and fertile banks, which are thickly occupied by Indian nations, of whom nothing is known, as there are no white settlers among them, and as they have never been visited by any person disposed to discover their character and history.

I purchased some dried venison, and a few fowls, at half a dollar a piece, from the solitary settler at the prairie, four miles below St. Francis, and proceeded for three days more without objects to amuse or interrupt, to the mouth of the White River, which is one hundred and twenty-two miles from that of the St. Francis. The whole of that run is also destitute of man, and exhibits nature in disorder, on a large and gloomy scale. It appears to be a favourite theatre for the exhibition of hurricanes and storms. The woods are perforated in a hundred places by their destructive career, and present avenues whose termination is far beyond the sight. The avenues made by such sweeping currents of air are so very direct, perfect and narrow, that they appear the effect of art, and made as a road of communication from

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town to town, or state to state. Some are so narrow as twenty yards, and others as broad as two hundred. They are very magnificent, and produce sensations of astonishment and terror.

The long portion of water to which I allude, also exhibits certain characteristics which distinguish it from the river above the Chickasaw Bluffs, and particularly from the Ohio, and all its tributary streams. The trees, plants, and shrubs, are for the most part different, and consequently present a figure, foliage, and *coup d'œil*, which not merely strike the sense as a change of decoration and scene, but as another theatre and country. Cypress-swamps of several miles extent, oak of great beauty and magnitude; cotton-trees embellished with their rich produce festooned from bough to bough, floating in the air, or drooping to the ground; quinces, hazels, bending under a profusion of fruit and catalpas, cedars and magnolias, diffusing perfume over immense wastes, are common to the Mississippi from below St. Francis, rare between that river and the Bluffs, and are seldom to be met with further north. The animal as well as the vegetable kingdom in the same situation, experiences a change. This was announced to me in a very remarkable manner: I was steering down the river in a water extremely deep, and free of all impediment whatever, when all of a sudden the boat refused to obey the helm, heeled considerably, and turned her head to the right shore. At the same moment, some ducks which were confined in a coop, firmly attached to the outside head of the boat, close to the water's edge, made an uncommon noise, and fluttered in the extreme of agitation. Though much alarmed and perplexed, I opposed the helm and one oar to the resistance, whatever it might be; but in vain, the boat wheeled entirely round, and stood down the current, stern foremost. Hearing the ducks continue their clamour, I passed to the bow, and stooping suddenly over, nearly thrust my head into the mouth of a monster, who held on to the boat with one paw, while he was employed in rending off the coop with the other. I started back with precipitation, yet soon recovered, seized a boat hook, and followed up by my two men, attacked the monster before he carried off his prize. I struck him several times without making the smallest impression on his senses, or in any manner injuring his frame. The iron glanced from him, as if resisted by polished steel, but on one of the men cleaving the claw with which he sustained himself, he made a dreadful flounce, uttered a tremendous

cry, beat in the upper plank of the boat, knocked us all three from our situation, and carried off the coop as the reward of his victory. The whole of this was effected in a manner so instantaneous, that it renders it completely indescribable.

When recovered from our consternation and fall, I again took the helm, and ordered the men to *back water* with all their might, to afford me an opportunity of seeing the monster that occasioned us so much alarm and difficulties. He soon rose about fifty yards from me, and made into shore with the coop across his mouth, and his head of more than four feet length, considerably out of the water. I steered as near as I could with safety, after him, and fired several balls, which struck and glanced off his body along the river. He landed, and to appearance, in one crush mashed the coop in pieces, and gobbled up my favourite ducks, one after another, as fast as he could catch them; for on breaking the coop I could perceive that several birds escaped abroad, and even took to the water, out of which he soon drew them. During his repast I had full leisure to examine him. He was a huge alligator, at least twenty feet long, of proportionate circumference, and with a head containing one fourth of the length of the body!

The White river, which also empties in on the right or Louisiana side, is navigable two hundred miles up, and is said to wind through a fertile and delightful country. At its mouth there is an excellent landing, where boats may be moored in safety. It is but thirty-five miles from the mouth of the White river to the post of Ozark on the Arkansas river. The best and nearest route is to go up the White river about four miles, then across to the Arkansas, through a navigable creek between the two rivers, and to keep up it about thirty miles, which brings to the village of Ozark. Being encumbered with too heavy a boat, I could not pursue this route, but dropped down twenty miles lower, and moored at the mouth of the Arkansas, whence I date this and a former letter. I here had the good fortune to get a passage in a trader's canoe to the village of Ozark, where I passed two days with much satisfaction and advantage. I shall give you the substance in a few words.

The Arkansas is on the same side with the St. Francis and the White river; that is, on the Louisiana, right, or western side. It is said to be navigable eight hundred miles up, and to water a country of great fertility and beauty. These accounts must be received with much caution, and

ought to be qualified by the facts of an unbiassed observer. For the truth is, that the immediate banks of the Louisianan western rivers from half a mile, to from two, three, and four miles back, are alone the parts which merit to be described as delightful, and eligible for agricultural pursuits. All the vast remainder is nothing more than a swamp, subject to periodical inundations, which supply ponds and lakes, and send forth exhalations so malignant and active, that they contaminate the climate of the whole region, and shed over the most distant parts the seeds of disease and death. The reason that the banks alone are profitable and pleasing, is, that the western waters flow in a ridge above the level of the country, and remain dry when the general face of the adjoining land is flooded through the means of the bayou and sluices, which are formed in the banks of all the rivers by the periodical excess of their water.

I reached the village of the Ozark on the second day. I found the current of the river very gentle, and the banks clothed with a profusion of the finest timber and shrubs, but so choked with cane, that there was no possibility of ascending them, or of ascertaining their extent, except through buffalo-paths, and avenues made by thunder gusts and partial currents of air, as before described. Through these it was easy to discern that the river, like the Mississippi and others, flows through a ridge, and that the banks, for the most part, subside in a swamp on either side.

The village consists of sixty houses inhabited by persons of several nations, and who reside there for the purpose of conducting a very lucrative trade with the Indians, who resort to the village from the high country, and from the Mexican plain, with furs, for which they take in return, arms, ammunition, spirits, blankets and tools, and utensils of every kind which the traders bring from New Orleans with great difficulty and expence, the distance being six hundred miles, and the current not allowing a boat to gain more than twelve or sixteen miles a day, though worked with sixteen oars.

I arrived at the village at a very fortunate period; at a time when it was filled with Indians, and surrounded with their camp. They amounted to about nine hundred, and were composed of the remnants of various nations, differing in dress, habits, and manners, so little from those I have already mentioned, that I have no occasion to go into any tedious detail, but confine myself to a subject of high interest, and in which they differed—the Indians assembled at Ozark

were worshippers of the sun ; and the second day of my arrival being a grand festival among them, I had the most favourable opportunity of witnessing their adorations at the three remarkable stages of the sun's rise, meridian, and set. Take the proceedings as they occurred.

The morning was propitious, the air serene, the horizon clear, the weather calm. The nations divided into classes ; warriors, young men and women, and married women with their children. Each class stood in the form of a quadrant, that each individual might behold the rising luminary, and each class held up a particular offering to the sun the instant he rose in his glory. The warriors presented their arms, the young men and women offered ears of corn and branches of trees, and the married women held up to his light their infant children. These acts were performed in silence, till the object of adoration visibly rose, when, with one impulse, the nations burst into praise, and sung an hymn in loud chorus. The lines, which were sung with repetitions, and marked by pauses full of sublimity and judgment, have been construed by an excellent interpreter into these :

“ Great Spirit! Master of our lives!

“ Great Spirit! master of every thing visible and invisible, and who daily makes them visible and invisible!

“ Great Spirit! master of every other spirit, good or bad, command the good to be favourable to us, and deter the bad from the commission of evil!

“ Oh! Grand Spirit! preserve the strength and courage of our warriors, and augment their number, that they may resist the oppression of their Spanish enemies, and recover the country and the rights of their fathers!

“ Oh! Grand Spirit! preserve the lives of such of our old men, as are inclined to give council and example to the young!

“ Preserve our children, multiply their number, and let them be the comfort and support of declining age!

“ Preserve our corn and our animals, and let not famine desolate the land!

“ Protect our villages, guard our lives! O Great Spirit! when you hide your light behind the western hills, protect us from the Spaniards, who violate the night, and do evil which they dare not commit in the presence of thy beams!

“ Good Spirit! make known to us your pleasure, by sending to us the Spirit of Dreams. Let the Spirit of Dreams proclaim your will in the night, and we will perform it through the day! And if it say the time of some be closed,

send them, Master of Life! to the great country of souls, where they may meet their fathers, mothers, children, and wives, and where you are pleased to shine upon them with a bright, warm, and perpetual blaze!

"Oh Grand, Oh Great Spirit! hearken to the voice of nations, hearken to all thy children, and remember us always, for we are descended from thee!"

Immediately after this address, the four quadrants formed one immense circle of several deep, and danced, and sang hymns descriptive of the powers of the sun, till near ten o'clock. They then amused and refreshed themselves in the village and camp, and assembled precisely at the hour of twelve by my chronometer, and having formed a number of circles, commenced the adoration of the meridian sun. The following is the literal translation of the mid-day address.

"Courage! nations, courage! the Great Spirit looks down upon us from his highest seat, and by his lustre, appears content with the children of his own power and greatness.

"Grand Spirit! how great are his works, and how beautiful are they!

"He is good; is the Great Spirit, he rides high to behold us. 'Tis he who causes all things to augment and to act. He even now stands for a moment to hearken to us.

"Courage! nations, courage! The Great Spirit now above our heads, will make us vanquish our enemies; he will cover our fields with corn, and increase the animals of our woods. He will see that the old be happy, and that the young augment. He will make the nations prosper, make them rejoice, and make them put up their voice to him while he rises and sets in their land, or while his heat and his light can thus gloriously shine out."

This was followed by dancing and hymns, which continued from two to three hours, at the conclusion of which, dinners were served and eaten with great demonstrations of mirth and hilarity. I dined in a circle of chiefs on a barbecued hog and venison, very well stewed, and was perfectly pleased and gratified with the rural repast. The dinner and repose after it continued till the sun was on the point of being set. On this being announced by several who had been on the watch, the nations assembled in haste, and formed themselves into segments of circles in the face of the sun, presenting their offerings during the time of his descent, and crying aloud,

"The nations must prosper; they have been beheld by

the Great Spirit. What more can they want? Is not that happiness enough? See how he retires, great and content, after having visited his children with light, heat, and universal good!

"Oh, Grand Spirit! sleep not long in the gloomy West, but return and call thy people once again to light and life; to light and life; to light and life!"

This was also succeeded by dances and songs of praise, which lasted till eleven o'clock, at which hour they repaired to rest, some retiring to the huts that formed their camp, and others to the vicinity of fires made in the woods and along the river's banks. I took up my abode with a French settler in the village. I could understand that the Indians have four similar festivals in the year; one for every season. They distinguish them by the name of "Days of Adoration." When the sun does not shine or appear on the adoration-day, an immense fire is erected, around which the ceremonies are performed with equal devotion and care.

I must conclude this long letter with observing, that I left the Ozark village, much interested in the people whose adoration gave birth to these reflections, and arrived here after a passage down the stream of ten hours. To-morrow I proceed, and shall write to you from the Natchez.

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#### LETTER XXXVIII.

*The Grand Lake—Islands of the Mississippi—A remarkable Alarm produced by the Cries of a Host of Alligators—Interesting Particulars respecting these Animals—Yazous River—The Walnut Hills and Fort Macenry—The Grand Gulph—Baycau Pierre, the Residence of Colonel Bruin.*

*The Natchez, Mississippi Left Bank,  
October, 1806.*

AFTER leaving the mouth of the Orkansas, I had nothing to remark but the great number of islands which continued to interrupt the navigation of the Mississippi, till I came to a place known by the name of "The Grand Lake," which is ninety miles from the Orkansas, the point of my last départure.



The Grand Lake, to my astonishment, I found destitute of water. It was formerly the bed of the river; but, being abandoned by it from some incomprehensible cause, it is now filled with willows: makes a very extraordinary appearance, which is considerably heightened by an island standing in the centre, ornamented with trees. The island and trees stand so much above the willows growing in the bed of the lake, that the character of the lake and island are as conspicuous as if the one still received the contents of the river, and the other was actually surrounded by water. The willows mark all the limits of the old flood; discover all the ancient insinuosities and heads of the banks, and shew the figure, extent, and height of the island to the most minute perfection. Before the morning fog was dissipated, I was witness of a very fine phenomenon. The willows not being higher than the surface of the former water, perhaps not so high, retains the fog in the original channel, giving it the exact resemblance of the New River, and making it doubtful what course to take.

The entry to "The Grand Lake" is now a sand-bar, in which are firmly fixed, trees, beams, stumps, and logs, and the sortie is in like manner choaked up and covered with willows and shrubs. It is several miles in circumference, and three directly across.

Below the Grand Lake, and after passing several islands clothed with cotton wood, I found the river perfectly straight for a stretch of thirteen miles, and of a very majestic appearance. At the extremity is an island worn to the compass of a few acres, by the constant attrition of the current against both its sides. It is ornamented by about a dozen trees. The time cannot be far remote when this little interesting miniature will be obliterated from the face of the earth, and sink under the surface of the water which it once embellished with so much grace and picturesque beauty. Throughout this great water, this Father of Floods, as the Indians call it, in some places islands are seen sinking into annihilation; and in others they are exhibited through all the stages of their rise, expanse, verdure, and formation. Of the three hundred islands in the Mississippi, fifty have been created by Nature since its first discovery by M. La Salle, and others are forming in a manner as perceptible as any work can be to the eyes. The system pursued is simply this: when the river is in a low state, the sand-bars take up and retain the trees, logs, roots, branches, and shrubs, which float continually down the current. Among these,

the water deposits a quantity of mud, in which seeds wafted by the wind, and plants conveyed by the stream, germinate and assist in binding the infant soil. Succeeding years perform the same operations with similar effects, till the bars assume the rank of islands, and grow to several hundred acres extent. The river then contains islands of two distinct kinds; and formed from different intentions, and in a widely different manner. The first I have just described, and the second owe their origin to the sudden convulsions which rent upon the bed of the river, and left insulated spots every here and there standing, or else to their being separated from the main land by a division of currents which often occur, to force a passage through the land, and thereby form islands, and effect their own union. The meanest observer can distinguish the one description of islands from the other. Those that proceed from the gradual deposit of foreign matter on sand-bars, have a deep mould, composed of river sediment and decayed vegetable substances, which seldom produce wood of any other growth than cotton, aspin, poplar, and willows; whereas, those which have been suddenly rent from the main land, or separated from it by the continued action of the water, or successive inundations, have a fine soil over a stiff blue clay, and are richly clothed with forest timber of the greatest magnitude and most valuable character; these latter islands are sensibly wasting away, while the others are increasing in extent.

A few miles below the little island, at the sortie of the long reach, I passed a cypress-bend of sixteen miles sweep. Such is the disposition of the river to find a passage through some portion of it, that my boat had to be worked the whole way to keep her from dragging along the shore. It is the most laborious piece of navigation I have yet experienced on the river. Weary with excess of toil, I had to put too under a willow bank before the day was quite expired, as I durst not cross the mouth of a bayeau, the vortex of which I heard roaring at no great distance, till we were all refreshed and restored. Having moored the boat in security, taken a repast, and guarded ourselves as well as we could against the attack of mosquitos, bugs, ants, spiders, and flies, we lay down to rest soon after sun-set, and fell into a sound refreshing sleep. I had enjoyed it for two or three hours, when I was started up by the most lamentable cries that ever assailed the human ear. The men and I instantly assembled on the roof of the boat, to distinguish whence the accents came, and to afford assistance if in our

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power. But they issued from so many directions, and expressed such a variety and number of persons afflicted with the deepest grief, that our reason and judgment were dissipated in wild conjecture, and we remained ignorant of the wretched sufferers, and of the dreadful cause of their complaint. It could not be Indians affecting distress, to seduce us on shore, and there to be put to death: it could not be the crew of wrecked boats weeping and wailing their forlorn fate! repeatedly we demanded of each other what it then could be? We hearkened. At times the cries sunk into the feeble plaints of expiring infancy, and again gradually rose into the full and melancholy swell of an adult tortured by fiends destitute of mercy and humanity. The lamentations turn by turn touched every string capable to vibrate excess of misery, and denoted the variety of sorrow incident to individuals from the loss of health, friends, fortune, and relatives. Above all, they denoted calamity in the act of supplicating relief in the strong language of sobs, sighs, and tears, and moans of inexpressible anguish and length. What were we to judge of such proceedings? How were we to act? No assistance could be afforded to distress so unknown, and so diffuse. To fly the place was impossible, and to remain in it as tremendous as death. To attempt to sleep still more absurd. We walked on the roof of the boat till the cries multiplied and increased in a manner at once to shock the senses and deafen the ears. This violent outcry was followed by plunges in the water and a rustling among the trees, which at length explained the objects of our dismay and apprehension. They were a host of alligators. We discovered them plainly, swimming along-side the boat, and running along the shore, where they uttered the piercing cries and heart-rending moans which originally excited my attention and terror. Having given up all thoughts of rest, I prepared arms, and watched for a favourable purpose of killing one of the creatures. It soon presented itself. A large animal, attracted by the scent of the living objects in the boat, swam repeatedly round it, as if searching for means of access, and had the audacity to raise his head considerably above the water, in order to make his observations more true. At that propitious juncture we all three fired in the direction of his underjaw and throat. He made an immediate flounce in the water, roared as loud as thunder, and rushed ashore directly below my boat. He there expired in dreadful agony, as could be understood from hideous bellowings and the violence with which he

beat himself against the banks. After his monstrous death, the noise of the other animals ceased, and I heard none but very low and plaintive cries, issuing from several voices in deep distress; so low, that they with difficulty reached the ear, and so plaintive, that they could not but reach the heart. The dawn disclosed the cause of this lamentation, which never ceased throughout the night. On going on shore, I found the alligator I had killed attended by sixteen or seventeen young ones, who were solicitously engaged about the dead body, running over and around it in great agitation, and whining and moaning, because they discovered it without animation, and destitute of all symptoms of life. Though somewhat affected by such a spectacle, I ordered the men to assist, and to secure me, if possible, some of the young ones, and convey them into my boat. We succeeded in taking three. They are about two feet long each, and have beautiful blue eyes, with an expression extremely soft and sensible. The mother, for it seems it is a female we killed, is nineteen feet in length, counting the head, which is three feet long, and five feet in circumference. The jaws, which extend the whole length of the head, are furnished with two large conical tusks as white as ivory. The upper jaw only moves. The scales are as hard as iron. The shape is that of a lizard.

Speaking generally, and from the best authority, the alligators of the Mississippi are from twelve to twenty-four feet in length; their bodies are covered with horny plates or scales, which are impenetrable to a rifle ball, except about their heads, and just behind their fore-legs, where they are vulnerable. The head of a full grown alligator is more than three feet long. The eyes are small, and the whole head in the water, appears at a distance like a piece of rotten floating wood. The upper jaw only moves, and this they raise so as to form a right angle with the lower one. They open their mouths while they lie basking in the sun, on the banks of rivers and creeks, and when filled with all manner of insects, they suddenly let fall their upper jaw with surprising noise, and thus secure their prey. The tusks, which are not covered by any skin or lips, give the animal a frightful appearance. In the spring, which is their season for breeding, they make a most hideous and terrifying roar, resembling the sound of distant thunder.

The alligator is an oviparous animal: their nests, which are commonly built on the margin of some lake, creek, or river, at the distance of from fifteen to twenty yards from

the high water, are in the form of an obtuse cone, about four feet high, and from four to five in diameter at their basis. They are constructed with a sort of mortar, blended with grass and herbage. First they lay a floor of this composition, on which they deposit a layer of eggs; and upon this a stratum of their mortar, seven or eight inches thick, then another layer of eggs; and in this manner one stratum upon another, nearly to the top of the nest. They lay from one hundred to two hundred eggs in a nest. These are hatched by the heat of the sun, assisted by the fermentation of the vegetable mortar in which they are deposited. The female carefully watches her own nest of eggs till they are all hatched. She then takes her brood under her care, and leads them about the shores as a hen does her chickens, and is equally courageous in defending them in time of danger. When she lies basking on the warm banks with her brood around her, the young ones may be heard whining and crying in the manner of young infants. The old feed on the young alligators till they get so large that they cannot make a prey of them; so that fortunately but few of the brood survive the age of a year. They are fond of the flesh of dogs and hogs, which they devour whenever they have an opportunity. Their principal food is fish. They retire into their dens, which they form by burrowing far into the ground, commencing under water, and working upwards, and there remain in a torpid state during the winter. The carrion vulture also destroys multitudes of young alligators, which would otherwise render the country uninhabitable.

Much has been said of the *crocodile lacrymæ*, or deceitful tears. Returned to my boat and departed, I carefully watched to discover whether the melancholy cries of my young alligators were accompanied with tears. I can assert they are not—nor does any moisture whatever fill the eye, though the plaints are piteous to the most distressing degree. Food appeases their distress. When they lament aloud I give them the entrails and livers of fowls, which they are most fond of, and they immediately cease. They are very vicious: they at times make a sudden snap at my fingers, and once bit the leg of my dog, since which time, he keeps at a distance from them. Perhaps he sets an example which I ought to imitate; but I am determined to rear them up, and bring them with me to England.

The Yazaus river is the next important object, and is ninety-three miles from the Grand Lake. I put into it as a

place of rest, and was not disappointed, having passed a night undisturbed, except by the complaints of my new companions, who were not entirely reconciled to their abode.

The Yazaus is on the eastern or left hand side of the Mississippi, going down. It is a very beautiful river. It rises in the country of the Chickassaws, runs through the state of Georgia, and falls into the Mississippi in a S. by W. direction; computed to be four hundred miles from New Orleans; it is navigable but one hundred miles upwards.

Thirteen miles below the Yazaus speculation or river, are the Walnut Hill and Fort M'Henry.—The Walnut Hill is without exception the most beautiful eminence on the Mississippi, or perhaps on any other river. It is on the east side, commanding an extensive land and water view of several miles in every direction. In the time of the Spaniards the fort was mounted with guns, manned, and kept in repair; and there were houses for the accommodation of the men, officers, and commandant. At present the public institutions are in ruins, and the whole place is occupied by but five or six settlers, who cultivate cotton, indigo, wheat, and Indian corn. The settlers are wealthy, keep a number of negro slaves each, and appear content with their situation, though they are every man, woman, and child, in a wretched state of health. And if the Walnut Hill be not healthy, every other part of the Mississippi must in truth and of necessity be indisputably unwholesome and bad. Fruit comes to great perfection at the hill, and fig trees introduced by the Spaniards grow to great excellence and height. The soil is as rich as that of the best garden about London. The hill in the rear is bounded by a swamp.

From the Walnut Hill to the Grand Gulph is a distance of forty-eight miles. I arrived in its vicinity towards evening, but was deterred from passing it till morning, in consequence of the frightful reports often made to me respecting its difficulty, and the many boats it annually swallows up. I put up within hearing of its ripple, and was again interrupted by the cries of crocodiles, and the *deep toned* sighs they emit. I should tell you that my own little ones thrive well, and take on all the airs of a pet. They take their food out of my hand, and by their voice express much satisfaction whenever they are bathed. There is little doubt but that they will survive.

Early in the morning I explored the passage of the Grand Gulph in my canoc. The river is more than a mile

wide. The channel occupies the centre, and the sides consist of two immense gulphs, which contract the channel to a very diminutive space,—not four feet broader than an ordinary boat. It must be passed notwithstanding. Stimulated by this necessity, I returned to my boat, and steered her for the gulph, in a stream of extraordinary impetuosity and strength. In a few moments I run into the main channel, and held it secure by the dint of steering and rowing, while I saw several large trees and logs sucked into the vortex on either side, whirled round and round, and drawn to the bottom. At one instant the stern of the boat swung into the eddy of the gulph! The power of the oars restored her to the channel, and twenty minutes placed us in *safe* water, and a more gentle current. It is by far the most dangerous part of the Mississippi, and is full of hazards, which can never be pointed out or described.

The hospitable and comfortable residence of Col. Bruin is at Payen Pierre, eleven miles below the Grand Gulph. The colonel, to whom I had a letter from his friend Burr, received me with very great kindness and cordiality, and I spent a pleasant afternoon at his house. There is no settlement so extensive as the colonel's above him on the river. He keeps one hundred negroes, and makes by their labour ten thousand dollars a year. He principally cultivates cotton. The wheat, corn, &c. which he raises are only for his domestic use. There is a settlement on the east side, just above colonel Bruin's, occupied by about twenty New England families, which is also doing well. They raise great quantities of cotton, and make some portion of it into thread, which they manufacture into cotton cloth, and sell for a dollar per yard. On the whole, I was glad to see an appearance of civilization and industry, and I understood from the colonel, that from his house to New Orleans, settlements and villages, at very short intervals, are to be found. Nine miles from the colonel's is the "Petite Gulph," the navigation of which requires nearly as much attention as the Grand Gulph; and twenty-seven miles below is the city of Natchez.

## LETTER XXXIX.

*Natchez City—Its Trade and Luxury—Territory of the  
Mississippi—Natchez Indians—Their Adorations.*

*City of Natchez, Mississippi Territory,  
October, 1806.*

THIS city is pleasantly situated on a considerable eminence on the east side of the river. It contains about three hundred houses, and two thousand five hundred inhabitants, including blacks, who are very numerous. There is a printing-office, and several very extensive mercantile stores. There is also a Roman catholic church, but the Americans have stripped it of its Spanish possessions, shut up the church, and have not yet erected one of their own. There is a great number of mechanics in the city, whose wages are very high, as is labour of every kind. The market is proportionably extravagant. Every article, except venison and game, is as dear as in London. The citizens, however, are enabled to endure the high price of provisions, by their trade between New Orleans and the back and upper country.

Cotton is cultivated in the neighbourhood to such perfection, and with such advantages, that many of the citizens have been induced to purchase farms, and turn all their attention to rearing and preparing that article for exportation. Their profit is so considerable, that both in town and country they live in the style of eastern luxury. I dined in several places where the dinner consisted of three courses and a dessert, where the service was of solid plate, where a negro magnificently dressed stood behind every chair, and where the air was kept in circulation by little girls employed in pulling variegated fans suspended from the centre of the room. At one of these houses of sumptuous entertainment, the proprietor informed me that his crop of cotton of that year was estimated at forty thousand dollars. There many of the cotton plantations yield from five thousand to twenty thousand dollars a year. The owners indulge in every luxury, and set an example of dissipation which at this moment pervades the city and territory. The vice of the Natchez is proverbial through America. But dreadfully are the wretched citizens to suffer for their profligacy and licentious-



ness. A confirmed and hereditary venereal disease, contracted by an unrestrained intercourse with Africans, Indians, and Mestizoes, has established its malignant empire in the city, and several other parts of the territory; and all the arts of medicine have hitherto proved unequal to counteract its effects, or to restrain its progress.—Therefore, when I tell you of people living in the most affluent profusion, you are not to encourage a belief that they are happy. In the midst of that profusion, at the very table loaded with delicacies, and provided with a variety of the richest wine, I have seen appetite wanted, and the seeds of debility and the clouds of disease casting a gloom over every countenance, and sallow in every face. Blinded by the prospect of speedy acquisitions of wealth, persons come to this place, without considering that it is unhealthy to a dangerous excess; on making the discovery, the passion for riches subdues the terrors of disease, and they remain exanimate for a time, or fall early victims to their avarice and imprudence. Notwithstanding the prevalence of sickness through the territory, there are not wanting persons to recommend it as “the most benign and healthy climate in the world.”

The principal persons of wealth send their children for instruction, and to avoid such pestilence, to the New England states—a distance of three thousand miles. There is an academy here, but it is much neglected. Gambling and horse-racing are the prevailing amusements. In winter there are balls and concerts—I cannot say how elegant or chaste, not having seen many of the ladies by whom they are frequented, they, for the most part, being at their summer residences scattered around the city. The men drink profusely. It is difficult to escape from their parties under three bottles of wine a man.

The territory of the Mississippi is of the following general description :

Miles.			
Length	384	Between	{ 31° and 32° 23' N. Lat. 9° 52' and 16° 20' W. Long.
Breadth	100		

Bounded north by a line running due east from the mouth of the Yazous river, at its junction with the Mississippi, to the Chatahoocba or Appalacheicola river; east by this last mentioned river; south, by the 31° of north latitude; (which is the boundary between the United States and West Florida); and west, by the river Mississippi, which separates it from Louisiana.

This territory is well watered by a number of small rivers and their branches, and several large streams which mostly run through its whole extent.

The Black, or Little Yazaus, empties into the Mississippi, about fifty miles below the Walnut Hills, near the south side of the Great Yazaus.

Stony Creek, or Bia Pierre, and Cole's Creek, empty into the Mississippi: the former ten miles below Black River, and the latter twenty-five miles above the Natchez.

Hamichitta and Buffalo, near Loftus's Heights, are the most southern waters in this territory that empty into the Mississippi.

Amité rises in about the thirty-third degree in north latitude, and pursuing a southerly course, empties into Lake Pontchartrain, being a part of what was formerly called Iberville.

Pearl extends through the whole territory from north to south, and discharges itself near the entrance of Pontchartrain.

Pascagoola has its source near the northern parts of the territory, and empties into the bay or Gulf of Mexico.

Mobile, or Tombeckbe, is a very considerable river, whose source is about the 35° of north latitude. It abounds with numerous branches, watering fine intervals of land, where the Chickassaw Indians have many towns. About sixty-five miles from the boundary line up the Mobile, are Walker's shoals, the head of tide water.

Alabama, or Tallapoosa, is a considerable river, and unites with the Mobile about ten miles north of the line, and receives the waters of the Abacoocha or Cohawba, whose sources interlock with the waters of Tennessee.

Escambia and Conough, or Pensacola rivers, which unite in West Florida, empty into the bay of Pensacola.

Chatahoocha, or Appalachicola, takes its rise at the foot of the great range of mountains in the north-east part of Georgia.

The whole territory is low and flat, interspersed, however, with rising grounds, at some distance from the rivers, which are generally bounded by swamps and cane grounds. These, together with numerous ponds, lakes, and marshes, render the climate unhealthy. In the months of August, September, and October, the fevers become predominant and contagious. The soil is sandy. The chief productions are cotton, rice, Indian corn, and indigo. The produce of these

is abundant and of high quality. The culture of indigo is nearly renounced. After several years of sad experience, the planters at length found out, that, on an average, it killed every negro employed in its culture in the short space of five years. Notwithstanding this monstrous discovery, there are still a few who pursue the murderous traffic. The poor slaves they employ are reduced to mere skeletons, and exhibit the number of their days in a poisoned aspect, and the melancholy expression of languor and debility which mark their countenance and frame. So well assured are the indigo planters of the number of days their slaves have to live, that it is a common practice with them to send them to New Orleans market for sale, before the expiration of the average period of five years, and there buy new wretches to undergo the same toil, and be destined the same short space to live. But it is now so generally understood at New Orleans, and elsewhere, that indigo slaves have the fountain of life irrevocably corrupted, that little or no price can be obtained for them, and for the future it is probable they will be permitted to die on the spot where they are poisoned, without being exposed to the degradation of being dragged through the country, and put up to sale at public auction before an insulting and unfeeling multitude.

I took a ride into the interior to visit the remains of the nation of the Natchez Indians, once the most powerful and enlightened people of all the continent of America. Their tradition says, they came from South America, and indeed their habits, customs, and manners, say the same thing. They are now reduced to a few hundreds. When the Anglo-Americans first became acquainted with them, they courted their alliance, and dreaded their enmity more than that of any other tribe. The ravage of war, the small-pox, and spirituous liquors, have since reduced their number and character, and they are now slighted and despised. I shall only remark them for one particular: they are nations of Indians east of the Mississippi, who worship the sun, and who used to offer to that luminary human sacrifices, which they consumed in fires, attended by priests, whose office it was to renew and keep them up perpetually. Human sacrifice being forbidden by the United States, the Indians now make offerings of the most valuable articles, and often burn property to some thousand dollars amount. Their manner is, on the adoration-day to assemble round the eternal fire, as they call it, light a calumet, and present it to the sun. Then certain persons, called Children of the Sun, cast the sacrifice

into the fire, and while it consumes, the warriors, and young men, women, and children, in separate circles, dance and sing around. Missionaries and others strive to turn them from this destructive kind of devotion, but all in vain: they still persist, and on the day answering to our first of May, in particular, they are known to destroy nearly all the property they possess, and which they acquire by hunting and trading with the States.

- It is not true, that their fires are constantly alive. Several years have elapsed since they were suffered to extinguish. They are now only illumined on particular festivals and state days. On my arrival at their village on a western branch of the Alabama, I made very minute inquiries on the subject; but could gather no information more interesting than what I communicated to you from the Mouth of the Ozark.

Every thing which surpasses the understanding and capacity, every thing whose cause cannot be comprehended by Indians, is called by them "Spirit." There are two orders of Spirits: the good and the bad. The good is the Spirit of Dreams, and all things innocent and inconceivable. The bad is the thunder, the hail which destroys their corn, a tempest, and in short all things capable of inflicting distress and injury, and the cause of which they are not acquainted with. Hence, when the gun of a savage bursts and wounds him, he says the Evil Spirit was confined within it; when a tree falls and hurts a limb, he attributes the act to the Evil Spirit; when crossing the river in his canoe, and upset by the wind, he thinks the Evil Spirit agitates the air and raises the storm; when one of his tribe is deprived of reason by a shock of sickness, or dispensation of Heaven, he says the Evil Spirit torments him. Several nations call the Good Spirits Michi Lichi; and the bad ones Matchi Manitous. And *one* superior Good Spirit, they call by way of distinction and eminence Kilchi Manitou, or Great Unknown Spirit; and *one* superior Bad Spirit, is called Matchi Manitou, or Wicked Being. From a system like this, the number of Good and Evil Spirits must be innumerable, and the objects of love and apprehension beyond all bounds.

The Choctaw Indians inhabit the western, and the lower creeks the eastern part of this territory; and the Muscogees inhabit from the Chatahoocha to the Alabama, and extend into West Florida. These tribes of Indians are more numerous than any other east of the Mississippi, and are re-

markable for their aversion and contempt to the people of the United States, and the hostile disposition they manifest towards them on every occasion that presents. I would have visited these nations were it not for the advance of the season.—I therefore returned to this city, which I leave to-morrow by dawn.

The river here is about one mile and a quarter broad; and as the city is advantageously seated on a bank one hundred feet above low water mark, the view from it is delightful. The waters begin to rise in April, and subside in August, overflowing the grounds for many miles on each side; the western side being the lowest, the inundations there extend forty or fifty miles.—There is a fort here as well as at the Walnut Hills, and one at Loftus's Heights, about seven miles above the boundary line, and another at Bond's Bluff and St. Stephen's; these two last are in the Mobile river.

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#### LETTER XL.

*Fort Adams—General Wilkinson—Riviere Rouge—Several Settlements, with their Trade and Produce—Chaj-falis Bayeau—Tunica Bayeau and Villages—Point Coupee Church—A rich Settlement—Bayeau Sacra—Thompson's Creek—Baton Rouge—Bayeau Manchec—Bayeau de la Fourche—Alacapas and Opelousas Settlements—Fine Breed of Horses and Cattle—Healthy Climate—Sugar Plantations—Bona Cara Settlement—Account of the River from New Orleans to the Sea.*

*Bona Cara, Mississippi Bank,  
November, 1806.*

I HAD not left the Natchez many hours before I found a sensible improvement in the river: the current preserving the centre and the sides free of snags, sawyers, and rocks. This appearance was very pleasing, as it dispensed with labour and attention, and shewed it practicable to float all night, a thing entirely rash to attempt after leaving the Ohio.

The first object that attracts notice is the white cliffs on the east side, and which are thirty-nine miles from the Natchez; the second, the mouth of the Homochello river, on

the same side; and the third, Loftis's Heights and Fort Adams, also on the east side. The fort is garrisoned. General Wilkinson is at present there, collecting troops to drive the Spaniards beyond the Louisiana line, from limits of which the domains of the United States would extend to the Florida gulph and the isthmus of Dawen.

General Wilkinson is also a governor of the Upper Louisiana, though contrary to a law of the State, which says, "that functions civil and military are not to be vested in any one person, or in any one place."

The regular force under general Wilkinson does not exceed one thousand men. In case of necessity, he has the militia of the Natchez, Orleans, Finassee, and Kentucky, to call out. He proposes shortly to leave Fort Adams, and to stretch the American boundary to its utmost extent.

Five miles below Fort Adams is the line of demarcation, struck before the purchase between Spain and the United States. It is in latitude 31 north, and ten miles below that line on the west side is Red river, or *Riviere Rouge*.

This river derives its name from the colour of its water, which is perpetually red or reddish. It mixes with the Mississippi with great reluctance, and is seen in blotches and in a separate current for a considerable extent. On the banks, and in the vicinity of the Red river, are the rich settlements of Rapide, Avoyelles, and Natchitoches, all thriving and populous. The latter is situated seventy-five leagues up the Red river. On the north side of the Red river, a few leagues from its junction with the Mississippi, is the Black river, on one of whose branches, a considerable way up, is the infant settlement of Ouachita, which, from the great richness of the soil, may be made a place of importance. Cotton is the chief produce of these settlements; but they have likewise a considerable fur or Indian trade. The Red river communicates with the frontiers of North Mexico.

On a retrospect, there is no other settlement on the west side of the Mississippi, above the Red river, till you come to the mouth of the Orkansas, seven hundred and fifty miles from New Orleans, and there, as I observed, there are but few families, who are more attached to the Indian trade (by which they chiefly live) than to cultivation. Nor is there any settlement from the Orkansas to New Madrid, which is in itself considerable; and from New Madrid there is none till you reach Cape Guardau, above the mouth of the Ohio.

Below the Red river, five miles, is one of the most dangerous rapids on the Mississippi; it is called Chaffalis, and to avoid being sucked into its vortex, it is absolutely necessary to keep the middle of the river, and to row with great force.

Several islands occur between the Chaffalis and the bayou Tunica, a distance of forty-six miles, and the Tunica villages are ten miles from the bayou, and are seated on the east side.

A little above these villages, the Mississippi forms almost a complete circle, leaving a narrow peninsula of about one mile and a half across, which if cut through, a distance of about thirty miles would be saved. The cut could be made for a mere trifling expence, there not being a single stone or a morsel of clay on the entire course.

On the west side, twelve miles below the Tunica villages, is Point Coupee church. It is one hundred and fifty miles from New Orleans, and is the commencement of the richest and best settlement on the river, along which it extends eight leagues. Its produce is cotton. Behind it, on an old bed of the river, now a lake, whose outlets are closed up, is the settlement of Fausse Riviere, which is populous and well cultivated. From this settlement to the sea are contained three-fourths of the population, and seven-eighths of the riches of all Louisiana.

From Coupee church to Cape Girardeau, above the mouth of the Ohio, there is no land on the west side that is not overflowed in the spring, to the distance of eight or ten leagues from the river, with from two to twelve feet water, except the small prairie at New Madrid; so that in the whole extent of near nine hundred miles, there is no possibility of forming a considerable settlement contiguous to the river on that side. The eastern bank has in this respect a decided advantage over the western, as there are on it many situations which effectually command the river.

Bayou Sara lies fifteen miles below Point Coupee church. This stream is on the east side, and about nine miles up, it is a very fine settlement, in which resides a Mr. Grallford, formerly of Washington, Pennsylvania, a gentleman of immense possessions, and an intelligent worthy character.

Point Coupee is on the west side, five miles below bayou Sara. Thompson's Creek is on the east side, three miles below Point Coupee. On this creek are fine cotton plantations, the soil of which is remarkably good.

Baton Rouge is thirty miles lower down, and bayeau Manchec fifteen.

Baton Rouge is remarkable as being the first place where the high land is contiguous to the river, and there it forms a bluff from thirty to forty feet above the greatest rise of the water. There also the settlements extend a considerable way back on the east side. The parish of Baton Rouge has that of Thompson's Creek and bayeau Sara subordinate to it. The mouth of the first of these creeks is about forty-five leagues from New Orleans, and that of the latter two or three higher up. They run from north-east to south-west, and their head waters are north of the 31st degree of latitude. Their banks have the best soil, and the greatest number of rich cotton plantations of any part of Louisiana, and of which they are universally allowed to be the garden.

Immediately above the Iberville, and on both sides of the Mississippi, lies the parish of Manchec, which extends four leagues on the river, and is highly cultivated.

Bayeau de la Fourche is on the west side, thirteen miles from Manchec, and four from the settlement of one Baillie, a rich and noted cotton planter.

The creek, or bayeau de la Fourche, is about twenty-five leagues from New Orleans. In old maps it is called la Riviere des Chitamachés. It flows from the Mississippi, and communicates with the sea to the westward of the Balise. The settlers on the banks talk of deepening the mouth of the Fourche, and of turning the whole volume of the Mississippi into it, thereby to enrich their country to the sea, to the entire ruin of New Orleans and all the settlements along the river's banks below the Fourche. The entrance of the Fourche is navigable only at high water, but will then admit of craft of from sixty to seventy tons burthen. On both banks of this creek are settlements, one plantation deep, for fifteen leagues, and they are divided into two parishes. The settlers are numerous, and the culture is universally cotton. On all creeks making from the Mississippi, the soil is the same as on the bank of the river, and the border is the highest part of it, from whence it descends gradually to a swamp. In no place is there depth on the low lands more than suffices for one plantation, before you come to grounds too low for cultivation.

This creek affords one of the communications to the two populous and rich settlements of Alapocas and Opelousas, formed on and near the small rivers Tche and Vermilion, which flow into the bay of Mexico. But the principal and



swiftest communication is by the bayou or the creek of *Plaquemines*, whose entrance into the Mississippi is seven leagues higher up on the same side, and thirty-two above New Orleans. These settlements abound in cattle and horses, have a large quantity of good land in their vicinity, and are likely to become of vast importance. A part of their produce is sent by sea to New Orleans, but the greatest part is carried in bateaux by the creeks I have mentioned. The *Opelousas* is remarkable for a breed of horses and cattle not to be excelled in the world, and yet any quantity may be bought up for only a guinea a head. In the time of the Spaniards, one dollar was the price of a horse, and half a dollar for an ox or cow! The country is for ever under verdure; the climate moist, but serene. I have seen more healthy and strong individuals come from it after a residence of several years, than I ever met with on the Ohio or Mississippi. The inhabitants live in a genuine primitive way: they do little else than tend flocks. I am assured, from the best authority, that there is not such a country in all America as the *Opelousas*. I am fully inclined to believe this. It is the first high ground between Louisiana and North Mexico. I am sorry I have not leisure to visit it.

Between the *Fourche* and *Bona Cara*, from whence I write, I passed by *Arnold's* and *Baranges'*, two eminent sugar plantations. The seat of *Baranges* is the handsomest on the river. It is eleven miles from the *Fourche*, and on the east side below it, is *Cartelle* church. Very little sugar is cultivated above *Arnold's*, nor are orange-groves common higher up; therefore, on approaching his house and settlement, the country assumes new features, and the frigid character of North America is disguised under the drapery of the West Indies.

The settlement of *Bona Cara* is very delightful; it has a neat church, and the houses which strike from it, up and down the river, are also separated by plantations and orange-groves. The following places lie between it and New Orleans, in the space of forty-eight miles: *Red church* on the east side; *Forteus's* sugar plantations and the orange-grove, which is but three miles above New Orleans.

Before I proceed to an account of New Orleans, I shall conclude the description of the river from that city to the sea, from authority on which you may confidently rely.

The conspicuous places are, the *English Bend*; *Fort Plaquemines* and the *Passes*; and the mouths of the Mississippi: the latter of which are in lat. 29° 6" north.

On the east side, about five leagues below New Orleans and at the head of the English Bend, is a settlement known by the name of the Población de St. Bernardo, or the Terre aux Beaufs, extending on both sides of a creek or chain, whose head is contiguous to the Mississippi, and which flowing eastward, after a course of eighteen leagues, and dividing itself into two branches, falls into the sea and Lake Borgne. This settlement consists of two parishes, almost all the inhabitants of which are Spaniards from the Canaries, who content themselves with raising fowls, corn, and vegetables, for the market of New Orleans. The lands cannot be cultivated to any great distance from the banks of the creek, on account of the vicinity of the marsh behind them; but the place is susceptible of great improvement, and of affording another communication for small craft, from eight to ten feet draught, between the sea and the Mississippi.

The settlements below the English Bend, or from sixteen leagues from New Orleans, are of no importance. Between them and the Fort of Plaquemines, the country is overflowed in the spring, and in many places is incapable of cultivation at any time, being a morass, almost impassable by man or beast. This small tongue of land extends considerably into the sea, which is visible on both sides of the Mississippi from a ship's mast.

From Plaquemines to the sea is twelve or thirteen leagues. The country is low, swampy, chiefly covered with reeds, having little or no timber, and no settlement whatever. The whole lower part of the country, even from the English Bend downward, is subject to overflow in hurricanes, either by the recoiling of the river, or reflux of the sea on each side; and, on more than one occasion, it has been covered from the depth of two to ten feet, according to the descent of the river, whereby many lives were lost, horses and cattle swept away, and a dreadful scene of destruction laid. The last calamity of this kind happened in 1794; and in the preceding year the engineer who superintended the construction of the Fort Plaquemines, was drowned in his house near the fort, and the workmen and garrison escaped only by taking refuge on an elevated spot in the fort, on which there were notwithstanding three feet water. These hurricanes have generally been felt in the month of August. Their greatest fury lasts about twelve hours. They commence in the south east; veer about to all points of the compass, are felt more severely below, and seldom extend more than a few leagues above New Orleans. In their

whole course they are marked with ruin and desolation. They are not very frequent: until that of 1793, there had been none felt from the year 1789.

About eight leagues below the Plaquemines, the Mississippi divides itself into the channels, viz. the east, south, and south-west. Their course is from five to six leagues to the sea. The space between is a marsh, with little or no timber in it; but from its situation it may hereafter be rendered of importance. The east pass, which is on the left hand going down the river, is divided into two branches about two leagues below, viz. the Pass a la Lantre, and that known by the name of the Balize, at which there is a small block-house, and huts for the accommodation of pilots. The first of these secondary channels contains at present but eight feet water; the latter from twelve to sixteen, according to the seasons. The south pass, which is directly in front of the Mississippi, has always been considered as entirely choked up; it has ten feet water. The south-west pass, which is on the right, is the longest and narrowest of all the passes, and a few years ago had eighteen feet water: and was that by which the large ships always entered and sailed from the Mississippi. It has now but eight feet water, and will probably decline in depth still more. In speaking of the quantity of water in the passes, it must be understood of what is on the bar of each pass, for immediately after passing the bar, which is very narrow, there are from five to seven fathoms at all seasons.

Ships bound for the Mississippi must strive to keep exactly in the latitude of its mouth, as the land is not to be seen at the distance of five leagues; they must bring the block-house to bear W. N. W. three degrees north, and run direct for it. When in, and bound up, the safest method is to run from point to point before a leading wind, taking care to keep out of the leads. When obliged to anchor, ships should come to on the close of a point. As may well be expected, the mouths of the river present a frightful sight. Wrecks of vessels, and piles of timber fastened in the bars, are seen by the mariner before he can see the land! and he finds himself in ten fathoms water before he can make the log-house or any manner of guide! Few vessels come up the river without the loss of an anchor. From the mouth to New Orleans, a distance of one hundred miles, vessels have been known six and eight weeks on the passage, stemming the current, or waiting a favourable wind. It seldom occupies more than two days in the descent.

To return. Of the settlements of Chapitoulas, first and

second German coasts, Catahanose, Fourche, and Iberville, the best and most improved are above the city of New Orleans; and comprehend, what is there known by the *Parisse de Chapitoulas*, *Premier* and *second* *Côtes des Allemandes*, extending sixteen leagues. Above these begins the parish of Catahanose, or first Acadian settlement, of eight leagues extent; adjoining which, and still ascending, are the second Acadian settlement, or parish of the Fourche, extending about six leagues. The parish of Iberville then commences, and is bounded by a river of the same name, which, though dry a great part of the year, yet, when the Mississippi is raised, it communicates with the Lakes *Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain*, and through them with the sea, and thus forms what is called the island of New Orleans.

Before I conclude, I shall take a rapid retrospect of my proceedings since I left the *Natchez*. The voyage hither consumed eight days; had I had leisure, I would readily have allowed it to employ an entire year. It is perhaps the most interesting stretch of fresh water navigation in the world, and the most abounding in objects calculated to extend the information and gratify the senses. Except from the point just below the Iberville, the country to New Orleans is settled the whole way along the river, and presents a scene of uninterrupted plantations in sight of each other, whose parts to the Mississippi are all cleared, and occupy on that river from five to twenty-five acres, with a depth of forty; so that a plantation of five acres front, contains two hundred. A few sugar plantations are formed in the parish of Catahanose, but the remainder are devoted to cotton and provisions; and the whole is an excellent soil, incapable of being exhausted. The plantations are but one deep on the island of New Orleans, and on the opposite side of the river as far as the mouth of the Iberville, which is thirty-five leagues above New Orleans.

Every parish from *Baton Rouge* down, has a church, on which a cross, that sacred emblem of Christianity, glitters from the top of a spire, which raises its picturesque head above the summit of walnut, magnolia, and cypress trees. The houses of a parish, which are built with all the embellishments of the French, in the *West-India* style, are not crowded together, but are separated by groves and gardens, which give them a charming effect, and an extent to one settlement of several miles. The inhabitants, who, for the most part are French, live perfectly at their ease. To mingle piety with mirth, recreation with labour, and activity

with repose ; is the only object they pursue ; and this they attain to a perfection unknown to any other people with whom I am acquainted.

The navigation being good between the Natchez and New Orleans, I had no apprehension of leaving my boat in charge of the two men, and taking my canoe ashore for hours together. On going to the habitations of the planters or settlers, I always experienced the most hospitable and kind reception ; and uniformly, on offering to pay for milk, fruit, and vegetables, the answer was, "*N'importe monsieur, cela ne vaut rien.*" The Spaniards are retiring fast into Mexico. There are not a dozen respectable Spanish families above New Orleans : those who submit, reside below that city, and are of the lowest order, otherwise they also would ere this have departed.

After a passage of such length and solitude, I can never describe to you the pleasure that is experienced on arriving in that part of the Mississippi, where the sounds of population strike the ear, where a hearty welcome is always experienced, where danger is no longer thought of, and where information is readily procured. I often continued floating along shore in the evening, hearkening to the distant tones of the village bells, to the herds lowing on their pasture, to the watchful dog guarding the premises of his master, to the cheerful song chaunted by content and innocence, to the conversation of love and friendship, to the whistle of the vacant mind, and the long loud laugh of content and happiness. And on going ashore and walking up to a neat white house, nearly intercepted by groves of oranges, I have been greeted by the family, seated out of doors, with, "*Ah ! bienvenue, monsieur l'étranger ; prenez une chaise si vous plaît : vous n'avez pas souper ; ma femme, faire apprêter quelque chose pour monsieur ; mes enfans, allez voir le bateau de monsieur, ayez soin que c'est bien attaché, et menez ses gens qu'ils ont quelque chose à manger.*" In this manner have the good people gone on where I have stopt, and on my departure, all I was ever permitted to do, was *de donner un petit présent aux enfans*, and in some families even that was not allowed, as you may judge, when they possessed from five to twenty thousand dollars a year. Along the river from *Baton Rouge* to New Orleans, float between one thousand and thirty thousand dollars annually. The local manner of calculating wealth is very singular : it is said, such a man is worth ten negroes a year, and another one hundred ; and it is understood to a dollar, to how much

the income amounts. One negro can cultivate two acres of cotton, the produce of which is two hundred dollars: the deduction from which ratio is, that he who has ten negroes is worth two thousand dollars per annum; and he who has one hundred is worth twenty thousand. The sugar is very abundant and profitable. Much to the credit of the French settlers, they have abandoned the cultivation of indigo from principles of humanity. It is now confined to Americans. The inhabitants of the river banks enjoy a tolerable state of health. Those who live temperate look strong and hearty.

There are no markets at any of the villages or parishes. Every settler provides his own family. His grounds abound with stock; the woods with game; and the river with fish. Where is the necessity of a market? The river, also, at certain seasons is covered with water-fowls; and all the summer, duck and pelican. The river, too, has inhabitants not so desirable. It swarms with alligators of extraordinary ferocity and force. The French believe that they have a decided predilection for negro flesh. This idea prevails so much, that negroes dare not venture into the water; and a fact is now current which gives strength to this prejudice. Two men, one black and the other white, had occasion to go into the water to endeavour to push off a boat which had got fast on a bar. An alligator attacked the African, and drew him under water by the leg; he extricated himself, rose, and rushed to the boat, over the side of which he was clambering, assisted by the white, when the alligator renewed the combat, again drew him off by the leg he had before mangled, and crushed his bones in the presence of the white man, whom he neither attacked nor regarded.

as high up as Bona Cara, are also embellished with neat country residences, whither the citizens retire during the sickly season, which happens between the months of August and November.

From the favourableness of the climate of the Lower Louisiana, especially as low down as the city, two crops of Indian corn may be annually produced; and the soil, with little cultivation, would furnish grain of every kind in abundance. The timber is as fine as any in the world; and the quantities of oak, ash, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypress, and cedar, are astonishing. The banks of the Mississippi, besides, furnish the richest fruits in variety: and the soil is particularly adapted for hemp, flax, and tobacco: indigo yields the planter three or four cuttings a year. In a word, whatever is rich and rare in the most desirable climates in Europe seems to be the spontaneous production of the neighbourhood of this city, and of the country in general. Oranges thrive to the highest perfection, and mulberry, locust, sassafras, hickory, dog-wood, &c. are the most abundant natives of the soil. Grape-vines run up almost every tree, and yield a red wine of a very tolerable quality. The game of the savannahs and woods is not yet destroyed, and the Mississippi and the neighbouring lakes furnish, in great plenty, several sorts of fish, particularly perch, pike, cat, buffalo, sturgeon, and eels.

Accounts similar to this, perhaps higher coloured and still true, lead thousands into this country in search of a paradise, and they find a grave. The climate is horrid. On an average nine strangers die out of ten, shortly after their arrival in the city, and those who survive are of shattered constitution and debilitated frame.

The entire country is not subject to malignant disease. It is generated by the lakes, swamps, and marshes, contiguous to the sea, and gradually diffuses itself up the river, till checked by high lands and a higher latitude. It merely glances over the habitations of the settlers, whom it slightly attacks, and tarries only in Orleans and the Natchez, where an overflowing population, and the various circumstances incident to cities, which favour disease, render it powerful and contagious.

The present partial population and wealth of the country is to be attributed to the flattering accounts disseminated by interested individuals, of its climate, riches, and general productions. The first intention of settling New Madrid, that vile, wretched spot, which I described to you in a

former letter, was announced to the public in these terms, by colonel Morgan, a Kentuckeyan adventurer :

In a country abounding with the richest productions of nature, and enjoying the most wholesome climate known to the world, a *city* is about to be established, under the immediate sanction and patronage of the king of Spain ; who, to encourage settlers purchasing town-lots, will grant lands in any quantity, and of the most superior kind, at the rate of sixpence per acre.

In honour to his majesty, the city is to be named New Madrid, after the capital of his European possessions, and is to extend four miles south and two miles west from the Mississippi ; so as to cross a beautiful, living, deep lake, of the purest spring water, one hundred yards wide and several miles in length, emptying itself by a constant and rapid narrow stream through the centre of the city ; the banks of the lake, called St. Annis, high and delightful ; the water deep, clear, and sweet, and well stored with fish. On each side of this unparalleled lake streets are to be laid out, one hundred feet wide ; a road to be continued round it of the same breadth ; and the streets are directed to be preserved for ever, for the health and pleasure of the citizens. A street one hundred and twenty feet wide is to be laid out on the banks of the Mississippi, and the trees now ornamenting it are to be preserved for the same purpose. Twelve acres, in a central part of the city, are to be reserved in like manner, and embellished and regulated by the magistracy for public walks ; forty half-acre lots for other public purposes ; and one lot of twelve acres for the king's use.

As the vicinity of this city is rich beyond description, and abounding with every advantage required by man to render his life luxuriant and comfortable, there can be no doubt but that it will possess a wealthy population, especially as colonel Morgan, the proprietor under the king, is liberal in making free grants to mechanics, and intends disposing of the whole of the forty thousand city lots at a rate that will be but equal to ten dollars per acre.



## LETTER XLII.

*The Religion and Commerce of New Orleans.**New Orleans, November, 1806.*

MY last conveyed to you general ideas of the city, and of the climate of Lower Louisiana. I confine myself now to the religion and commerce of this place.

The religion is Roman catholic: that is, the religion of the French and Spanish is catholic; as for the Americans they have none. They disregard the Sabbath entirely; or, if they go to the catholic church, there not being any other, they go as to a *spectacle*, where fine women are to be seen, and where fine music is to be heard!

The catholic church, as well as the town house, the jail, and the palace of the priests, were all built by the once celebrated merchant, don André, on condition that he should be made a noble of Spain. He lived to expend two millions of dollars on these and other public works, but died before the ambitious honours were lavished on him; and his wife has the mortification still to be called madame André.

The church is a very large structure, built of brick, and plastered and painted in front, to give it the appearance of marble.

The altar is magnificent for the western world, and is adorned with paintings and sculpture of considerable taste. —Queen Esther fainting away in the presence of Abasuerus is fine; for though she is lost to sense and in a swoon, her majesty and beauty still remain. She is dressed in her royal robes, and as she sinks, she leans to the right side, and is supported by one of the ladies who attend her; they are six in number, elegantly dressed, and handsome. There is another lady and a youth, who do their utmost to keep the queen from falling. Her neck is bare, and her arms hang motionless; and her body is as weak and helpless as if the soul had left it: the retiring of the blood, the falling of the muscles, and the natural and graceful manner in which she dies away, are expressed with the greatest skill and propriety. The king seems surprised, and rises from his throne

with his sceptre in his hand, as giving his assistance. The persons that attend upon the king, both by their actions and countenances, appear to be under the same concern. Haman, who is the cause of this distress, stands in the presence chamber, wearing a gold collar, behind the throne, and appears to be affected, and to share in the calamity. There stands a spirited figure of an officer, in rich armour, with one of the ensigns of war in his hand; his attention seems to be taken up with what passes. At a distance are other soldiers that belong to the guard. There is a youth also near the throne, dressed in scarlet, with a white shock dog in his arms, which has a very good effect.

In the sacristy there are several relics; among which is a thorn of our Saviour's crown, tinged with his blood; a cloth of Santa Veroneca, enriched with his image, and a cross of Indian workmanship, said to have been found on the bank of the riviere Noir, on the very spot where the famous Ferdinand de Loto ended his discoveries and his life, and where his remains now lie buried. The priest who exhibited the altar and the relics, appeared much displeased with the little belief afforded them by the Americans, and informed me that orders had arrived from the bishops of Cuba and Mexico, to forward all the pictures and relics from the churches of Louisiana to New Spain, where the honours of belief and admiration in anxious solicitude await them.

Besides the church, there is another place of religious worship—A convent, for the instruction and accommodation of fifty nuns. They have a very neat chapel, where mass is celebrated twice every day, during which the nuns join in the melody of the service from a situation separated from the audience by close iron bars. I could just distinguish that they were dressed in black robes, with the same coloured veil flowing from their head to the feet. They are not allowed to take in novices; as on the death of the present nuns, the American government purpose seizing on their possessions and lands, which are very considerable both in the city and neighbourhood.

It is now time to touch on the subject of commerce.

Notwithstanding the periodical visitations which devastate the city, still I have every reason to believe that it will rival every other in America, in wealth, power, and prosperity. This belief is not founded on vague surmises, but on the following view of its situation and relative circumstances with other countries.

1. By the canal of the Carondelet, the Lake Pontchar-

train, and the Mobile, it receives the rich productions of the two Floridas and the Tennessee state.

2. All the wealth of the western parts of Pennsylvania; of the back parts of the entire of the Kentucky and the Ohio states, and the Indiana territory, are conveyed to it by means of the Ohio and her tributaries, which flow into the Mississippi, as before described.

3. A proportion of the trade of the lakes finds its way to it by the Illinois river, and bateaux navigating below St. Anthony's Falls.

4. The furs and produce of the north west descend to it by the Messauri, and reach the city after a course of two thousand five hundred miles.

5. The property of the west has various avenues to approach it, viz. the White, the Red, and the Black rivers, the St. Francis, the Atakasses, and the bayeaux of the Fourche and others.

6. It receives various rich productions from New Mexico, through means of Indian communication, and navigable streams falling into the gulph.

From the Floridas it receives skins, logwood, dying stuff, and silver dollars; from Tennessee, and the back part of Georgia, cotton, tobacco, and other produce.

From the upper parts of the Ohio it receives provisions, timber, boats, flour, wheat, Indian corn, tobacco, and potash; and from the lower parts, that is Kentucky and the Indiana territory, live and dead stock, timber, flour, Indian corn, iron, and pottery-ware; sassafras, ginseng, and various medicinal plants, roots and herbs; also oil of snakes, animals, and vegetables, hemp, flax, sail-cloth, cordage, twist, twine, paper, spirits manufactured in the country. Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, also send down their boats, sadlery, and artificers' tools made in the country.

From the lakes and the Illinois, it receives furs, dying stuffs, earths, and minerals.

From the Messauri it receives lead and furs.

From the west it receives furs, cattle, horses, and hogs.

From New Mexico it receives silver and gold for goods clandestinely introduced.

And from the Mississippi territory, and the banks of the river, where cultivated to an extent of three hundred miles up and down, it receives cotton, indigo, and sugar, and timber in bulk, and plank in great abundance.

From this it appears that the city is the *dépôt* of all the

various wealth and productions of countries extending from it from two to three thousand miles in many directions, and as such wealth and productions must stop at the city, which contracts the navigation of the river, it is not unreasonable to assert, as I have done, that the city must flourish in spite of the diseases by which it is periodically ravaged. Beside becoming the necessary *depôt* of such extravagant wealth, it has strong advantages from its own situation; it stands on the very bank of the most perfect course of fresh-water navigation in the world; it is but one hundred miles from the sea, within a few days sail of Mexico, of the French, Spanish, and British islands in the West Indies, and lies open to, and trades with Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Hamburgh, United Provinces, Great Britain, Austria, Netherlands and Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Morocco, and several parts of Africa; China, and various Asiatic countries, and the north west coast of North, and the east coast of South America.

There are upwards of four hundred ships of all nations now in the river, moored three deep along the *Levée*.

The trade of New Orleans has undergone an entire change since the soil of Louisiana became the property of the states. Before that period, it was conducted, exclusively, by individuals purchasing the rights of monopoly from the king of Spain, or of his viceroys and governors. They, of course, made immense fortunes, as the instance of don André, who was enabled to expend 2,000,000 dollars in public works, and to leave his widow the enormous fortune of 100,000 dollars a year. At that period, therefore, wealth circulated in a very partial manner, and unbounded riches and penury and distress must have marked the general feature; but at present, when toleration and competition prevail, things have taken a widely different turn, and that wealth which before preserved one certain stream, now overflows, and diffuses itself to all around. For one merchant that acted for himself (I say for himself, because in the time of the ancient regimen, the few exclusive merchants sold licenses to others to pursue the same trade, and thereby increased the number of merchants) six years ago, there are now fifty! Though this toleration in the American commercial system is much to be approved of, still, that peculiar vice of mad speculation, which is manifest in all their dealings, in the case of this city already betrays an evil consequence; for, if formerly there were too many poor in Orleans, there will very shortly be too few rich. The fountain of wealth now

empties itself through such numberless channels, that the supply must be trifling to all, and flow with much less velocity than when it rushed through but one or two mouths. The influx of American speculators was so great in the first instance, that the character of commerce instantaneously changed, and violence and competition, which in America means contention, reigned triumphantly abroad. This forced kind of proceeding, this ardent competition, gave an artificial value to things, and an immense profit was required on imported and exported goods: it lasted two years: commerce has now sunk to its natural level, and in consequence of the rivals in trade multiplying in a proportion beyond the capacity of the trade, every article is reduced considerably in value. British goods may be bought as cheap as in London, and the produce of the country, at least some part of it, is reduced two hundred per cent. Flour, which but one year ago sold for twelve dollars a barrel, has fallen to four, and every other article in its due proportion. As this level and diffusion of commerce can afford no more than an honest and reasonable profit, the Americans begin to be dissatisfied, and many of them have already become bankrupts, and returned to their own particular state. The great body who now remain, are commission merchants; to whom the settlers of the upper and adjacent countries consign their produce. Their demand is four and a half per cent. They make also charges for storage, wharfage, and labour, which give them a clear advantage in all of about ten per cent.; and in too many instances, they keep the property altogether to themselves, and depart, or remain, and stand the issue of a suit at law, which must ultimately prove in their favour, the American judicature being so lax that it encourages, instead of punishing and preventing its offence.

The trade of the city is conducted for the most part by four classes of men. Virginians and Kentuckeyans reign over the brokerage and commission business; the Scotch and Irish absorb all the respectable commerce of exportation and importation; the French keep magazines and stores; and the Spaniards do all the small retail of grocers' shops, cabants, and lowest order of drinking houses. People of colour and free negroes, also keep inferior shops, and sell goods and fruits.

There is no exchange, nor any other general place of mercantile resort. After sun-set, the inhabitants promenade on the *Levéé*. The place is very favourable for the purpose,

the shipping extending along the bank, and the captains and others employed within sight. Ships have race-boards to the bank, which gives them an access so easy, that they are often visited from the shore; and it is no uncommon thing to see the sprightly dance on the deck, or the bottle circulate under the awning, while the whole town promenade the Levée, or repose under the orange-trees which decorate it in partial spots.

The shipping at present extends the entire length of the Levée, and for the most part are moored three abreast. It is composed of all nations. The merchandize for the Mississippi is exactly similar to that of the West-India trade—the race of people being nearly the same, and the climate not essentially differing.

The prices are as high as in any of the English markets. Fruit and vegetables alone are cheaper.

There are no good taverns. The custom among strangers is to live in boarding-houses, which charge from ten to fifteen dollars per week, for board and lodging, and an inferior kind of French claret for drink. Persons of good taste, and who respect their health, find their own wine. The table is excellent, being covered with fish, soup, fowls, roasted, boiled, and stewed meats, with vegetables. The dinner-hour is three. Coffee is served soon after dinner, after which it is customary to enjoy a *siesto*.

The instant the luminary sets, animation begins to rise, the public walks are crowded; the billiard rooms resound, music strikes up, and life and activity resume their joyous career.

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## LETTER XLIII.

### *Farther Particulars of New Orleans—Its Amusements and Inhabitants.*

*New Orleans, November, 1806.*

AS the amusements of the ladies and gentlemen of this city are generally distinct, I must give you a sketch of each under separate heads.

The Americans, since their arrival here, have been so occupied by politics and legislation, that their minds have ne-

ver been sufficiently unbent to form a course of pleasures for themselves; therefore the indulgence of the table, cards and billiards are the principal fountain of the enjoyments of the men. It is not so with the French gentlemen; their pleasures are for ever varied, and of a nature to be participated by the most delicate of the female sex. This casts over them a considerable degree of refinement, and the concert, dance, promenade, and *petit souper*, are conducted with as much attention as at Paris or Rome. At times, the limits of the French entertainments extend from a partial circle, and pervade the whole town.

Besides the French and American amusements of the men, I can still trace some old Spanish recreations. On returning to my lodging late at night, I have more than once heard the guitar under the windows of a sleeping beauty, or the harp delicately touched under a corridor, over which some charming girl attentively reclined. Songs too are often heard in the silence of the night. They sometimes assume the form of a duet, and are repeated by the lover and the confidential friend who accompanies him as a guard.

It could be wished that the Spanish character were only to be discerned by their empassioned songs and innocent amours: unfortunately it often breaks out in sanguinary stabs of the stiletto, and frequent assassinations. Several Americans who have interrupted their midnight serenades, have already fallen. The remainder go armed, and have also learned to correct their conduct towards the Spaniards, whom they now find they cannot trample upon with impunity or scorn. The first class of Spaniards, who could not submit to any other government or religion than their own, have retired into Mexico: those who remain are esteemed degraded by their countrymen, and are called Catalons, by way of contempt.

The women, who in point of manners and character have a very marked superiority over the men, are divided into two ranks—the white and the brown. They have two separate ball-rooms in the city. At the white ball-room no lady of colour is admitted.

Those called the whites are principally brunettes, with deep black eyes, dark hair, and good teeth. Their persons are eminently lovely, and their movements indescribably graceful, far superior to any thing I ever witnessed in Europe. It would seem that a hot climate “calls to life each latent grace.” With you the movements are rigid and the muscles unrelaxed; whereas, here the action is unre-

strained, the muscles elastic, and the frame as supple as if destitute of bone. With you the form alone is fine and beautiful : but here the various charms of grace and symmetry are heightened by the most enchanting expressions of joy and elegance of motion. In the dance these fascinating endowments are peculiarly displayed.

The dress of the white ladies is very plain and simple. The robe white, fastened under the breast with a diamond pin, and the hair in the form of a coronet, connected by small bands of precious stones and pearls. The principal amusement of the young women of this class is to ride out after sun-set in small cabriolets, which they drive themselves, with great ease and dexterity, a negro boy or girl, elegantly dressed, standing behind. In these excursions they are never attended by gentlemen, the loss of reputation being dreaded here beyond the loss of every thing else. Their public amusements are balls and concerts, which are generally well attended ; their private consist of music-parties at home and conversations around the door.

The ladies have much more reserve than French women ; they are even distant in their manners ; and it is not till they take a *fantasie* for a gentleman, that they rise into friendship, and descend into familiarity with him ; after that period they kindle into love without much difficulty, and give that passion more dignity and embellishment than you conceive it susceptible of in Europe. A Spanish Americaine in love soars above her former excellence, and becomes a new object in the creation : so sensible is her lover to her attractions, that he too changes his nature, and forgetting that the idol of his soul is human, looks up to her as a divinity, and offers at her shrine a suite of the most profound adorations. Custom has made the church the theatre for the creation, discovery, and progress of first loves. He who would gain the inestimable heart of a Spanish girl, must attend her through a series of fervid devotions ; gaze on her in reverential silence, or, at the most, in tender languishment, express, " thy image steals between my God and me." If, in the course of an affair of the heart, conducted under the sanctuary and evidence of the church, the lover were to be guilty of any one act of meanness and depravity, or sully his reputation in any possible way, his mistress would tear him from her heart.

The women of colour stand next to the white in society. They are very beautiful, of a light copper colour, and tall and elegant persons. Their dress is widely different in gene-



ral from that of the white ladies; their petticoats are ornamented at the bottom with gold lace or fringe richly tasselled; their slippers are composed of gold embroidery, and their stockings interwoven with the same metal, in so fanciful a manner, as to display the shape of the leg to the best advantage. A kind of jacket made of velvet, fitted tight to the shape, and laced or buttoned in front, with long points hanging down quite round the petticoat, and trimmed at the end with pearl tassels, is also worn; and on the shoulders of the jacket is fastened a cloak made of gauze, or some such light material, which hangs as a loose train to the ground, or is occasionally fastened to the side by a clasp of jewels. Their most general head-dress is either a handkerchief of gold gauze braided in with diamonds, or else chains of gold and pearls twisted in and out through a profusion of fine black hair, which produces a pleasing effect. The bosom is covered with solitaires, composed of every different kind of jewels. Notwithstanding the beauty and wealth of these women, they are not admitted, as I before remarked, to the white assemblies. They have therefore a ball-room of their own, which is well attended, and where as beautiful persons and as graceful dancing is witnessed, as in any other assemblies of the sort whatever. A distinction subsists between ladies of colour of a very singular sort; those who are but one remove from the African cast, are subordinate to those who are from two to three, or more, and are interdicted, by custom, from intermarrying with the whites; but they are allowed, by the same authority, to become mistresses of the whites, without being dishonoured in the eyes of society: that is, they are esteemed honourable and virtuous while faithful to one man; but if, in their amours, they at any time become indiscriminate, they lose the advantage of ranking among the virtuous, and are classed in the city books among prostitutes and slaves. This, or a native disposition to continence, has such a dominion over them, that the instances of their infidelity are very rare, though they are extremely numerous, and are mistresses to the married and unmarried, and nearly to all the strangers who resort to the town. For, though infidelity is punished among them, they are no sooner disengaged from one attachment than they are at liberty to form another. The introduction of strangers to them is attended with some ceremony, and must always be through the means of the mother, or female adopted to supply her place. The inhabitants of the town never break down their regulations, or

treat them abruptly, and strangers are instructed by their acquaintance how to proceed. The *Levée* at sun-set is the principal market for all this traffic de cœur. There all the beauties assemble; and there all those who need the kind companion joyfully repair: all walk up and down for a considerable time, or sit under orange-trees occasionally, with the objects of their separate choice. Such an expression of reserve, morals, and decency, reigns over the women of every sort; that a stranger passes and repasses, before he can assume sufficiently to tell the one he admires the most *qu'elle est belle comme une ange*, and so forth. To an Englishman, this timid, bashful, silent demeanour, opposes difficulties which require his utmost resolution to surmount, and he walks the *Levée* many a pensive evening before the sense of virtue is sufficiently consumed by the new passion of his breast, to permit him to speak, or to offer terms to a parent, from which his soul shrinks, from the conviction of their being base and dishonourable. Some mothers now, on becoming acquainted with the English timidity, begin to alter their line of conduct, and suffer their daughters to remove their veil *en passant un Anglois*, or flirt their fan, or drop a handkerchief, which they receive with such gracious accents of gratitude, that a conversation may easily succeed.

The mothers always regulate the terms and make the bargain. The terms allowed the parents are generally fifty dollars a month; during which time the lover has the exclusive right to the house, where fruit, coffee, and refreshments may at any time be had, or where he may entirely live with the utmost safety and tranquillity. Many do live in this manner, notwithstanding which, I have never heard a complaint against these interesting females. In proportion as they advance in age they enter into service, &c. and are respected as much as when in their virgin state.

Negresses and female Mestizes next follow; the first are principally employed as servants, of which every family has a considerable number; the second perform all kinds of laborious work, such as washing, and retailing fruit through the city in the hottest weather; and being considered as a cast too degraded to enter into the marriage state, they follow a legal kind of prostitution, without deeming it any disparagement to their virtue or to their honour.

Though the places of amusement are separate in the city for the distinctions in society, still there is an assembly held every Sunday evening at the Bayou, about two miles out of town, where all the beauty of the country concentrates,

without any regard to birth, wealth, or colour. The place of entertainment is called Tivoli. The room is spacious and circular; well painted and adorned, and surrounded by orange trees and aromatic shrubs, which diffuse through it a delightful odour. I went to Tivoli, and danced in a very brilliant assembly of ladies. The Spanish women excel in the waltz, and the French in cotillions.

Thus, my dear friend, have I run over every subject of interest which this place can afford: you may, perhaps, remark, that I have of late been silent on the subject of curiosities.—This country is destitute of them; or, at least, possesses none of any distinction, or, only such as are inferior to what I have already described. Reptiles are very common. Large lizards are about every yard; and snakes come into the houses from the river side. It is not a little strange, but alligators do not come near the town. Though extremely numerous above and below, they avoid the *Lévée*, and pass always on the opposite shore. The country swarms with grasshoppers; they are very large, not less than three inches long; the body jet black, the head red.—The French call them "*chevaux du Diable*."

There are so many descriptions of the natural productions of the Floridas, which are exactly similar to those of the Lower Louisiana, that it would be idle of me to go into their history, and therefore, I conclude correspondence for the present, as I am about to embark for England,

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# VOYAGES

TO

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SICILY, MALTA,  
ASIA MINOR, EGYPT,  
&c. &c.

FROM

1796 TO 1801:

WITH

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH,

AND

OCCASIONAL REFLECTIONS.



BY FRANCIS COLLINS,

LATE LIEUTENANT OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP DOLPHIN.



*LONDON:*

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,

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1809.



## ADVERTISEMENT.



THE Countries visited by the Author of the following sheets, have always been considered with veneration and delight by every admirer of genius and nobleness of mind. Nay, such is the interest which they excite, that notwithstanding the scores of volumes that have been devoted to their description, *every* modern account of Italy, Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor, will be perused with avidity, from the idea that it will disclose some hidden treasure, some celebrated performance, which has been hitherto lost in the lapse of ages, or which all former Travelers have overlooked.

We will not venture to promise, that any such important communication will be made in the present production, which is the result of those hasty sketches beyond which a Naval Officer has seldom an opportunity of extending his literary inclinations; but it will be soon perceived (to use the words of a Friend of the Author, who has perused his Manuscript), “that he is a man who has written not merely to entertain, but to instruct his readers in the best of things.”



# VOYAGES,

§c. &c.

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## CHAP. I.

*Departure from England—Arrival at Gibraltar—Brief Description of this extraordinary Rock, and its Inhabitants—Storm.*

**W**ITH a favourable wind, ship well manned and stored, and an agreeable commander, we set sail from Plymouth in the latter end of November, 1796. The expectation of exploring distant lands alleviated that sympathetic regret, ever attendant on a separation from near and dear connections, and one's native country. While imagination was busy in picturing to itself those interesting and delightful scenes we were expecting to realize, Divine Providence, in the course of a few days, wafted us safely across the Bay of Biscay, and, at the end of a fortnight, to our first destination, Gibraltar.

The morning of our discovery of the Straights, which takes its name from this stupendous rock, was as serene and delightful, and ushered in as fine a day as smiles on the thick ears of corn in our beloved country at Midsummer. The noble Bay of Cadiz, the African shore, the double and triple ridges of mountains on one side, the more level and cultivated shores of Spain on the other, of this wonderful inlet from the ocean, and, towering above all the other mountains, or perfectly distinct from them, the Abyla, and others, present their huge summits, and stand durable monuments of nature's grandeur. With such magnificent and interesting views before and around us, did we pass from the Atlantic Ocean, through this funnel, or Straights, to Gibraltar.

This wonderful rock is situated about the lat. of 36 deg. in the south part of Spain and of Europe, on a remarkable peninsula, and when considered, both as to its external and internal appearance, is one of the most extraordinary in Europe. But as this place has been well described by other

and more able pens, and as this is but the beginning of various eventful voyages, several of which will require much elucidation, I would be cautious of intruding on the time and patience of the candid reader, by repetitions which are uninteresting, and would here premise, once for all, that my aim is rather to give a brief sketch of the countries and places I have occasion to treat of, than an elaborate disquisition.

The town of Gibraltar is situate at the north part of the rock: it consists principally of one street, about half a mile in length. The governor's house and chapel are the most conspicuous buildings, together with a Roman Catholic church. The inhabitants are numerous, consisting of a greater variety of nations, perhaps, than is to be found in any other town of the same population—here dwell together English, Spaniards, Portuguese, Jews, Italians, Moors, Genoese, &c. &c. and in one respect, at least, that of amassing wealth, they generally appear in concert.

The air is friendly to the constitution, and the soil, where there is any depth, very fertile, producing, with little cultivation, excellent fruits, vegetables, and herbage. The inhabitants are in general well supplied with live cattle, poultry, and fruit, from the opposite coast of Barbary, and from the Spaniards; but in time of war these supplies are much contracted, and sometimes stopped. At those seasons Gibraltar represents a ship on a long voyage, whose crew are obliged to live on salt provisions, though with respect to vegetables, the stationary company have a decided superiority over their brethren on the ocean.

Having a few days to remain in the bay, I availed myself of it to view the structure and position of this rock, and its interior construction. The east part, facing the Mediterranean Sea, is almost perpendicular, appearing as a mountain divided by some dreadful convulsion. This part is inaccessible. The north side is likewise a lofty precipice; its summit appears to project over its base, adjoining which is an extensive level or sand, which connects Gibraltar with the interior of Spain. The whole of this part of the rock is surprisingly fortified, having port-holes excavated, whereby heavy pieces of cannon are mounted within the solid rock, covered similar to those in a ship. At or near the termination of one of these rows of ordnance, is a spacious hall, where a party of thirty or forty may dine without inconvenience. These batteries command the whole of the neutral ground, or that part which connects Gibraltar with the

Spanish main land. The west side, on which is the town and other buildings, and the principal cultivation being in several parts well laid out in gardens, &c. is by far the most delightful part of Gibraltar. Without the town, to the north, is the old harbour or port, which is the best anchorage: adjoining this mole commence those fortifications, the principal of which was rendered so effectual in repulsing and destroying the floating batteries during the last siege. From the south port to the new mole is a pleasant road; behind this mole and the arsenal are spacious barracks and hospital, which make a handsome appearance: from hence to the southernmost part, called Europa Point, are various other buildings, with several gardens. The top of this interesting rock is divided into three hills, and is very barren: upon these hills are erected watch and signal towers. When the day is clear, the spectator is presented with one of the grandest views imagination can well conceive. The mountain of Abyla, capped with snow, the pleasing verdure on its base; a large extent of the African coast, with prodigious ridges of mountains; the handsome appearance of Ceuta, and adjacent country, the Straits, with the shipping; the fine Bay of Gibraltar, the towns of Algeziras, and the beautiful spot of the orange-grove; St. Roche, on a pleasing eminence, and the vast mountains behind it; the town and public buildings of Gibraltar, with the graceful verdure around, interspersed with trees, and pleasant and safe walks contrasted with the precipices and ruggedness on which the spectator stands, which, in many places, is undermined by subterraneous caverns and avenues, and by a turn of the body, the vast prospect to the eastward, with a delightful country, highly ornamented with cottages and vineyards, and an extensive view of the Mediterranean Sea—these, and many other objects included in the view, present the astonished spectator with something of the magnificence, sublimity, and beauty of nature; and the heart tuned to gratitude will exclaim with the psalmist, “Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man, that thou visitest him!”

The caverns alluded to above, are remarkably curious and interesting, especially that of St. Michael's, a short description of which must suffice at present. This singular and extraordinary phenomenon is situated in the western side of Gibraltar rock. The entrance is small, being about the size of a common arched door-way: this contraction heightens the effect of the interior; for on leaving the threshold, the



visitor is surrounded with petrefactions, portraying such variegated scenery, and forming to the mind such a wonderful assemblage of statues, labyrinths, animals, and buildings, which, connected with the solemn gloom, stillness, murmurings, and droppings of the petrifying waters, and the impending roof, with the avenues in various directions—arrest every lighter power of the mind, and force the most thoughtless to consider.

I shall conclude this account of Gibraltar, with a sketch of a dreadful storm which happened while we were there. It began with light winds, attended with thick and gloomy vapours, which entirely eclipsed those interesting scenes we had hitherto been admiring, suddenly followed by rain, which admitted but of few intervals for the space of a week : it often poured down upon us in torrents ; and the winds so increased, that in the intervals between the torrents of rain, the storm raged in all its majestic fury. The whole fleets in the bay were suddenly in motion, and the sound of alarm and distress were reiterated in every direction. The active mariner, with his usual courage and agility, mounted the tackling, and laboured manfully to ease the towering masts ; every power of the body and mind were called forth into exertion, to provide and prepare against the fearful storm. But alas ! what are the puny efforts of mortals, even of the wisest and best, without the blessing of Divine Providence to render those exertions effectual, and preserve the weather-beaten mariner in the midst, and bring him through all the dangers of the otherwise irresistible elements ; for several of the ships being forced to sea, were precipitated into still greater danger than those at anchor ; and during this first dreadful night, one of the finest ships in his majesty's navy was literally dashed to pieces on the tremendous rocks of the opposite shore of Africa, and near four hundred valuable seamen perished. The remainder that were forced out of the bay, were all preserved, and returned to harbour soon after. Many and dreadful were the dangers that several in the bay were exposed to : our case was amongst the most alarming. A sudden gust of wind, which came down the rock with incredible violence, parted our cables, and hurried us to the opposite shore, under the batteries of the enemy. Providentially, here the last anchor brought her up, and secured us from driving on shore. The night was dark, the storm continued, and reduced us to the perilous situation of impending destruction by shipwreck or captivity ; but O ! for gratitude truly to praise that Almighty Sovereign, who

“maketh the clouds his chariot, and rideth upon the wings of the wind.” When day-light began to appear, and while all human efforts were entirely useless, the gusts ceased for a short time, and then blowing immediately after from the opposite point, in the short space of an hour brought us into complete security.

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## CHAP. II.

*Departure from Gibraltar—Visit Lagos—Arrival at Lisbon—Description of Lisbon, and its Vicinity—Air—Soil—Fruits—Population—Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants—Government—Gardens.*

THE storm was succeeded by weather remarkably fine, and after a stay of ten days at Gibraltar, we proceeded for the coast of Portugal; and before my return to the Mediterranean, opportunities were afforded of sailing its whole extent, and of visiting its principal ports. Our first anchorage was in the Bay of Lagos, near Cape St. Vincent—a place more remarkable for the monuments of superstition, than for that industry and agriculture which denote a people prosperous and happy. A supply of fresh water being wanted, but a dangerous bar preventing the ship from approaching the harbour, the author was deputed with a message to the governor, requesting a supply of water and vegetables. He was received by this gentleman with that politeness and hospitality ever accompanying true generosity, and arrangements were immediately made for those necessary supplies.

Having completed our stock of water, and added thereto a variety of fine fruit, we proceeded for Cape St. Vincent and the western coast. On this cape is built one of the most remarkable monasteries in the kingdom, and, the author was informed, one of the most richly endowed; but the most distressing accounts were given of the poverty and misery of many others, both convents and monasteries, several of which, it appears, can scarcely procure the necessaries of life. The females are very severely tried in these respects, the endowments having, by various means, been greatly reduced, and in some instances annihilated. The women, immured in these spacious prisons, are necessitated to obtain a scanty subsistence by any exertions in their power, and often are glad to execute the most ingenious baubles and

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needle-work, for the scanty pittance of two-pence or three-pence per day. A susceptible mind cannot but commiserate their situation, which in many instances is involuntary confinement, and that they are thereby often involved in great misery. Surely the females of Britain, especially, are loudly called on to acknowledge, with gratitude to Divine Providence, the blessings they enjoy in our highly favoured land.

After a few weeks of pleasant weather we arrived at Lisbon, the capital of the kingdom of Portugal, which has one of the finest rivers, and most secure and spacious harbours in the world. On passing the bar (which is dangerous) it is difficult to conceive a finer prospect than opens, and continues to open, all the way to the upper anchorage, which is before the city; the river is navigable, and bounded by beautiful landscapes for many miles above Lisbon.

Lisbon itself, when viewed from the river, appears beautiful and magnificent, rising gradually from the banks of the river Tagus; it covers several hills, and when seen in connection with the queen's gardens, rope-walk, and all that beautiful country in the vicinity of Belem, must excite sentiments of admiration in every intelligent spectator; but these sentiments are materially lessened on a nearer inspection, for this place is far from having that regularity in its buildings, that cleanliness in its inhabitants, or that order and industry throughout, which its distant appearance seemed to promise; and an Englishman will often perceive a striking contrast to that industry and happiness which blesses his native shore.

Our departures from, and returns to this place were frequent, though we usually remained several weeks at a time. I shall, therefore, to avoid tediousness and unnecessary repetitions, throw the whole of the observations I intend to make on Lisbon and the country into one general description.

The air of this celebrated country is well known for its salutary influence on convalescents. It is indeed friendly to the healthful and the infirm, and it is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the invigorating breezes prevalent here, which are so remarkably medicinal in consumptive and other debilitating diseases; and which prevent Lisbon from being depopulated by the ravages of epidemical distempers.

The soil of Portugal is in general not so fertile as Spain, though the country around Lisbon, St. Ubes, Oporto, &c. may vie with its most fertile parts. Partly owing to the sterility of the soil, and partly want of a true stimulus to industry, in the encouragement of agricultural pursuits,

Portugal is often very deficient in the substantial article of bread-corn: this scarcity is in some measure provided against by public granaries.

Their fruits are excellent, abundant, and various; and their vineyards are equal to any in the world: in this respect their industry is worthy of commendation, and of imitation, by those countries whose climate and soil are congenial to the vine. The wine produced by those delicious grapes, when genuine, and taken in moderation, is justly deemed a medicine in many complaints.

The whole length of Lisbon, including its suburbs, is about two miles and a half; the breadth in and near the city about a mile; the other parts not so much. Except a few handsome streets in the city and its vicinity, it is irregularly, and in many parts, to appearance, insecurely built. The abrupt precipices, caused by the tremendous earthquakes which have often convulsed this city and its neighbourhood, in many parts form the foundation of spacious houses; the view from those windows next the chasms, strike a stranger with terror, but custom induces the inhabitants to view it, too often with thoughtless indifference.

The inhabitants are numerous, but at present, and indeed for many years past, have lost that enterprising spirit in commerce, discovery, and navigation, which so remarkably distinguished their ancestors, and rendered them so conspicuous in the annals of nations about three or four hundred years ago. Luxury, pride, and indolence, those insupportable banes, excited by an influx of wealth from the new world, soon produced that degeneracy of character which too much mark the Portuguese at the present day:—from hence has frequently originated the decline and fall of flourishing and powerful states. When man loses sight of what he is, and how he stands connected with his fellow-men—when selfishness, pride, and ignorance, subjugate, and even extirpate those social affections, which endear man to man, so that if self is exalted and flattered, he cares not who falls; the inevitable consequence must be, a death-blow to all the tender ties of life, and unless timely prevented, must terminate in general ruin.

The multiplicity of images of the Virgin, and of departed saints, meet the eye in every part of the city; and the devotion paid them is strange and astonishing; wax tapers accompanying many of the superior sort, and are kept constantly burning; and crosses are plentifully placed in the most conspicuous situations; processions abound too, more

calculated to captivate the senses than impress the heart. The unsuspecting stranger is frequently accosted by priests as well as beggars, imploring charity in the name of the Holy Virgin; and many of those mendicants, as if to add force to their solicitations, will enumerate a long list of their favourite saints. Why is this mendicity grown into a system? Because true religion and industry is wanting.

The Roman Catholic is the only religion all over Portugal, and its inhabitants are generally deeply immured in its superstitions; though, blessed be God, the darkness is not so thick as formerly. The horrid tribunal of the Inquisition has lost much of its power.

The Portuguese in general seem to possess a large share of ostentation, affecting all that imaginary greatness and supercilious disdain so congenial to proud nature: deceit and revenge, in their various and dreadful forms, still stalk too often with impunity, yet it is pleasing to observe and reflect, that these evils also are very much decreased of late years, and openness and sincerity of conduct prevail more and more.

The charge of vanity is mostly applicable to the higher and middling ranks; for among the peasantry and fishermen, the author has with pleasure observed, that honesty, candour, and simplicity, which always command regard; though with respect to many of the lower order, as to ceremony, it is common to see as much ridiculous or unmeaning bowing and scraping, as is practised between fops in general.

The government is vested in the Prince Regent, who may be considered an arbitrary prince, though, to his honour, it appears, he has not exerted his power in that unjust manner which several of his predecessors have done: may we not hope that he will still further see, that the true happiness of prince and people are inseparable and reciprocal, and the only true system of government.

The most airy and pleasant parts of Lisbon are in the direction of Buenos Ayres, which is situated on an eminence rather behind the city, and remarkable for several handsome buildings in its vicinity. The aqueduct is one of those works which combine utility and elegance. By means of this majestic structure, Lisbon is supplied with water; it is of considerable length, crossing a beautiful vale; and by the side of the water is a commodious foot-path, from whence are views of beautiful landscapes; and from the termination of the bridge, which is on rising ground, are prospects still

more interesting and extensive. In the valley beneath is a fine view of its stately arches, the construction of which is admirable.

In the vicinity of this part of Lisbon are several magnificent churches and chapels, and we will select for a short description, that called the Queen's Church. This splendid building, which has been but recently erected, exhibits some master-pieces of sculpture, architecture, and painting. The front is elegant, supported with pillars of the Corinthian and other orders. Round the top are figures intended, I suppose, for the apostles, most of which are in striking positions. The interior is superbly decorated; the altars are adorned with images and candlesticks, several of them made principally of gold and silver. The paintings are strikingly grand. The great altar, or place of worship, is apparently, in several parts, overlaid with gold, of exquisite workmanship; and other places with silver, richly embellished, all which being brilliantly illuminated by a number of large wax-tapers, at a first entrance especially, dazzles the eyes and confuses the mind. From hence towards the queen's gardens, and museums near Belem, are several handsome buildings, beautiful gardens, monasteries, convents, and landscapes, situated on the shore of this majestic river. I shall confine my description to the queen's gardens and museums.

These gardens are situated in a beautiful level, are delightfully laid out, and form a desirable retreat during the intense heat of summer, and the shaded walks are open to the respectable public.

In various parts of the gardens are rare and beautiful animals, and several extensive aviaries, containing a great number and variety of birds, whose beautiful plumage is more remarkable than the harmony of their notes. Fountains and cascades play their pleasing waters into ponds, stocked with numbers of the finny race, whose sparkling bodies vie with the beauties of the feathered tribe. These fountains, cascades, animals, aviaries, &c. are laid out and interwoven with the pleasant walks, so as each to heighten the effects of the other; and as the best effects are excited by those works of art which most nearly imitate nature, the contemplative mind will here find many objects to elevate his thoughts to the God of nature—the source of all perfection.

At the termination of several walks are placed some interesting statues; among which is the Roman daughter, nou-

rishing with her milk her almost famished parent; the story\* is so full of interest, that it tends to excite admiration, and afford entertainment to every reader.

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### CHAP. III.

*Museums of Natural Curiosities and Capital Paintings—Egyptian Mummy—Sketch of the History of the Tremendous Earthquake—Unusual Serenity of the Morning—Awful Sound which announced the sudden Visitation—Consternation of the Inhabitants, Forty Thousand of whom perished in the dreadful Convulsions—Reflections—Second Earthquake—Festivals—Lisbon again very populous—Indifference and Dissipation of its Inhabitants—Old Lisbon—Royal Gardens—Numerous and Prolific Vineyards—Manners of the Villagers.*

ADJOINING the gardens is the museum containing a large and choice collection of natural curiosities; also an exhibition of valuable paintings, extensive and well arranged, all well worthy the attention of the curious. The paintings arrested my attention immediately, for the first that was presented to notice was an extraordinary representation of Constantine the Great and his army, arrested by a supernatural appearance in the clouds: if the author may presume to give his opinion, from the effect it had upon his mind, it is one of the most striking in this vast collection.

The artist has so clearly and forcibly portrayed this part of Roman history on the canvass, that the spectator may, in some measure, instantly conceive the effect this solemn phenomenon must have had on the minds of the emperor and his associates, if it be true, which many doubt. The interesting appearance in the heavens, the whole army struck with surprise, and held in anxious suspense, the light striking on the helmets, and horses' hoods, the horses affrighted and prancing, with their flowing manes, and the riders in consternation, and all big with expectation of the event, give the spectator a good idea of that wonderful relation.

The museum of natural curiosities is very interesting, but

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\* History of Rome.

would require more time and abilities than the author possessed to do justice to the inspection.

Near Lisbon is another choice collection of natural curiosities, in the possession of a private gentleman, in which is an Egyptian mummy, in a high state of preservation, although it is supposed to have been embalmed near 5000 years ago. It lies in a case made in the form of an human body, with apertures: the author was allowed to introduce his finger, and withdrew it without the least offensive smell.

The awfully tremendous earthquake which happened here in November, 1755, appears to have, in a measure, turned Lisbon upside down. The vestiges of this dreadful catastrophe present to the eye of the beholder ruins of the first magnitude, which, when considered in connexion with the number of inhabitants which perished in this convulsion of Nature, must solemnize the powers, and arrest the attention of every reflecting mind.

The morning of the 1st of November, ushered in this dreadful day; it made its first appearance with remarkable and unusual serenity and calmness. About ten o'clock the awful visitation began, with a rumbling noise, resembling distant thunder; and at the same time the earth received a shock: in a moment the city and its vicinity exhibited a scene of consternation and terror; the astonished and affrighted inhabitants running here and there for safety, without the shadow of a retreat, from the devouring element; while some were rivetted to the spot among the gaping and closing chasms, others were swallowed up; many of the wretched survivors, in distraction and despair, were petrified with terror, and before recollection returned to endeavour a retreat, the earth opened and closed them in.

The large quay, to which numbers had resorted, and fled for refuge, was but an illusive hope of very short duration, for here the sea also combined with the convulsions of the earth, and by encroaching in a rapid manner on its ancient boundaries, overwhelmed the whole of these survivors, who perished in the vortex. Where this quay then stood, the resort and retreat of busy multitudes, is now water, enough for ships to anchor. Forty thousand persons are computed to have perished in this dreadful calamity.

What a fund for reflection is here, when it is considered even with common attention: here we contemplate forty thousand of our fellow mortals quickly enveloped in one common calamity, without a moment for cool reflection, hurried to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns;" here we behold all that the delusive world is prone to call



good and great ; magnificence, opulence, talents, &c. all that pride could suggest, with all that power, abilities, and affluence could demand ; luxury and pleasure with all its votaries of vanity ; and dissipation suddenly and indiscriminately buried in one common ruin, all consigned to this great repository, till the archangels' trump shall sound " Arise ye dead, and come to judgment."

This earthquake was followed in the ensuing month by another, which swallowed up, and overturned precipices, tottering walls, and buildings, which had escaped the general destruction ; and even as recently as the year 1791, a shock was felt, but providentially without doing any material damage, or the loss of lives.

The city is again filled with inhabitants, and again exhibits, in general, vanity and dissipation, luxury and folly ; and though abrupt and projecting precipices, disparted earth, and unconnected buildings, the vestiges of those dreadful convulsions, meet the eye in every direction, and, as it were, utter a silent and powerful warning, that such events may suddenly take place again : yet such is the prevalent dissipation of thought, among the generality of its inhabitants, that their practical language is, " to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant," clearly demonstrating, that unless the judgments and mercies of God lead men to repentance, they, through the depravity of human nature, tend to increase in difference. " Oh ! that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end."—Deut. xxxii. 29.

Opposite to the present city, on the southern bank of the Tagus, is a village, commonly called Old Lisbon, between which and Belem Castle, are several beautiful spots, with many warehouses : near Old Lisbon are another range of the royal gardens, more extensive than those already described, to which we had free access. In the vicinity of these gardens, and the village, are some of the finest vineyards I ever beheld ; some of them abound with the muscated grape, whose juice has a peculiar richness and flavour. In walking through these vineyards, near the time of vintage, you are surrounded with clusters of grapes, and many of them hanging so low, that the appetite may be satisfied without putting forth a hand to pluck them. We experienced the civility and hospitality of these villagers in a greater degree than from our more refined and polite friends on the opposite shore, and their kindness to our sick, at the hospital in particular, demands a tribute of respect and gratitude.

## CHAP. IV.

*Leave Lisbon—Proceed to Oporto—Description of Oporto and its Vicinity—Shipwrecked on the Coast—Sufferings and providential Preservation of the Crew—Return to Lisbon.*

WE now proceeded off Oporto, to apprize our commerce of the depredations of privateers, in doing which we explored the whole coast, from the rock of Lisbon to Vigo. Oporto is, next to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, in extent, trade, and number of inhabitants. It is situated on the banks of the Douro. The entrance of the river is frequently extremely difficult, on account of a dangerous bar, and rocky bottom; on this account shipping have frequently to wait a considerable time for a favourable opportunity. On this bar we were once in extreme danger, but unexpectedly and suddenly rescued from impending death, by that gracious Being, who “holds the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand.”

After passing this dangerous navigation, a delightful prospect opens to view, which, having just escaped danger, and being placed in security, heightened the beauty of the landscape, and ought to have raised the mind above these beauties of nature to nature’s God, accompanied with language like this, “What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits.”

This river is on a smaller scale than the one we had just left, but its contraction in this respect increased the effects of the sweet perfumes from the oranges, lemons, and other fine fruits, on the organs of smell; on either side, the boughs were bending low with their precious burthens. This scene continues for near a mile, and then there opens to view the well-built Town of Oporto and its environs, with a further prospect of the Douro, and its banks.

Oporto carries on considerable trade with the Brazils, and the river is in general well filled with ships from thence, and others of all nations; so that in proportion to its extent, it may equal, if not exceed, Lisbon for trade. The merchants of the factory, &c. appear to possess much of that liberality and generosity frequently attendant on lawful enterprise.

The wine and fruit of Oporto ensure it a considerable trade; their vineyards are in general highly cultivated, and

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misery and poverty appeared much less predominant here than at Lisbon. Near the city is a fine quay, close under the walls of the town, where, except in and immediately after the rainy seasons, ships lie conveniently and securely; one of these seasons the author witnessed. The heavy rains at the source of the river and in its vicinity, of which rains we experience but little at Oporto, was perceived suddenly to increase, and every person connected or interested with the shipping, was assiduous in providing against the approaching deluge; but, notwithstanding that many cables were extended for this purpose, several vessels broke adrift, or loose from their fastenings, and were hurried on shore. It was distressing to see the floating bodies of several mariners carried along by the irresistible torrent, without being able to stretch out to them the helping hand. Providentially its violence did not continue long, and we were soon rejoiced to hear that several ships whom we had given over for lost, were safe. The inhabitants near the quay, at those seasons, sometimes pass from house to house by means of small flat-bottomed boats.

Several of the churches here are stately and splendid buildings, and the country round Oporto is very pleasant; fish is abundant, and all the necessities of life may be had at a reasonable rate. The inhabitants are comparatively industrious, and the higher ranks appear less supercilious and vain than in the metropolis. Their wines are excellent and cheap, yet they are not addicted to intoxication; indeed temperance is a prominent quality in the generality of the Portuguese: a few grapes, with other fruit, bread, and a moderate quantity of small wine, which was sold at sixpence or eightpence the gallon, afforded a good dinner to a whole family; sometimes they have in addition a little fish, but very rarely animal food, and when obtained, a less quantity than would serve a native of Britain will amply suffice, with vegetables and fruit, a family of four or six persons: in this respect they are worthy of imitation by many of our countrymen, who make it their study to pamper their appetites.

The author was witness to several of their superstitious processions, during one of which he was brought into the dilemma of either making his own obedi-  
 ence to the Host, or of having his hat taken off for him, which was suddenly and rather roughly done, and he felt thankful when the whole had passed him without farther molestation. At another, the levity of the spectators was not less remarkable than the solemnity of those who composed the procession. The

principal streets of the city were cleaned and sanded. The fronts of the houses hung with tapestry, &c. The windows and balconies were filled principally with females, whose head-dresses seemed to exhibit the plumage of the ostrich, peacock, and tropic-bird. The writer remarked many of the ladies, at the same time, emulous to outvie each other, and solicitous to pay respect to the spectacle.

Their chief exports are wine and fruit; and both in a peculiar degree of excellence and abundance, are the produce of Oporto and the neighbouring country. The wine called Port, takes its name from hence, and a person who is in the habit of drinking it genuine, can immediately detect the gross impositions practised in most countries on the credulous stranger; who too often, under the name of Port, real Port, genuine Port, &c. swallows a variety of those malignant ingredients, which often produce diseases, especially of the nervous kind.

The air, as at Lisbon, is salubrious. The soil at Oporto, and for several leagues on the coast, is perhaps the most fertile in the kingdom. The view of the river and its vicinity, on the coast, present one of the finest prospects; and though but a few degrees nearer the equator than Britain, the language of the poet on another country, still farther south, may be adopted with propriety to this one.

" Here sea-born gales their gelid wings expand,  
 " To winnow fragrance round the smiling land;  
 " Whatever sweets salute the northern sky  
 " With vernal leaves, that blossom but to die;  
 " These here disporting, own their kindred soil,  
 " Nor ask luxuriance from the planter's toil."

GOLDSMITH.

Our departures and visits to this coast were frequent, and during the several months of our visiting it, we had the satisfaction of enjoying much fine weather, of rendering assistance to commerce, and were gratified with pleasing views; but before our final departure, had to experience shipwreck.

The night on which it happened was dark, the swell high, and all but the watch were gone to repose, and, confident of security, most of them in a sound sleep. At ten o'clock a violent concussion was felt—all were soon awake, and the cry, "the ship has struck!" was instantly felt by every heart. The lead was thrown overboard, and it was soon discovered that our situation was still more perilous than we at first imagined, by finding the ship had grounded on a bank at a

distance from land. While the pumps were clear, and the tide rising, hopes were entertained of its bearing her over the sand into deep water. The masts and yards were brought as low as possible, to ease the violence of her beating; but alas! soon the doleful tidings were secretly communicated, that the ship had sprung a leak; and presently after, that the pumps were choaked. It was now perceived that the violence of the concussions had stove in her bottom. The sea gained rapidly, and notwithstanding every effort to throw out the water, in the course of an hour it caused the furniture to float in the captain's cabin. Nothing now of hope presented itself as to saving the ship, and the best means of leaving her claimed instant decision. Rafts were immediately procured, and kept ready to leave, when the ship was sinking. In providing these rafts, the writer of this account was severely wounded, and so far from being able to assist others in effecting their escape, he was obliged to be carried and supported by those whose professions prevented their more active exertions.

Our situation at length became so critical, that many were for taking to the rafts and boats, and casting themselves on the mercy of Providence, exposed to the dangers of a tempestuous element, on an unknown coast, in a dark night.

But Oh! for grace to mark the hand of a wonder working God! when the water had arisen in the ship to such an height that we were just on the eve of quitting her, an extraordinary swell buoyed her over the bank, and almost at the same moment a favourable wind sprung up, which, together with the swell, urged it, like a log in the water, in a state completely unmanageable, to the main land, where we were fixed, and prevented from sinking altogether in the midst of an awful surf. Mercy still followed us, and the ship was soon thrown with one side deep in the sand, and the other rose considerably above the surface of the sea. As attempting to land in the boats was impracticable, on account of the breakers, or violence of the waves beating over the ship, and with the foam of which we were surrounded, and often covered, we sat on that part of the ship's side next the stern, till day-light appeared, when, through a thick mist, we descried a few large boats on the beach: this revived us again, and as day farther advanced, and cleared away the mist, several men collected on the beach, and appeared to view our distressing situation with more astonishment than sympathy; for none of our signs were effectual

to induce them to make an attempt to relieve us. At length one of our seamen, with that generosity and resolution peculiar to many of them, offered to run the immediate risk of his own life, to save ours; the offer was accepted with gratitude. He threw himself into the surf, and the foaming billows were commissioned to bear him safe ashore.

After many expectations and promises, even of a hat full of money, if the spectators of our distress would launch down their boats, and attempt our release, they at length consented; but what language can describe the joy of every individual on board our ship, when their endeavours were blessed with success beyond our most sanguine expectations. My feelings above all, were excited by this safe method of conveyance, for had any great exertion on my part been necessary, I should, probably, have perished in the attempt; for having lost much blood, during so many hours of perilous anxiety, I was conveyed to the shore in a state of debility and danger, which confined me to my bed near a fortnight, and from which it took me upwards of two months to recover. On my landing I was surprised to see my chest had been washed out of the ship, and thrown safely on the beach. Our place of retreat was an extensive sand, far from any town of note. The few fishermen's houses on the beach were gladly taken possession of, and the captain, officers, and crew, formed their divisions by means of a few sails saved from the wreck.

An early opportunity was taken to convey intelligence of our situation to our friends at Lisbon, and a favourable answer soon returned.

The three weeks of our remaining in this inhospitable place were occupied in saving provisions and stores from the wreck; at length the joyful news of our being ordered to Lisbon, was received, and vessels arrived to convey us thither. Thus did a gracious God preserve our whole crew, and my own peculiar preservation and recovery, was astonishing indeed!

We took our leave of this place with little regret, and in a few days again entered the capital, where an abundant supply of fresh provisions, vegetables, fruit, and wine, were provided us. A striking contrast in every respect to our late distresses and privations. A ship being then at Lisbon, bound for Cadiz, we were ordered on board her, to proceed to that station; and with a gentle breeze and fine weather, early in June, we left the Tagus for that purpose.

## CHAP. V.

*Arrival off Cadiz—Sketch of its Ancient and Modern History—View of the City and its Vicinity—Decrease in its Population—Causes thereof—Pleasant intercourse—Abundant Supplies—Departure for Lisbon—Arrival at Gibraltar.*

A FEW days brought us safely into the bay of Cadiz, and amidst a British fleet, when I was removed to a temporary abode, on board the admiral's ship. During my stay, though at war with Spain, the communication with Cadiz was pleasingly open, especially during the period when negotiations for a general peace were on foot; at which my heart beat high in expectation, and desire of its accomplishment.

Cadiz is a place of great antiquity, its commodious harbour and situation for commerce, attracted the notice and attention of those early, and indefatigable navigators known by the name of Phœnicians, who founded a colony here. It was afterwards incorporated with the empire of Rome; till the decline and fall of that colossus; when those dreadful wars between the Saracens and native Spaniards, in a measure terminated in the subjugation of the latter. The Saracens held it, till with other parts of Spain, it was reconquered by the natives; and the intruders were expelled the country. It has ever since been a place of note, especially as to commercial affairs; indeed its spacious and secure harbour, and proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, and Mediterranean sea, may always be said to secure it a degree of notice.

Its trade is considerable in time of peace. The author visited it the latter end of the year 1789, at which period its spacious harbour was well filled with shipping of almost every nation.—A pleasing sight! Since that time its commerce has been rapidly on the decrease, together with the power and prosperity of the whole of this kingdom. Indeed, long before that period, Spain appears to have passed its zenith. Various causes may be assigned for this revolution. The first, and principal cause, appears to be, its extensive and unjust conquests in America, which drew vast numbers from old Spain, a large proportion of which have found untimely deaths. The indolence and pride of its inhabitants may be

also considered another cause of its decline. The vast influx of wealth from the gold and silver mines, and riches torn from the native inhabitants, have been the bane, instead of the real wealth of Spain. Indeed when the conquest, subjugation, and extermination of the innocent inhabitants of many parts of Peru, Mexico, &c. are considered, it must appear a just retribution, that so many of their tyrannical and cruel conquerors, and of their later persecutors and oppressors, have been so untimely cut off. The inundations and earthquakes which have happened in those devoted countries, call loudly on the nations, to consider the equity of Divine Providence, in punishing nations in this world : Mexico was so dreadfully inundated, that forty thousand persons perished at one time : Lima, &c. are often convulsed by earthquakes, and about the middle of the last century, 3000 perished in the Port Town only, which is small, compared with the whole of Lima, which suffered by it ; and several other parts are proofs of the fact.

Other causes may be assigned for the decrease in the population, and consequently in the prosperity of Spain, such as the Popish Inquisition ; the expulsion of the Moors and Jews ; the celibacy of the clergy, and the numerous convents, where so many female inhabitants are (not frequently) involuntarily immured in the splendid captivity of specious superstition ; though, blessed be God, several of these cease to predominate as they did formerly.

The inhabitants of Cadiz have been calculated at upwards of one hundred thousand, which is, at present, far above the real number : probably sixty thousand is now their utmost extent. The Roman Catholic, as may be easily concluded from what is said above, is the prevailing and almost only religion of Spain. They are still enveloped with the night of ignorance and superstition ; but they have lately made advances to loosen some of its fetters. As a proof of this, I with pleasure adduce the fact of the decrease of the power of that cruel, and terrible court, the Inquisition. May the Lord, in mercy, soon exterminate it from the face of the earth ! It appears that no ecclesiastic can now carry any sentence into execution without the royal authority, which has lately been exerted to curb the haughty spirits of ignorant and licentious priests, and to encourage agriculture, and other arts, intimately connected with the prosperity of nations.

The Spaniards, in general, are swarthy ; but often of a pleasing aspect, and there is an expression of dignity, even



about the lower orders, which is rarely discovered in other countries; this dignity, or conscious integrity, when real, raises them above many of those mean and base actions, which too often degrade the populace, as well as the higher ranks of society; but when this appearance is assumed to flatter pride, or to cover a base action, it degrades mankind below the brute.

The government of Spain is in a great degree arbitrary; it has not the happiness to experience the blessings of those mutual checks with which Great Britain is blessed, which conduce so much to the happiness of king and subjects.

The treasures of America are, if possible, regularly imported every year to Cadiz and other ports, in vessels well known by the name of galleons, or register ships; but as the Spanish manufacturers (owing greatly to the causes above assigned) have not ability to purchase them, other commercial nations have, in reality, the chief advantage; the power of justice may here be said to take place in a remarkable manner, in making their treasure circuitously to fall into other hands; all their attempts effectually to prevent this traffic have been hitherto unsuccessful. This indolence, and negligence of the Spaniards, has hitherto made it advantageous for other enterprising nations, that such immense treasures should rather belong to Spain than to them. But to the honour of many of the Spanish merchants be it spoken, that in consequence of their strict integrity, and justice, advantages have been seldom taken, in confiscating the property of merchants belonging to belligerent powers with whom Spain has been involved in war.

The city of Cadiz is built on an island connected with the continent by a bridge; it is well walled in, and has a good quay; near it I once fell overboard, and was preserved from injury, though exposed to imminent danger. The town has a handsome appearance from the harbour and bay. The inhabitants often experience the inconveniences of being obliged to obtain supplies of water from the opposite shore, where is a town of considerable note and extent, called St. Mary's.

The view from the bay, in fine weather, is of the first description. From the vicinity of Seville, on one side, to the Streights of Gibraltar, on the other, is an extent of many leagues. The principal part between, are Rota, villages, the harbour, shipping, and city of Cadiz; the vast mountain behind the harbour, and the table land from Cadiz towards the Streights, which, with numerous shipping at

anchor, and others sailing in all directions, form prospects pleasingly contrasted, and sweetly harmonizing.

During my stay of three months, we were plentifully supplied with fresh beef, from Barbary; fruit and vegetables from Portugal; and fish from Spain.

Near the conclusion of 1797, anxious to get to England, I joined the *Dolphin* at Lisbon; but contrary to my wish, in the ensuing spring, we again entered the Mediterranean, and previous to our farther destination, again anchored in Gibraltar Bay—took a farther view of this wonderful rock—was much struck with the many wonders of St. Michael's cave, which had escaped my former observation. New scenery, statues, buildings, and animals rose to imagination; and the solemn gloom and awful stillness which pervade every part, except where the droppings interrupt, and add to the effect of the whole, call even the thoughtless to reflection.

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## CHAP. VI.

*Leave Gibraltar—Arrive at Minorca—Observations on the Coast between—Capitulation of Minorca—Description of the Island—Leave Minorca—Arrive at Sardinia—Return to Minorca—Departure for Italy.*

HAVING completed stores and provisions, we joined, in October, an expedition whose destination was supposed to be for the island of Minorca. In about a week we passed Cape Pallos, and close in with the land about Alicant, which is situated at the bottom of several mountains, of which there are several immense ridges, rising above each other, in this neighbourhood; and also about Cape Pallos, and on towards Carthage. These mountains near the coast serve to repel the violence of the sea winds, which sometimes prevail here. Alicant is a place of considerable extent and trade; its exports are wine, fruit, and several manufactures; and it imports various articles of foreign manufacture, with considerable quantities of fish from the northern fisheries. The wind continuing favourable and brisk, we quickly passed the islands of Formentaria and Ivica, which are not of much interest, the former having little valuable produce, and the latter being but thinly inhabited, and neither of them possessed of a good harbour.

On the 7th of November we arrived off Minorca, and soon after the whole fleet anchored at Port Daya, and landed

four thousand men for the reduction of the island, which was happily effected on the 19th, without the loss of a man. After the capitulation, the fleet proceeded to Fornela, and Mahon; the garrison was immediately embarked, and conducted to Spain, and the inhabitants of the island became subject to Britain.

Minorca, as is well known, is a small island of about one hundred miles in circumference, possessing one of the best harbours in the world; the entrance is rather difficult, but when within, you are safe from all winds and weathers. Fort Palli, which endured a memorable siege under general Blackeney, is in ruins, and another has been raised on the spot, named Fort George, in honour of his majesty. On the opposite side of the entrance, is a handsome lazaretto, or quarantine warehouses. Near Fort George, is George Town, a place well laid out, but indifferently built. Almost opposite, on an island (destitute of fresh water), is the hospital, which is an extensive and commodious building, and about a mile from hence is the neat town of Mahon, whose inhabitants are remarkable for industry and cleanliness.

Barrenness and sterility of soil, prevail on the higher parts of this island; but the vallies, in general, are complete gardens. Fruit arrives at great perfection, owing to the intense heat of the sun during summer, and vegetables spring up as from a hot-bed; and on many of these, otherway barren parts, the sweetest herbs are produced; from which, those winged artists, the bees, extract that substance which gives the Minorquin honey its superior richness and flavour. It will not, when there is a good crop, produce corn sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants; but this deficiency is seldom severely felt, owing in a great measure to the active disposition of the Mahonese, &c. in commerce. Winters are frequently severe, and when the keen easterly winds predominate, agues greatly prevail.

Port Fornela is the next harbour of note to Mahon, but not much frequented, as the former is the mart for commerce. The village is pleasantly situated, and the inhabitants exhibit much of that contentment which arises from industry.

Cittadela, situated at the north end of the island, is an ancient place, whose inhabitants appear more attached to old customs, than those of the other parts, which may be accounted for from their more insulated situation, and having no good harbour for the encouragement of commerce;

they do not possess that spirit of enterprise, or those habits of industry, which distinguish the Mahonese.

The Roman Catholic is the established religion all over the island; but the inhabitants, especially the Mahonese, are not charged with being so bigotted and superstitious, as they are in many parts of the continent; hence the toleration granted to those of other sentiments.

Nearly under the walls of Mahon, is a good quay, and water for ships of burthen close to it. The town has several handsome churches, and contains about eight thousand inhabitants. Opposite is a noble arsenal on a commodious island. In short, this harbour will contain many fleets at a time, without inconvenience to each other.

After wintering at Mahon, in the spring of 1798, we set sail to the eastward for Sardinia; and after encountering a smart gale, in about a week arrived safely in the great bay of Cagliari, the capital, and anchored under the town. This island gives title of king to one of the House of Savoy, who, during the recent revolutions on the Continent, has enjoyed little more than a nominal sovereignty, except in this insulated part of his dominions. The appearance of the town and vicinity, from the anchorage, is handsome; it rises from the shore, where are good moles for shipping, well fortified, and stands on a commanding eminence; but on a nearer inspection, the interior does not altogether correspond with its first appearance, the streets being not so wide, nor so regular and clean as might be expected.

The inhabitants are not numerous, seem restricted in commerce, and appear to possess much of that indolence always visible in the absence of active industry; which arises, no doubt, in a great measure, for want of those encouragements with which countries more happily situated are blessed. The soil in general is unpromising, and in many parts mountainous and barren.

The air, in summer, is often hot and sultry; during winter, frequently cold and damp, which, near the fenny and marshy parts, occasion agues to prevail.

There are several good harbours in this island; besides Cagliari at the south-east\*, are Palma and St. Peters at the

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\* Between the south-east end of Sardinia, and the small round island of *Martimo*, off the western end of the island of Sicily, and Cape Bon, near Tunis, lie those dangerous sunken rocks called *Esqueres*, or *Sculkers*, which should be carefully avoided by all that are sailing in this direction. I make this remark, and give this caution to my nautical readers, the more because a vessel may be very near them, even in a pretty clear evening, without perceiving their bearings.

north-west, Oristan, &c. All the coasts abound with fish, and coral is said to be found here.

A few leagues to the south of Sardinia is a small island, named Galleten: it is at present but of small importance, but offers a friendly port, secure from violent northerly winds. Before our return to Minorca we experienced in its vicinity a tempest, which being accompanied with squalls, prevented our carrying that press of sail we should otherwise have done; we were in consequence driven considerably to the southward of Galleten, and with anxious concern perceived our ship fast veering towards the rocky shores near Algiers, and thereby, under apprehensions of soon falling on its inhospitable coast, exposed to all

“The impervious horrors of a leeward shore.”

But while the considerate mind was forming plans to prepare for the worst, that almighty and beneficent Being, who, “maketh the clouds his chariot, and rideth upon the wings of the wind,” stayed the violence of the tempest, so that we were enabled to increase sail, and thereby soon lost sight of those fearful dangers, and reached our desired haven in safety.

What an awful scene is a storm, especially when beating the almost unmanageable ship towards the impending rocks. The otherwise thoughtless mariner, at length roused to consider views, with dreadful forebodings in a dark night, the brightening foam and yawning gulf, or the latent rocks far from shore: he sees every judicious effort rendered ineffectual, every plan of security baffled by the fury of the irresistible storm—art has done its all, the conflicting elements, roused into fury, seem to contend for their prey.

But when, to apprehension all is over, and she is about to take her last plunge, and before she is convulsed, by striking on the rocks, and the cry of “Lord have mercy on me,” is at length extorted, an unexpected lift of the wave lifts her from the sunken rocks, or a cessation or change of wind bears her clear of the leeward shore.

The astonished mariner views the wonderful deliverance with pleasing surprise. The sails are again enlarged, and she cuts the rocking swell, and ploughs the sea with alacrity. The thought still continues, but with fainter impressions of gratitude. The sea now gets smooth, and the extra sails court the favourable breeze, and the ship in safety is borne auspiciously along.

But where is the performance of those vows made in the hour of extremity?—where is that reformation then promised?—where is the fulfilment of those resolutions, to turn from evil, and learn good? Alas! my friends, to seamen I now speak, are not those impressions, in general, as transient as the morning cloud and early dew, which soon vanishes away, like the recent furrows of the keel, which are almost immediately lost to view; you know this is the fact; experience proves, that the resolutions of the generality of seamen in a storm, are too often in proportion to danger. When the storm is perceived, for an interval, to cease, but still hangs over the ship in dreadful form, good resolutions seem to hold their weight in the mind, but as the danger continues to abate, those resolutions become fainter, and when, at length, the Almighty Preserver has made the storm to cease, and brought them into the haven where they would be, what is their conduct? then you know, my friends, it is general, in direct contradiction of the vows made when you were expecting, every moment, to drop into an awful eternity. (Eternity! what an inconceivably awful thought is eternity! a state of everlasting happiness or misery!) You know it is in direct opposition to that all merciful God, who hath saved your lives from so many deaths; for instead of thanksgiving to your gracious Benefactor, and prayers for grace to repent, and flee to Christ for salvation, in which true happiness alone consists, you are vainly and madly attempting to find satisfaction where it never, in the nature of things, can or will be found; for the end of these sinful pleasures is death. May this friendly admonition, which is accompanied with a fervent wish for your present and everlasting happiness, be received, and the important subjects briefly mentioned, be sincerely and earnestly attended to, by seamen as well as landmen. Above all, may the Lord, in mercy, set the convictions of their truth home upon your heart, and then you will know what salvation is, experience joy unspeakable, and be full of glory.

Sardinia has a prominent feature in history. Its antiquity is great, being first colonized by the Phœnicians. The Greeks, also, soon after visited it, and established colonies also; these penetrating people raised it into considerable importance, and by them it was named Icanusa.

The Carthaginians succeeded the Phœnicians, and Greeks, in whose possession it continued many years. It was made of consequence enough to afford a principal pretence for one of the Punic wars; the last of which reduced Carthage,

the once overgrown and unwieldy Carthage, to a Roman province.

At length the Saracens, whose kingdom was founded by Mahomet, and who were made scourges to a great part of the civilized world, reduced this island to their subjection. From them it passed over to the dominion of the Genoese, and others; and from them to the house of Spain. After several other revolutions, it was conferred on the duke of Savoy, in lieu of the island of Sicily, in whose family it still remains.

The roman catholic is the predominant religion. May civil and religious liberty soon visit this dejected island: that their hearts may be revived, their countenances brightened; industry, with all its happiness follow, and make their country smile again.

Having, in some degree, failed as to the object of our voyage, we revisited Minorca; and having completed our provisions and stores, soon proceeded to visit the fertile and interesting coasts and islands of Italy.

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## CHAP. VII.

*Pass the Gulf of Lyons—Description of the beautiful Coast of Provence and Italy—Perfumes wafted from the Shore—Views of St. Pierre and Margaret—Liffins—Villa Farnes—The Var—Monaco—Oneglia—Productions—Further Views and Descriptions—Description of Savona—Sketch of its History—Approach to the Gulf of Genoa—Rise and Decline—Inhabitants—Manufactures—Commerce.*

WE passed the gulf of Lyons with a fine breeze, and shortly made the high land of Toulon, and the Hieres islands. At the conclusion of a charming day, we entered on the coasts adjoining it, and amidst the fragrance of a land breeze which enabled us to keep close in, we passed gently towards its shores. From our recent adieu to the gulf of Lyons, the change was so grateful, that more senses than one were engaged on the various beauties presented. The eye dwelt with delight on the extensive gardens and pleasant villages between Hieres and the Var. The smell was as if in a garden of perfumes; and the air

was highly gratified with gentle undulations of the air and sea, all

“ To the heart inspiring  
“ Vernal delight and joy.”

MILTON.

The next day, with a beautiful morning and fine breeze, we sailed pleasantly along by the islands of St. Honore and Margaret, which are situated in a fine inlet or bay, and present a pleasing appearance. Margaret is almost covered with trees and verdure, interspersed with several handsome buildings. The more barren and lofty parts of St. Honore, heighten the contrast, and form with the adjacent coast, a very interesting prospect.

Farther to the east, and nearer Italy, is Antibes, situated as in a garden; a sea-port town of considerable extent, with a castle and mole for shipping. The harbour is shallow, except near the mole. It is an ancient place, and has now a considerable trade.

About twelve miles from Antibes, and in the same beautiful bay, is the noted town of Villa Franca. It is built on a beautiful declivity, and the effect is much heightened by the ranges of mountains which lie at its back, and near it.

Near Villa Franca is the Var, a river celebrated in history, which separates Italy from France.

Near the Var, in a continuation of the same garden of a country, is the neat and pleasant town of Nice, which has for many years been governed by a senate; but is now, together with all this country, under the controul of France.

A few miles higher is the town of Monaco, easily known by a remarkable eminence near it, which resembles a plain on the top, and therefore called Table Land, by sailors; this also is situated on a beautiful declivity.

With pleasant breezes, and the same agreeable views, we continued to be borne by Oneglia, a handsome town, laying near or between two pleasant rivers, on to Cape Delle Melle, which terminates this part of the coast of Italy. It is almost needless to observe, that all this country produces abundance of fruit, wine, and oil.

We continued to explore the still more interesting parts of this beautiful coast. Passing Delle Melle, another commanding prospect burst on the sight, and we soon entered the delightful bay, the shore of which contains the neat and handsome villages of Lican, Final, Orto, and Noli.

From Cape Noli to Genoa is another fine bay, near the



bottom of which stands the ancient, large, and beautiful town of Savona, whose present degenerated state calls for commiseration. It long since sunk, in a great degree, in proportion to the rise of Genoa; but since the decline of that extraordinary city, it has sympathized much with its decay; and the sand injuring its harbour, has combined nearly to remove its commerce into other channels.

While treating of this coast and country, I feel myself impressed with the interesting history of its former inhabitants, a sketch of which I would present to the consideration of the attentive reader. These wonderful characters are known by the names of the Albigenses, or Valences, Valley-men, because they principally dwelt in the valleys of Piedmont. I say principally, for, like the diffusive religion they possessed, they reflected its sweet influences in many dark and superstitious countries; surrounded with persecution, they were enabled to hold up this divine light and life to their bitterest oppressors, and extend the healing beams of the Gospel over many, very many, of those habitations of violence and cruelty. Ever since the twelfth century, these Valley-men, who in the eighth century, or according to some historians, much earlier, had refused to participate in the daily increasing depravity of the Roman church, have been called Waldenses, from their union with the followers of P. Waldus, through whose means a great awakening took place in France. From them descended the ancient church of the United Brethren\*; and they appear the honoured instruments of connecting primitive christianity and the dawn of the glorious reformation by Luther and his associates.

In this neighbourhood are to be seen a part of those stupendous mountains called the Alps, the highest in Europe, many of whose majestic tops are whitened with perpetual snows; they divide Italy from France and Germany, forming a good natural barrier, but which mad ambition and the desire of conquest has often surmounted. Ancient history presents an uncommon instance in the case of the Carthaginian general, Hannibal, who, with great difficulty and danger, passed them, not without the loss of many of his bravest men, and the imminent peril of his whole army, who were perishing in these inhospitable mountains.

Modern history also informs us of crossing and recrossing these mountains, by invading and retreating armies, and

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\* Known also by the name of Moravians, whose labours among the heathens are known to all the churches.

states quickly overrun, and in several instances overturned, by those unwelcome obtruders.

Genoa, which is so much distinguished in ancient history, still exhibits remains of its former magnificence and opulence; its extent and population is even now considerable, and some of its palaces have a majestic appearance. It is situated in the bottom of a gulf of the same name, and rises gradually from the sea, in the form of an amphitheatre. The church of St. Lawrence is very conspicuous.

The harbour is formed within two handsome and useful moles, which repel the heavy swell from the gulf; on one of these moles is an elegant light-house, which considerably adds to the general beauty of the view, and altogether constitutes Genoa an interesting prospect.

Before the discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, Genoa had arisen to the zenith of its prosperity as a commercial nation. Its commerce and colonies were astonishing, considering its small extent of country at home. They were rivals of the Greeks, Venetians, and Turks, and for a considerable period engrossed the trade of the Indies in Europe. The produce of the East was brought into their ports, and from thence conveyed and distributed to other parts of the world; by which means they principally rose to such eminence in maritime power. Luxury and pride, the constant attendants upon great influxes of wealth, had however, begun secretly to undermine the prosperity of the country, when the passage to India being discovered, turned the trade of the East into new channels, which, combining with several other causes, gave a deadly shock to the power and commercial prosperity of Genoa, which, except a few short intervals, has continued to decline ever since, and from which depression it is not likely soon to recover.

The government of Genoa had long been aristocratical, and it was customary to elect the chief magistrate, called the Doge, every two years.

Since the revolution of France it has generally partaken of the same form of government: it remains to be shewn what good effects will arise from it, for bettering the condition of this country, and especially in ameliorating the circumstances of the lower order of its inhabitants.

The air and soil of Genoa partake much of the salubrity and abundance so conspicuous throughout all Italy, though it is not so fruitful as its neighbouring country Leghorn, which partly arises from its moun-

tainous situation, and partly from the want of good cultivation. In general seasons they have not a sufficient supply of corn, which deficiency is supplied by the public granaries.

Their chief manufactures, in some of which they excel, are silk, velvet, damask, &c. which they frequently export, together with large quantities of fruit, chiefly the produce of the country, and, with sufficient encouragement, its exports might be soon increased.

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### CHAP. VIII.

*Description of Leghorn—Liberality of its Government—  
Delightful Vicinity—Various and abundant Productions—  
Prevalent Religion—Reflection—Brief Account of  
its History—Illustrious Magistrates—Improvements in  
Criminal Code—Influence of France—Lucca and Pisa—  
Return to Minorea.*

SCARCELY had we bid adieu to Genoa, when we were gratified with a view of Leghorn, and all its pleasing vicinity and dependencies.

This interesting place rises majestically on the borders of the Tuscan Sea, and equals, if not surpasses, every other port in Italy, in navigation and commerce: the reasons are obvious. Here is a free port and toleration. The merchandize brought hither is passed over without that rigorous and vexatious inspection which proves a check to liberal trade. The inhabitants are computed at sixty thousand persons, consisting of various nations and denominations. The Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, have their several places of worship. The Jews are computed at upwards of ten thousand, of which there are numbers of the first respectability, who, although they labour under several disadvantages, from imposts, &c. are notwithstanding in a prosperous condition. Near the town is a capacious mole for shipping, and not far from it an elegant light-house.

The country adjacent to Leghorn is delightfully interspersed with several towns and villages, all which are enlivened by and partake of the general benefits of their common port. The air is salubrious, and the soil very fertile. It produces in abundance, corn, oil, delicious and sub-

stantial fruits and vegetables, which, with quantities of fine silk, and other valuable productions, form the principal articles of their trade.

The roman catholic is the prevalent religion; but is there not reason to hope, that the liberal spirit so conspicuous among the inhabitants of Leghorn and its neighbourhood, may, under Divine Providence, tend to bring in genuine Christianity, and that it may extend, in all directions, till superstitious Italy is evangelized?

The ancient history of Tuscany is closely connected with that of Rome, of whose empire it formed an integral part. We may date its modern history from the reign of Charlemagne, who possessed it at the close of the eighth century. After which it became subject to Germany, whose monarch appointed the viceroy, till a pope, famous for political as well as ecclesiastical intrigue, encouraged these governors to render themselves independent of their master, and accept of his protection against the emperor. Hence the beginning of two powerful factions, which about the middle of the twelfth century divided the whole empire, which was not confined to Italy alone, but extended its desolating ravages to Germany also.

Several states, tired of the contention, wisely withdrew from the distressing scene, and established a government consonant to their wishes.

At length John de Medicis, a popular and enterprising nobleman, gained so much on the affections of the Florentines, that they invested him with sovereign authority.

After him succeeded Cosmo de Medicis, justly named the father of his people. He was bred to a mercantile life, but soon exhibited such abilities, integrity, and benevolence, as proved him to be an able statesman and legislator; but envy soon shot her shafts at him, and being grieved at the ingratitude of his countrymen he removed to Venice, where he was received in an honourable manner. His countrymen soon cleared, and invited, yea, entreated him to return; he complied with their wishes, and presided over the commonwealth upwards of thirty years, and died universally lamented in 1464. Over his tomb was placed this inscription: —“ Father of his people and freer of his country.” An admirable lesson for princes and governors, to — “ Go and do likewise.”

Cosmo was succeeded by his grandson, Lorenzo, another illustrious character, treading in the steps of his great progenitor, who was likewise bred a merchant. His public ser-

vices so recommended him to his countrymen, that they made him chief of their republic : and he was so universally esteemed by the princes of Europe, that they often made him arbiter of their differences. What a blessing are such magistrates and princes, who are more solicitous to settle differences by arbitration, than to draw the dreadful sword, which too often widens the breach, and deepening the prejudice, exhibits that animosity so contrary to peace and happiness.

The government continued in this family until 1737, when the last, called Gaston, died without issue. It was then transferred to the duke of Lorrain, in lieu of that duchy.

In the year 1756 an excellent code of criminal laws was issued, which in a great measure abolishes capital punishments ; judging wisely, that the frequency of capital punishments, by weakening the effects on the criminals, counteracts the intention of preventing crimes, and therefore they substitute more visible and permanent sufferings. Torture is prohibited, confiscations declared unjust, as often involving the innocent with the guilty. Proportionate penalties are inflicted for slight offences, and a more equitable mode of trial established, particularly with regard to evidence.

In how many respects is this code worthy of imitation ? The good effects were soon felt in this country, by a spirit of subordination and cheerful obedience.

Various changes have recently taken place here : it is now much connected with the government of France, and is likely to be still more under its influence.

Lucca and Pisa, situated on a beautiful plain near Leghorn, are pleasing prospects. The former is well known as a republic, at which time it contained a population of upward of one hundred thousand people, in the circumference of one hundred miles. The town of Lucca, at present, is supposed to contain about twenty thousand inhabitants, is about three miles round, and presents a picture of industry ; they have considerable manufactories, and partake of the spirit of trade exhibited so largely at Leghorn.

Pisa, stands on the beautiful plain which bears its name, is a small town, and chiefly remarkable for its delightful situation and extraordinary tower.

The view of the papal dominions, bordering on Tuscany, naturally drew my attention to this extraordinary country and its government. It extends about two hundred miles on a beautiful coast and country, the soil of which is so fertile, that it produces, almost spontaneously, a sufficiency

of the necessities of life for the subsistence of its inhabitants, who are in general so slothful, owing principally to the little encouragement given to industry and agriculture, that their indolence is become proverbial.

The discouragement of agriculture and trade may be said to be interwoven with the constitution of the papal government.—Their arbitrary power, and monopoly of grain, in which selfishness is often so predominant; their pride and indolence which so generally prevail, infect the lower orders, who commonly prefer begging and imposing on strangers to honest industry and usefulness, in relative and social life. It has frequently been observed, that there is more toleration in Rome than perhaps in any country in Italy except Leghorn; in this respect it deserves a tribute of commendation.

Before the reformation, it is well known, the Pope reigned paramount over all the nations of Europe. He excommunicated and dethroned kings and princes at his pleasure. So abject has been the submission, that a king of England thought himself honoured, by being permitted to put the pontiff's foot into the stirrup when mounting his horse. Their spiritual bondage was such, that a bull from his holiness had more influence on their benighted minds than the commands of Almighty God. Blessed be God, who by his gospel has so wonderfully chased this thick darkness from so many nations. Our highly favoured land has been long distinguished in this respect—may its inhabitants show their gratitude, by the emphatical language of holy lives, and rejoice in the anticipation of the fulfilment of promises and prophecies:—that “the heathen shall be given to the Redeemer for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession.” And that his gospel shall continue to increase in the hearts of mankind, till “the knowledge of the glory of the Lord shall “cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea.”

“Jesus shall reign where'er the sun  
Does his successive journey run;  
“His kingdom stretch from shore to shore,  
“Till sun shall rise and set no more.”

WATTS.

During our voyage we beheld ruins of various majestic buildings of antiquity, several of them the wonted retreats of the Roman emperors, whose tottering vestiges loudly proclaim the transitory nature of human grandeur.

" Worn on the edge of days, the brass consumes,  
 " The busto moulders, and the deep cut marble,  
 " Unsteady to the steel, gives up its charge ;  
 " Ambition, half convicted of her folly,  
 " Hangs down her head, and reddens at the tale."

BLAIR.

" ——— The pilgrim oft,  
 " At dead of night, mid his oraison, hears  
 " Aghast the voice of time! disparting towers,  
 " Tumbling all precipitate down, dashed,  
 " Rattling around, loud thundering to the moon."

DYER.

Before our return we passed near the islands of Elba and Corsica. The former is about twelve miles in length, and rather narrow. It has an excellent harbour, named Porto Ferrajo, and produces fruit, fish, &c. and the town is of considerable note.

The latter is divided from Sardinia by a very narrow and dangerous channel, and is very mountainous. It is about eighty-five miles long, and in some parts fifty broad. The soil is rather barren, especially near the mountains ; but the air is much superior to that of its neighbouring island Sardinia. It produces considerable quantities of corn, oil, wine, and chesnuts ; the inhabitants are very temperate in their food, and patient in enduring hardships.

The Corsicans have formerly made great struggles for their liberties, especially during the government of the Genoese, who, in the plenitude of power, frequently oppressed the natives ; till at length, by repeated acts of injustice, they so kindled the indignation of the Corsicans, that a general revolt ensued.

They fixed their attention on their countryman Paoli, who had before given proofs of his integrity and abilities for their leader, who established the revolution, and under whose government justice and equity was administered. The spirit of the inhabitants being thus revived, agriculture and commerce soon followed, and the people experienced the protection and blessings of a mild government in an eminent degree.

Their former unwise governors were now ready to tremble at the very men whom they had recently treated so severely, and they thought it convenient to give up to France what they could no longer retain themselves, and which in reality they no longer possessed.

Notwithstanding this, confiding in their native courage

and strength, the Corsicans defended themselves against France itself upwards of a year; at length persuasion in a measure effected that which open force could not, and the generality of the natives surrendered themselves to its government; but many securing themselves in their fastnesses were not easily reduced; and several have, perhaps to this day, escaped the involuntary surrender of their liberty.

During the early part of the revolution in France, the people of this island appeared desirous of uniting with Great Britain; which union was effected in 1794. Soon after, from a variety of circumstances, it again became subject to France, under whose government it still is, and is likely to continue.

It gave birth to the present phenomenon of the day, Buonaparte, who, by the rapidity of his advances towards the summit of ambition, has astonished the nations.

It is but thin of inhabitants; they are robust and laborious, especially in traversing the mountains in quest of animals, of which there are many that are good for food. The Italian language prevails, especially on the coast, where are several excellent harbours, as Bastia, the capital; Ajaccio, and Calvi, all which are towns and places of note.

The time for our visit to these delightful countries being for the present nearly elapsed; towards autumn we steered our course for Minorca, which we reached without any thing very material happening during the passage, and began to prepare for a visit to other parts of Italy, &c.

## CHAP. IX.

*Departure—Arrival at Sicily—Description of its Extent—Ancient History—Wonderful Granary—Poly in Miniature—Air—Soil—Climate—Inhabitants—Critical Situation—Providential Escape—Extraordinary Islands of Volcano and Stromboli, eclipsed by Mount Etna—Situation—Extent—Fatal Eruptions—Reflections—Departure.*

HAVING remained a few weeks at Minorca, and completed our water and provisions, we set sail again to the eastward for the celebrated island of Sicily, which afforded an opportunity of seeing, as it were, Italy in miniature.

Sicily is the largest and most fertile of all the Italian islands



Its triangular position extends from  $36^{\circ} 30'$  to  $38^{\circ}$  degrees north latitude, and from  $12^{\circ} 07'$  to  $15^{\circ} 58'$  east longitude, in the neighbourhood of Malta, Calabria, and Naples. A full account of this interesting country would fill a volume. A brief account, according to our plan, only can be given here.

Without entering into the fables of the poets, we may date its original history from the Sciani; from whom it passed into the possession of the Trojans and Greeks, who jointly inhabited it.

But those who are properly called Sicilians, and who gave the name of Sicily to the island, came from the adjacent continent, inhabited it for several centuries, and at length gave way to the Greeks and others. The Phœnicians also spread themselves along the coast and in the islands adjacent, and formed small colonies for the benefit and convenience of their navigation and trade.

This island was the seat of many wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, until the overgrown power of the former prevailed, and Sicily became a Roman province.

It has always been celebrated for its extraordinary fertility and interesting situation, and the different nations who have successively possessed it, have invariably considered it as a granary.

The climate is inviting, and the soil so productive, that with little cultivation it produces all the necessities of life in abundance. It was, in a peculiar manner, the granary of ancient Rome and Carthage for corn, and still produces such an abundance of that essential article, that it continues to supply Naples, Malta, and several other parts of Italy with it.

Not vales only, but the hilly parts of this fertile island, are frequently covered to the very summits with verdure: the valleys and more level parts are exceedingly fruitful, vineyards, olive-trees, Indian corn, and all kinds of vegetables flourish, and a variety of the finest fruits invite the traveller in every direction.

Though frequently intensely hot, the island is very healthful, the salubrity of the air purifying any noxious qualities which the heat may produce from corrupted vegetation. Their winter is so short and mild, that it may rather be denominated a spring; chilling winds are seldom felt, but transient storms are frequently experienced during the months of February and March: and here I am forcibly reminded of the imminent peril our ship and lives were exposed to

during one of these storms; and would thankfully acknowledge an over-ruling Providence, who gave presence of mind, and rendered the means used effectual to rescue us all from our dreadful and apparently desperate situation.

The ship was at anchor between Palermo and Messina, near the extraordinary volcanic islands of Stromboli and Volcano. And with respect to the winds, at least, judged to be in perfect safety for the night, and therefore the watch was only on deck. For though the thunder was loud and the lightning vivid, yet from the comparatively moderate state of the wind, no serious apprehensions were entertained. It was about the solemn and awful stillness of midnight, rendered still more awful than the thick darkness, because heightened in dread by the frequent flashes of lightning, which made it indeed, "darkness visible"—when an alarm that the ship was on fire, echoed from every part: in a fit of despair many run to cut down the boats along-side to escape; but orders were instantly given to the contrary, and obedience to them ensured by others of more presence of mind, and the affrighted parties obliged to assist in extinguishing the flame, or perish in the attempt. The danger was considerably increased by the exaggerations of fear, and the flames were said to be approaching the hatchway and magazine, which in part was literally true; no time was now to be lost, and some of those most collected and firm, rushed to the spot from whence the flames were said to issue, and with ham-mocks, blankets, &c. smothered the dreadful danger, and all were providentially preserved.

Storm, tempest, and even shipwreck itself, with all its dreadful danger, must sink in the comparison with the state of peril faintly described above. What gratitude then ought to be excited in the breast of every recipient of such wonderful mercies! but sad to reflect, little of this was felt, and few, very few ascriptions of heartfelt thanksgivings were given to that benignant and sovereign Arbiter of the universe, who suggested, gave energy to, the means used, and caused them to be successful in saving upwards of one hundred persons by so great a deliverance.

The fire was discovered to have arisen from the negligence of a seaman leaving his candle burning among the ropes in the cable-tier, the dangerous tendency of which, without a safe lanthorn, is alas! but too little regarded by the generality of seamen, and often but slightly attended to by those whose duty it is to inspect and report the safety of the interior of the ship, especially during the night.

COLLINS.]

G



The Lipari islands were the next day seen, and we soon after approached the shores of these phenomena. Volcano exhibits smoke as if rising from a large furnace.

Stromboli frequently vents itself with greater violence, and sometimes throws from its bosom fire to such an extent as to render an approach dangerous. Lipari, the capital, has many inhabitants; all the islands appear connected with volcanoes, and produce sulphur and a variety of fine fruits.

What extraordinary scenes are here collected in the midst of the sea; that islands, whose greatest circumference does not exceed a few miles, should form a release to such a mass of fire.

But on another view of the subject, may we not consider these awful appearances evidently calculated to answer very important and beneficial purposes; for these eruptions being almost invariably found in countries subject to earthquakes, in some measure answer the purpose of chimnies to something within the earth, which, if confined, would burst it in pieces.

But all these wonders are eclipsed by the magnitude and violence of the neighbouring volcano of Mount Etna.

"Th' infuriate hill that shoots the pillar'd flame,  
 "And rous'd within the subterranean world,  
 "Th' expanding earthquake, that resistless shakes  
 "Aspiring cities from their solid base,  
 "And buries mountains in the flaming gulf."

THOMSON.

This mountain, which during so many ages has continued to emit such a body of fire, and still burns unconsumed, is situated about twelve leagues from Messina, and within about six leagues of the sea. It is computed to be twenty leagues in circumference, and ten thousand feet in height, of a circular form, and its top like a sugar-loaf, and in clear weather can be descried an hundred miles off.

At the top is a basin of burning sulphur, said to be four miles round, and the upper part or circle of this burning mountain is covered with snow.

The lower parts are very fertile, producing the more substantial articles as corn and vegetables: the middle is more woody, and abound with olive-trees, chesnuts, grapes, and other fine fruits.

Its fiery eruptions have frequently occasioned dreadful destruction around, and have even reached the neighbouring

continent. The greatest eruptions marked in history are those of 1536, 1556, 1579, 1669, when fourteen towns and villages are said to have been destroyed. By that of 1693, several towns and villages, with 18,000 people, were supposed to have perished.

But the last eruption, which happened as recently as 1783, appears to have far exceeded all others. It extended its dreadful effects over great part of the island and on the opposite shore. It destroyed many towns and villages, and forty thousand inhabitants are said to have perished by its terrible ravages.

The fiery liquid, issuing from this dreadful volcano; earthquake succeeding earthquake; mountains, cities, towns, and villages overturned in an instant; must have been a scene which imagination cannot conceive, much less language describe. A scene which should remind mortals of that infinitely more awful and tremendous day, when—"The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, the elements melt with fervent heat, the earth, and the works also that are therein, shall be burnt up." Peter, last chap.

"Amazing period! when each mountain height,  
"Outburns Vesuvius; rocks eternal pour  
"Their melted mass, as rivers once they poured;  
"Stars rush; and final ruin fiercely drives  
"Her plough-share o'er creation!—

"Great day of dread, decision, and despair!  
"At thought of thee each sublunary wish  
"Lets go its eager grasp, and drops the world;  
"And catches at each reed of hope in heaven."

YOUNG.

"Lo! the heavenly spirit tow'rs,  
"Like flames, o'er nature's funeral pyre,  
"Triumphs in immortal powers;  
"And claps his wings of fire."

WESLEY.

Beyond conception bless'd are they;  
Who enter now the vail; and see  
The Saviour, Judge, their everlasting Friend.

During our stay on the coast, we experienced considerable hospitality from its inhabitants; and having accomplished the object of our voyage, which was to obtain a supply of wood, with which this island in many parts abounds, we returned by a beautiful coast, picturesque in a high degree, to Palermo, which is now considered the capital of the island.

## CHAP. X.

*Description of Palermo—City—Suburbs—Royal Gardens—Ectane Museum—Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants—Comparisons between the Capital and the Villages in this respect—Sketch of its History—Preparations for leaving—Reflections on the Whole.*

THE town or city of Palermo is situated in the bottom of its fine bay, and from its bosom forms an handsome appearance. Its level position, stately buildings, and beautiful vicinity, of public gardens, and public walks, with a mole well filled with shipping, all contrasted with a chain of mountains, of which there are many ridges, whose tops and cones tipped with snow, heighten the effect, and, altogether comprehended in one view, form what may be deemed a complete whole.

On visiting this pleasant spot I had an agreeable walk to its suburbs and entrance, and proceeded to investigate its interior; but here, as at Lisbon, in Portugal, I did not altogether realize what its external appearance led us to expect; but enough was presented to awaken curiosity, and reward inspection. A coach was obtained at the moderate price of a crown a day; the coachman, according to custom, transformed himself into a footman, and thus equipped, we were borne along by interesting scenes, but which are often eclipsed by extremes of misery and disease on one hand, and vain parade on the other.

There are four capital streets, whose handsome buildings, regular order, parallel directions, and extraordinary length, commanded attention; did Palermo, as a whole, consist of an assemblage of such streets, it might vie with Westminster. We proceeded to view the architecture of several churches; though some few form a majestic appearance, the major part have nothing interesting. Several of the fountains are elegant, and seem to furnish an abundant supply of water; all the necessities, conveniences, and superfluities of life, are here in abundance.

In every direction were placed images, and paintings of the Virgin and saints, and every where were to be seen friars variously habited, and variously conducting themselves.

It is strange to see the superstition of the generality of the inhabitants; though apparently devout, yet they display such a mixture of levity and seriousness, of trifling, and devotion, of apparent veneration, in the worship of God, through the intercession of the Virgin and their saints, and transitions to the vain impertinences of man, that their character must appear mysterious to every considerate stranger; until, by a more mature consideration and inspection, he has penetrated and discovered the latent principles and springs which set all their wheels in motion.

The inhabitants are computed to be upwards of one hundred thousand, and in general present the extremes of vanity and pomp, or abject poverty and wretchedness; a chasm lies between, which such countries as Britain only know how to appreciate; I mean the middle link in the great chain of society, which, connecting high and low, makes a nation social and happy; I have often thought, and am confirmed in the thought by observation, that a just estimate may be immediately formed of the happiness of any nation, or commonwealth, by this single criterion of the connection and comparative independence of each rank on the other.

During our visits I did not observe that simplicity and hospitality among the inhabitants of Palermo, which we saw and experienced among the villagers, happily separated from the contagion of the capital. Many of them exhibit the honest and teachable manners of rural rusticity so pleasing to a reflecting mind; and were they less under the influence of superstition, and had a free use of that inestimable book the Bible, under the blessing of God, they would soon emerge from that darkness of soul in which these countries have been so long enveloped, and feel the service of God to be perfect freedom, because it is a freedom from the slavery of sin—a freedom

" Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers  
 " Of earth and hell confederate take away;  
 " A liberty, which persecution, fraud,  
 " Oppression, prisons, have no power to bind,  
 " Which whose tastes can be enslaved no more."

COWPER.

Having proceeded to examine the curiosities in the vicinity, my attention was first drawn to the royal gardens and museums.

The great water-work at the entrance is very handsome; the top resembles an urn, with a number of apertures, for the water to play in every direction; near the base the waters fall in large regular sheets, and have a pleasing and striking effect on the beholder.

The walks are well laid out, interspersed with shrubs, and kept in good order, but the noble and majestic view in this vicinity, solicit the spectator to leave the works of art, to view the grand and magnificent in nature, which rises behind Palermo, like a vast amphitheatre.

The entrance into the Botanic Museum appears well designed, and its portals and interior contain statues, representing some of the principal adepts in medicine, botany, &c. The whole of this building is marked with simplicity, elegance, and uniformity, and, with others in the vicinity, is well worth the inspection of the virtuoso.

The more modern history of this country, also, is well worthy notice:—in the dark ages, emphatically so called, when the pretended infallible successor of St. Peter was apparently all powerful in Europe, here appears to have been formed a powerful and respectable obstacle to his ambition and overgrown power; for while Europe in general was plunged into monkish ignorance, here was a government which exhibited striking proofs of liberty, civilization, and commerce.

At length, by intrigue and flattery, a revolution in behalf of the see of Rome, was effected, and the government transferred into the hands of the earl of Anjou, and the French, who were dispossessed by the Spaniards, in 1504, and ever since the night of superstition has enveloped this fructuous country, though its gloom is not now so thick as formerly.

Such is the degeneracy of character in Palermo, &c. that the dreadful eruptions that have so recently taken place, and threatened with instant death the inhabitants of this island, have but little effect; for such is the thoughtlessness and folly, vice and dissipation, generally prevalent here and at Naples, near Vesuvius, that these loud calls and tremendous warnings and vestiges of destruction, which are continually to be seen, and may lead them to expect another visitation of Providence, are regarded with indifference.

After replenishing our stock, we again left the fertile coasts of Italy, a country which contains so much of the beautiful, stupendous, and terrible in nature; abounds with

the choicest productions in art—which formed the seat of empire to ancient Rome, a sketch of the history of which would fill a volume; whose history, also, exhibits modern events no less striking; and a power and an authority far more extraordinary and extensive.

We shall take our leave of this garden of Europe with part of Goldsmith's description, which, with a few exceptions, already briefly noticed, may be applied to the most parts of Italy during the author's visits.

“ Could nature's bounty satisfy the breast,  
 “ The sons of Italy were surely blest;  
 “ Whatever fruits in different climes are found,  
 “ That proudly rise, or humbly court the ground;  
 “ Whatever blooms in torrid tracts appear,  
 “ Whose bright succession decks the varied year,  
 “ These here disporting own the kindred soil,  
 “ Nor ask luxuriance from the planter's toil,  
 “ In florid beauty groves and fields appear,  
 “ Man seems the only growth that dwindles here;  
 “ But small the bliss which sense alone bestow,  
 “ And sensual bliss is what the nation knows;  
 “ Contrasted faults through all their manners reign;  
 “ Though poor, luxurious; tho' submissive, vain;  
 “ Though grave, yet trifling; zealous, yet untrue;  
 “ And oft in penance planning sins anew.  
 “ Evils here contaminate the mind,  
 “ That opulence departed leaves behind;  
 “ For wealth was theirs, not far removed the date,  
 “ When commerce proudly flourished through the state.  
 “ At her command the palace learnt to rise,  
 “ Again the long fall'n column sought the skies.  
 “ The canvass glow'd, beyond ev'n nature warm,  
 “ The pregnant quarry teem'd with human form,  
 “ Till more unsteady than the southern gale,  
 “ Commerce on other shores display'd her sail.  
 “ Yet still the loss of wealth is here supply'd,  
 “ By arts the splendid wrecks of former pride;  
 “ From these the feeble heart, and long fall'n mind,  
 “ An easy compensation seem to find.

“ Each nobler aim, repress'd by long controul,  
 “ Now sinks at last, or feebly mans the soul;  
 “ While low delights succeeding fast behind,  
 “ In happier meanness occupy the mind,  
 “ As in those domes where Casars once bore sway,  
 “ Defaced by time, and tottering in decay,  
 “ There in the ruin heedless of the dead,  
 “ The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed;  
 “ And wondering man could want a larger pile,  
 “ Exults and owns his cottage with a smile.”



## CHAP. XI.

*Leave Gibraltar—Touch at Malta—Description of its Capital—Interesting Harbour and Vicinity—Sketch of the Soil—Produce—Situation—Religion—Manners—Origin—Antiquity and Hospitality of its ancient Inhabitants—Dreadful Wars with the Saracens and Turks—Pleasing Instances of Amelioration of Character—Confidence of the Inhabitants in the British Government—Paul's Shipwreck—Ample Supplies—Departure for the Regions of Mahometanism.*

NEAR the close of the year 1800 we once more set sail from Gibraltar into the Mediterranean, unconscious of my ultimate destination, but, as it eventually proved, we were to visit countries rendered still more interesting than Italy itself—countries peculiarly marked in history as the most interesting on the globe, and which will continue to occupy the review of man till time shall be no more.

After a pleasant and safe passage, we entered the harbour of Valetta, the capital of Malta, and my attention was fixed on the extraordinary appearance of this wonderful island, harbour, and town.

An opportunity soon offered for a visit to Valetta and its vicinity. We landed on a fine quay, and proceeded under an archway, through a narrow entrance, which introduced us to the foot of the leading streets, which lie through the city; the ascent is rather steep, and the pavement narrow, but on the other hand, there were several good streets, with a variety of shops, but in general confined. I continued to ascend the hill until near the summit, when a noble prospect began to open to view, and many objects excited attention: after viewing them, and gaining the extent of the town, another beautiful landscape opened on the sight, which, with the view of the harbour and shipping, and opposite villages, with a fine champagne country at the head of it, agreeably surprises the mind, and renders Malta highly interesting, especially to a stranger.

The principal streets are regular, a few of them well paved; the houses are in general lofty, and being built of a white stone, peculiar to the island, have a noble appearance. The churches are remarkably well and elegantly built, and

the handsome stone gives them an air of grandeur rarely seen in brick, and inferior stone buildings.

The principal church is called St. John's; this majestic building stands on an elevated situation, near the summit of the hill: It has an handsome and elegant appearance, and is more remarkable for its extent and uniformity, than for useless ornaments. The interior contains many superb embellishments, of all which the Mosaic work on the pavement is said to be the most admirable.

The inhabitants are catholics; they are generally superstitious, but not so bigotted or revengeful as the inhabitants of various parts of the Continent. There is an openness and candour in the generality of the Maltese, which might be an example to many countries.

It is worthy of remark, that in the very interesting description given of St. Paul's shipwreck, by Luke, we find this faithful servant of the Lord, placing their hospitality in a striking point of view.—“ And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita, and the barbarous people shewed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold. In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius,\* who received us and lodged us three days courteously: And it came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever, and of a bloody flux; to whom Paul entered in and prayed, and laid his hands on him and healed him; so when this was done, others also which had diseases in the island came and were healed: who also honoured us with many honours, and when we departed, they laded us with such things as were necessary.” See 28th chap. Acts.

Here is an interesting and pleasing account of its ancient inhabitants; may its modern inhabitants also increase, not only in hospitality, but in all other christian graces, which most dignify and adorn human nature. Traditions of St. Paul are often cited, and his memory is highly venerated by many of the Maltese.

During the recent revolutions in France, Italy, &c. this island has passed into the hands of the English, whose government the inhabitants in general highly esteem. May their confidence in, and happiness under it, continue to increase.

This port is capable of containing an immense number of shipping; the main harbour alone, will probably contain

three hundred sail, and in addition to this there are two inlets or harbours from it, which will contain many more; in one of these inlets is the arsenal, and every convenience for careening ships of the heaviest burthen.

The view of the city and its neighbourhood, with the fine landscape at the bottom of the bay, is noble and pleasing. Malta abounds with the most delicious fruits, oranges, lemons, olives, figs, melons, and pumpkins, are easily obtained, and pease, beans, pulse, roots, herbs, and other garden produce, rise from a very thin surface of earth, with little cultivation; cotton also abounds in various parts; indeed the whole island may be compared to a hot-bed, as to the sudden appearance of its productions. It is about twenty-one miles in length, and twelve in breadth, and all its vicinity produces a variety and abundance of fish\*.

The air is clear, and though excessively hot in summer, is very healthful. The refreshing breezes which are almost constantly prevalent during the hot months, are so refreshing and invigorating, as suddenly to raise the body from a state of lassitude and debility, to comparative strength and activity. How graciously has Divine Providence tempered these hot climates!

The attentive reader will consider a sketch of its history, as not uninteresting; the earliest accounts say it was peopled by the Carthaginians; and several old inscriptions in Punic characters have been discovered.

St. Paul's shipwreck on this island, described with all that sublime simplicity peculiar to the Bible, in the 27th and 28th chapters of the Acts of the Apostles: has, through the depravity of nature, caused a superstitious reverence for this remarkable island; it was given to the religious order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in 1530, whose predecessors distinguished themselves in those absurd and impious wars falsely called holy.

When the Christians were driven out of Palestine by the Saracens, these knights retired to Cyprus; they afterwards

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\* Sailing to the westward of the island, we had an extraordinary sight of porpoises; our ship was sailing in a fresh gale and lowering atmosphere, at the rate of six or seven miles an hour: notwithstanding her rapidity, these ploughers of the ocean kept pace with ease, and played their gambols for hours successively. Whether their appearance always presage a tempest, according to a received opinion among seamen, I will not undertake to assert, but that soon after our arrival in port, much tempestuous weather was experienced, is certain.

took the island of Rhodes from the Turks, and defended it against almost the whole of their unwieldy power for two hundred years. At length, after an arduous siege of a whole year, during which the Turks lost eighty thousand men, though the knights were reduced even to six thousand men, they capitulated on advantageous terms, and retired to Malta.

Almost ever since their establishment in this island, they have been at perpetual war with the Turks. Solymán invaded them with an immense army, and after many exertions to gain possession, was obliged to abandon his last effort with the loss of twenty thousand men. This small island was hereby made the means of setting bounds to the overgrown and unwieldy power of the Ottomans, since which the horrors of warfare have been considerably softened, and in general have been confined to predatory excursions.

The dreadful sentiment of perpetual warfare, and of extermination, has caused terrible devastation and bloodshed. War among the most civilized states is always a scourge; but, when waged under the idea of rooting, as it were, a nation out of the earth, it becomes horrible indeed.

But blessed be God, this monstrous sentiment of perpetual warfare, has lately considerably lost its predominance, especially among the Maltese: their generosity in this respect has been manifested; for, to their honour be it spoken and recorded, they have lately kindly treated as friends many of that nation, whom their less enlightened ancestors, were wont to consider as their constant and perpetual enemies; and the Turks, in many instances, have made a pleasing return to this truly noble conduct of the Maltese.

The author was present at several interviews of this interesting description, and was truly gratified to perceive the delightful sentiments and expressions of friendship and mutual benevolence, triumph over the fierce passions of revenge, animosity and rancour; which destroy all the sweet feelings of humanity, and make a man miserable and wretched in himself, his own tormentor, and a plague to others.

After being amply supplied, and much gratified by our visit to this beautiful and interesting island, we set sail to the eastward. I soon perceived by our course of sailing, that the present object of our voyage was still more remote,

and that we were steering from the fertile regions of Italy, filled with superstition, for the once fertile shores of ancient Greece, now generally barren, and enveloped in the thick darkness of Mahometan imposture and oppression, and immured in the multiplicity of absurd ceremonies and superstitions, which so generally mark the ritual of the Greek church, at the present day.

My mind is impressed with the distressing idea, and ready to plunge into the labyrinth of conjecture. Why is it so? Why are these interesting regions so deeply sunk in superstition and error? Scripture answers the question.—I check my roving imagination, and rejoice in the anticipation, that the time is hastening, when the gospel of Jesus shall again visit these once highly favoured lands, its light dispel the darkness of the mind, cheer the heart, and make known a way of obtaining a blissful immortality to the soul.

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## CHAP. XII.

*Pleasant Passage—Discover Candia, the Ancient Crete—Former State and Commerce—Causes of its Declension—Degeneracy of its Ancient Inhabitants—Visited by St. Paul, who planted the Gospel here—Modern History—Memorable Siege—Situation for Trade, and extraordinary Fertility—Gloomy contrast on its present Appearance—Rhodus—Its Situation—Extent—Antiquity—Siege—Colossus—Declension—Present State*

IN about a week, with breezes generally favourable, land was announced, and soon discovered to be the eastern part of the island of Candia, the longest island in these seas.

This Crete of the ancients, was soon perceived by our sailing along its coasts, to be in a state of comparative barrenness, being very far short of its ancient prosperity: on a more minute inquiry, we found it now in a state of abject servitude, and the soil, in consequence, generally abandoned to sterility.

What a gloomy contrast to its ancient state of prosperity, when it could name its hundred cities, and was governed by wise and equitable laws: laws so admirably adapted for

the public good, as to be adopted by those penetrating judges who inhabited Sparta.

“ These laws were originally formed by Minos, (whom fable calls the son of Jupiter), who gained possession of this island, about the year of the world 2720, and about 1584 years before Christ. He was a wise, gentle, and powerful prince; and according to Strabo, the end which he proposed in the establishment of these laws, was to render his subjects happy, by promoting virtue. He banished idleness and luxury from his states, with effeminacy and vicious pleasures, the fruitful sources of all vice, and the ruin of nations.

“ The happiness Crete enjoyed, under the wise and equitable government of Minos, did not expire with himself; the laws he established subsisted in vigour, even in Plato’s time, nine hundred years after; another proof. Plato observes, of this legislator’s wisdom, is the benefits which accrued to Sparta, by the imitation of these laws. Sparta was a neighbouring country, and at that remote period the most celebrated state of ancient Greece, except Athens.

“ Lycurgus had regulated the government of Sparta, on the plan of that of Crete; and it subsisted, generally, in a uniform manner, for several ages, without experiencing those vicissitudes and revolutions so common in other states of Greece \*.”

The principal defect in these laws, appears to have been, that war was too much had in view; though Minos himself attempted to remedy this evil, by ordaining that war should only be made for the sake of peace.

But kingdoms as well as men are marked and interwoven with frailty, for soon after Plato’s time, the people of Crete began to degenerate very much from their ancient reputation; so much so as to produce an entire change of manners. Avarice and luxury, covetousness and collusion, became so predominant, that no gain was considered base, however obtained; hence lying and knavery was so notorious, that to *cretise* became a proverb among the Greeks, implying to lie and deceive. This was their awful state, when St. Paul so severely reprov’d them, and cited the testimony of one of their own poets against them.

After planting the Gospel here, Titus was left to model the churches according to Apostolic rule, and ordain in all the churches proper pastors, who should be diligent in

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\* Ancient History.

their vocation, that by the blessing of God on their labours, the gross notions of religion, which the inhabitants had imbibed, might be removed, and they be taught, by the glad tidings of salvation, to worship "God, who is a Spirit, in Spirit, and in Truth."

After various revolutions it became subject to Rome, and after many other important epochs in its history, it fell under the dominion of Venice.

This island had long been in possession of the Venetians, who for a series of years had an astonishing extent of colonies, and influence in maritime affairs.

After one of the most arduous and dreadful sieges recorded in history it was conquered, or rather gained by the Turks, for after holding out against the bulk of the unwieldy force of that empire upwards of twenty years, during which the Venetians lost upwards of eighty thousand men, and the Turks upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand, it at length surrendered on favourable terms. What a melancholy and shocking consideration to a benevolent mind is such a scene of human misery :

"What ruin from afar  
Mark the felt tract of desolating war."

During the extraordinary power and commerce of Venice, it largely partook of its prosperity, and being nearly equidistant from Europe, Asia, and Africa, it was well situated, and by its ports calculated for a rendezvous of shipping, and by its own fertility it frequently served the mother country, as well as other nations, as a granary ; but since its subjugation, it has lost these advantages ; its principal harbour is now choked up, and comparative oppression and barrenness desolate the land ; so that we may again quote the poetical sailor :

"Here art and commerce with auspicious reign,  
Once breath'd sweet influence on the happy plain :  
Now sad reverse ! oppression's iron hand  
Enslaves her natives, and despoils the land."

Many parts are mountainous, whose sides near the coast exhibit much of that sterility arising from the want of cultivation ; several vallies appear cultivated, and Candia still produces vineyards, myrtles, oranges, lemons, and other fruits, and considerable quantities of corn, pulse, and herbage ; and when favoured with mild governors, it begins to

excite industry, and feel the dawn of liberty which it once so fully enjoyed. May the time soon arrive when these benighted and superstitious countries shall experience not only all the valuable blessings of their ancient liberty and happiness, but also that infinitely superior liberty which is produced by genuine christianity alone.

The wind and weather continuing favourable, we soon passed Candia, and came to the extraordinary island of Rhodes, and remained some time in its bay. From its ancient history, and its present state, I surveyed this once wonderful island with a considerable degree of interest; and would wish to give the reader some idea of it also.

It is about eighty miles north-east from Candia, and a short distance from the southern coast of Asia Minor, about sixty miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth.

When the antiquity of its origin and government; the power and prosperity it enjoyed for several centuries; the wisdom of its ancient laws, especially several of that part of them called maritime, and its extent of commerce, with the small domain contained in the whole island, are collectively considered, it becomes less matter of wonder that it should have been so celebrated in history.

This island was peopled in a very early age; historians are not agreed as to the names of its founders, yet acknowledge that it was first peopled by the immediate descendants of one of the sons of Noah.—They many years constituted part of the Athenian dominions; but three hundred and fifty-six years before Christ, obtained their independence, and for a long period were celebrated for gratitude and courage.

The fertility of its soil, and commodious harbours, were admirably calculated to increase its commerce, which extended to almost all parts of the known world; and being situated, as well as Candia, at a convenient distance from Africa and Europe, and approximating the continent of Asia Minor, it was thus admirably formed by its situation, constitution, and government, to possess prodigious trade, and even frequently to become the arbiter in the differences that subsisted between overgrown empires, wisely observing a strict and honourable neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one nation against another; in the wars which arose in those early periods, its friendship was courted by most princes and chiefs;—such is the noble testimony frequently given, either secretly or openly, to integrity and justice.



The Rhodians, by persevering in this noble and prudent conduct, had rendered their city and island very prosperous and flourishing; all the Mediterranean states contributed to the increase of their commerce, and consequently of their opulence; but experiencing the most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt, they probably, as it were imperceptibly, became attached to that government; this preference and attachment at length drew on them the displeasure of Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, who, demanding of the Rhodians succours in his war with Cyprus, was answered by entreaties not to declare against their ancient friend and ally; but this answer, wise and prudent as it was, drew upon them his displeasure, and he vauntingly and vainly boasted that he should reduce them to obedience; for which purpose he assembled a large army and navy, with a vast apparatus of light and heavy machines to batter the city, which was well fortified, and besieged it with sixty thousand men; while the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, did not exceed eight thousand.

The Rhodians defended themselves with remarkable firmness, during a whole year, when Demetrius, after having experienced repeated defeats, raised the siege, and the islanders obtained an honourable and advantageous peace.

Demetrius before his departure, to give them a proof of his reconciliation, presented them with all the machines of war which he had employed against them in the siege; these the Rhodians afterwards sold for a vast sum, which, with an additional sum of their own, they employed in making the famous colossus, which was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world: it appears to have been a statue intended to represent the sun, from which the island is supposed to have taken its name, sun signifying Rhoda, and was of such immense magnitude that ships of burthen, in full sail, passed between its legs; its height was one hundred and fifteen feet. Sixty years after, it was destroyed by an earthquake.

The loss sustained by this earthquake was immense: but an uncommon generosity was exhibited by the different nations to whom they sent for succour and relief, who seemed to vie in a noble emulation, who should excel in liberality towards the distressed inhabitants; an example worthy imitation, but too seldom followed.

Rhodes, in consequence of this well-timed and extended liberality, was re-established in a few years, in as much opulence and splendour as before; but the colossus, for which

large sums were given, was not replaced ; indeed, instead of replacing it, they pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbidden it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, and by this hypocrisy they enriched themselves.

The harbour of Rhodes was fifty fathoms wide ; at the mouth on each side was placed one foot of the statue ; the face represented the sun, to whom it was dedicated, and in one hand it held a light-house, for the information and direction of mariners ; after the earthquake the colossus lay long neglected on the ground.

About the middle of the seventh century, Rhodes became subject to the Saracens, who rapidly over-run a great part of civilized Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Turks succeeded the Saracens, under whose government it still remains ; the natives in general are so depressed, that few of them appear to have any traces of their once flourishing state impressed on their minds.

It appears from this brief account, that Rhodes was a kind of phenomenon, amidst surrounding nations ; its alliance was courted even by Rome itself, when at the summit of its prosperity.

In the serious deliberations that followed the defeat of Philip of Macedon by the Romans, and the restoration of the Grecian States, they were occupied in preserving their liberties, which were ever peculiarly dear to them ; when one of the most important affairs that ever attracted the attention of the senate was submitted to their consideration and decision. The Rhodian ambassadors were powerful and successful pleaders for the liberty of their countrymen ; the Greeks settled in Asia Minor, &c. in opposition to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, whose interests were closely connected with these countries.

In a following war between the Romans and Persians, the last king of Macedonia, the neutrality of Rhodes was courted by the latter. Perseus sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, and exhorted them to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators only, till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take.

The ambassadors of Perseus were received with great respect, but were answered, that—" In case of war the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them, in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans."

But, during the same war, the Rhodians finding their trade straitened, and consequently their revenues reduced,

COLLINS.]

sent ambassadors to Rome, stating that "they were no longer able to support such considerable losses," and with the extraordinary information, that they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him, that "the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome, to make the same declaration ; that if either party refused to come into so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do." This declaration failed of its intended effect, the Romans rather treated it with contempt, and intimated their displeasure in strong terms, by depriving them of several privileges, and otherways reducing their revenues, which pressed so hard on the Rhodians, that they soon after, about the time the other parts of Greece became provinces of Rome, sent deputies to endeavour to appease the wrath of the Romans, and to request a re-admission into their alliance, which after much hesitation, was at length rather reluctantly granted them.

Hence we see that this remarkable people maintained their independence, when the other parts of Greece were brought under the Roman empire, which was now making rapid strides to universal dominion, and thereby without foresight and penetration, preparing the way for a universality of language and a series of events, which prophecy foretold was to announce the coming of the Messiah.

This island, as well as Candia, at present exhibits a striking view of the uncertainty of national prosperity ; and teaches a lesson of the emptiness of the deepest schemes to ensure its permanence, when degeneracy of character prevails.

It still produces considerable quantities of fine fruits, corn, &c. and when they are favoured with a mild governor, who sees the importance of encouraging industry, the inhabitants emerge, as it were, from that state of depression and apathy, which is ordinarily the case, and exhibit the energies of the mind and powers of the body in a remarkable manner.

What a blessing then is a free and just government, where the laws are calculated to ensure protection and happiness to every individual in the state, mutual blessings to magistrates and people, and all actuated by true principles to obey them with alacrity and delight : principles derived from true religion, which must "make a man a good subject, as well as a good christian, and attentive to his king and country, as well as to his God. Indeed those virtues cannot be,

separated. They that attempt to separate them, only shew that they are properly possessed of neither \*."

May the benighted inhabitants of these once celebrated countries soon, very soon, hail the dawn, and experience the blessings of that

" Liberty of heart, deriv'd from heav'n ;  
 " Bought with his blood, who gave it to mankind,  
 " And seal'd with the same token ! It is held  
 " By charter, and that charter sanction'd sure  
 " By th' unimpeachable and awful oath  
 " And promise of a God ! His other gifts  
 " All bear the royal stamp that speaks them his,  
 " And are august ; but this transcends them all."

COWPER.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Departure from Rhodes—Enter the Gulf of Macri—Water Spouts—Macri—Sublimity of its first Appearance—Secure and spacious Harbour—Ruins—Inhabitants—Tour to Kia—Mountainous Country—Much in want of a Guide and Interpreter—Remarks on Cultivation—Beauty of several Vales—Approach the Sicani—Forbidding Aspect of several of its Inhabitants—Consultation thereon—Consternation and Retreat of several of the Females, with their Children—Interview with several of the Grandees—Difficulty of making them comprehend our want of Food—Refreshment, and Company during Dinner—Present State of the Country—Reflections—Departure—Surprise of the Inhabitants turned into Curiosity—Meet a Caravan—Providential Preservation, and return on Board—Hint to Mariners—Departure.*

LEAVING Rhodes, a few hours of a favourable breeze brought us near the coast of Asia Minor, and early the following morning we entered the gulf and harbour of Macri.

About day-light the atmosphere was unsettled and squally, and we were soon under serious apprehensions of danger from several water-spouts near us, which if falling on our ship, would, probably, instantly have sunk her, or even near, might have drawn her into the dreadful abyss.

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\* Ezeron.

" ——— Approaching they descry  
 " A liquid column lowering, shoot on high,  
 " The foaming base, an angry whirlwind sweep,  
 " Where curling billows rouse the fearful deeps.  
 " Still round and round the fluid vortex flies,  
 " Scattering dun night and horror through the skies;  
 " The swift evolution and th' enormous train  
 " Let sages vers'd in nature's lore explain.  
 " The horrid apparition stills draws nigh,  
 " And white with foam the whirling surges fly.  
 " But soon, this transient undulation o'er,  
 " The sea subsides, the whirlwinds rage no more."

FALCONER.

And we were soon gratefully relieved from a gloomy atmosphere, by the auspicious regent of the day bursting through with his morning splendour.

The weather became more serene, the day delightful, and we were wafted gently along this interesting coast and bay, whose majestic ridges of mountains, capped with snow, towered far above the more diminutive eminences near the coast, till by a narrow channel we entered a noble harbour, capable of containing fleets in its capacious bosom, and which surrounded with hills and mountains, seemed to enclose us from every blast, and presented again in miniature, scenes that we had just left, when in the gulf.

On the right-hand side, near the entrance, stands the town, situated at the bottom of several hills, which abound with catacombs dug in the solid rock. No sooner were we at anchor than my anxiety increased to visit these once flourishing, but now comparatively desolated places.

The town or village is pleasantly situated, having a beautiful declivity of verdure on one side; abrupt mountains and precipices behind; and, on the other side, a fine harbour, vestiges of a handsome building; a spacious harbour in front, with several ruins on an island at the entrance, and lofty mountains and eminences all round.

It is irregularly built, and rather dirty; the inhabitants appear numerous, but in general exhibit indolence and wretchedness in their various disgusting forms; but from many of them we experienced a degree of hospitality unexpected; and therefore considerably the more pleasing, and it we received a lesson to guard against that proneness in mankind, which is so apt to form a judgment from external appearances only, and to get prepossessed without investigation.

Near the town stands in striking contrast, the ruins above mentioned, which, on a nearer inspection, appeared to be the

vestiges of a handsome amphitheatre and other ruins of antiquity ; the amphitheatre appears to have been principally of the Corinthian order of architecture, and the part fronting towards the harbour to have formed a regular and lofty arch. It is situated on rising ground, between two hills, and has a gentle descent towards the harbour, of which and the surrounding mountain, it has a comprehensive view.

The appearances of the morning sun, rising above these snow-capped mountains, and bursting with powerful splendour on the deep vale, which contains the harbour, &c. are very grand and enlivening, and remind me of the following lines :

“ Yonder comes the powerful king of day,  
 “ Rejoicing in the east. The lessening cloud,  
 “ The kindling azure, and the mountains brow,  
 “ Illum’d with fluid gold, his near approach  
 “ Betoken glad. Lo! now apparent all  
 “ Afloat the dew blight earth, and colour’d air;  
 “ He looks in boundless majesty abroad;  
 “ And sheds the shining day, that burnish’d plays  
 “ On rocks, and hills, and towers, and wandering streams,  
 “ High gleaming from afar  
 “ Now flaming up the heavens, the potent sun  
 “ Melts into limpid air, the high raised clouds,  
 “ And morning fogs, that hover’d round the hills,  
 “ In party colour’d bands; till wide unveil’d  
 “ The face of nature shines.”

THOMSON.

After visiting the town and its vicinity, we returned to our ship, and the following day set off on a more extensive tour, penetrating the country as far as Kia, a principal town several miles from the harbour.

Not considering that a native was necessary to accompany us, both as an interpreter and guide, without consulting any such ; with a curiosity and zeal, which in idea had already surmounted every difficulty, and levelled every obstruction, in the anticipation of exploring this once interesting country, myself and two others took our departure.

Having presently got over the first mountains, and along several narrow passes, and difficult descents, we proceeded with almost unabated vigour, in that direction which we judged led us to the principal objects of our curiosity, the town and inhabitants of Kia ; we frequently ascended and passed over barren and rugged mountains, which bade defiance to the fostering hand of the cultivator ; but as frequently gratified by vales which exhibited their delightful

verdure with double force on the eye, when beheld in this striking contrast.

These vales, though naturally fertile, are far from a state of cultivation; even in the precincts of the town to which we were now advancing, and which has a remarkable verdant vicinity, we already perceived convincing proofs that the inhabitants were in a state of degradation. On we passed to the suburbs, where we perceived several groups of men, who on our nearer approach exhibited, to us at least, countenances expressive of disapprobation and surprise. We now, for the first time since our departure, fully perceived our inadvertence and imprudence, in adventuring without a guide, over inhospitable hills and precipices, to a place which we began to fear contained still more inhospitable inhabitants.

We now slackened our pace, and considered that precipitancy in returning, would convince them we were at least suspicious, and urged pursuit, and hesitation either in returning or proceeding, would expose us to danger. Being confident in the integrity and friendliness of our intentions, we gradually approached, and with careful attention saluted them, which was answered by an indolent inclination of the head. They were all seated according to the Turkish custom, apparently basking in the sun, and we passed the first party without one of them rising from their seats.

Encouraged to proceed, we approached the second group which we passed in a similar manner; but some women who were near them, appeared to fly at our approach, and view us at a distance with astonishment and fear. Sorry to see them thus intimidated, with increasing caution of giving offence, we entered the verge of the town; but no sooner had we advanced, than as with general consent, they all caught their children in their arms, and with the fears of a mother, apprehensive for the safety of a beloved child, flew to their houses, and shut themselves in, and we saw no more of them till our return.

We continued to persevere in reaching the summit of the town, though distressed in some measure at the alarm of the women, and by every sign in our power, endeavoured to convince the men, who were standing near us, of our motives in visiting the town, and we at length prevailed on two or three of them to conduct us to the governor. Thus accompanied, and having also a painful gnawing inmate, for in plain English, we were by this time exceeding hungry, we proceeded to the presence of the *grandeess*, hoping, that

besides the gratification of an interview, we should derive the more substantial satisfaction of a good dinner ; we soon arrived in their presence. Their dress was splendid, and with a large sash or band round the waist, produced a formidable appearance.

Our introduction was ceremonious to a degree, and so much time was taken up in frivolous formalities, that a cottage, a miserable cottage with wholesome fare, would have been more gratifying to our feelings than all the etiquette and unsubstantial honour of his excellency and attendants.

With the little Italian each party possessed, and with gestures expressive of all the anxiety and avidity of a hungry Briton, we faintly communicated to these grandees, that we were really Englishmen, and in want of a dinner. At length orders were given, and we followed our guides to an apartment, consisting of two rooms on the ground floor : the sitting room was covered with a carpet, on which were several handsome cushions to recline on, which were fully occupied. On releasing our shoes from their burdens, we were admitted, introduced, seated, and soon surrounded by several of apparent consequence, who presently took their seats on the floor beside us, and began a general smocking. We waited some time, and with a craving appetite watched every attendant that entered, hoping to gladden our hearts and eyes by the sight of a plentiful supply. At length coffee was served up, which we received with thankfulness, from the idea that food would presently appear to accompany it ; but after waiting near half an hour, we found we were severely disappointed, for smoke and coffee alone were still our only supply ; in the mean time we were treated with civility and respect, which induced them to offer their pipes, no common condescension, and to do them justice, probably they had no proper conception of our extreme hunger.

The sharp necessity to which we were reduced, made it necessary, as the afternoon was advanced, for us either to obtain our wish, or consider of an immediate return. We therefore made a last effort, and by all our smattering of the various languages, and dumb eloquence in our power, at length made them fully understand, that something more substantial than either coffee or tobacco was absolutely necessary to appease our hunger. We were therefore immediately conducted to what may be deemed an eating house, where a dinner of pulse was soon served up, and we shortly got clear of our uneasy inmate, experiencing, in an



eminent degree, the truth of the adage—"hunger needs no sauce," the fare, though pulse only, was sweet indeed, and a glass of wine after crowned the repast.

Our company during dinner consisted of Greeks only, whose appearance of humility formed a contrast to several of those whom we had lately left; it was served up by the woman, attended by one of her children, who with all the family appeared in an abject state, for on offering her a little of the wine, which they so kindly furnished us with, she shrunk back, with an expression of surprise at our condescension, which excited ours also; and the man understanding a little Italian, we enquired the reason; he replied in substance as follows: "Such," says he, "is the inferiority and oppression that we labour under, that it is in general thought too great an honour for a Turk to present a person of this description with any token of respect, and forward in her to accept it, which is the reason of her timidity in not accepting the wine from you." The eldest child had on a badge of servitude. The husband appeared intelligent; he had travelled, and I was sorry our stay would not admit a more extensive conversation.

What an abject state does this country now exhibit, contrasted with its ancient prosperity; where the ancient Greeks once reigned and enjoyed equal laws, and the blessings of civilization; where agriculture and all kinds of industry was encouraged; arts and sciences flourished, and liberty was well understood and enjoyed.

Now we behold their descendants reduced to wretched servitude and degradation; few effectual laws to bind equally king and people, the governors and governed; little protection of property, or stimulus to industry; few golden harvests, fruitful vineyards, or smiling vales; but pride, ignorance, indolence, and other degrading passions and dispositions, display their baneful effects in the poverty, misery, and ignorance of the oppressed Greeks, though this ignorance, which is so predominant, may be considered a negative advantage, they being unacquainted with the liberty and happiness enjoyed by their ancestors, and also by other nations at the present period, and thus preventing comparisons, which must prove their abject state; they feel less the wretchedness under which they labour, and are therefore more patient and obedient to their ungenerous masters. But this ignorance tends by no means to exculpate the arbitrary government under which they live, whose wretched policy it is to keep them in such unjust subjection; it rather in-

creases its criminality, of which they will sooner or later repent.

May they soon be enlightened to see that laws ought equally to protect and provide for the well-being of every individual in the state; that honest industry and enterprise should be encouraged; and that he that sows should also reap the fruit of his labour for his own advantage, as well as for others. The reader will excuse this digression, and we will now return to the completion of the tour.

Thankfully taking leave of our kind host and hostess, we were re-conducted to the same apartment and company we had lately left, and after a short stay, we took our leave with less ceremony than at our first introduction, and upon the whole satisfied and thankful for our reception.

On our return, the surprize and fear of the female part of the inhabitants, first mentioned, appeared to be turned into curiosity; though none of them came into the streets, yet we understood that they inquired the reason of our journey, and several of them viewed us in passing. I felt thankful that the groundless alarm had subsided, and was anxious to impress on the minds of the inhabitants at large, that our leave was taken with sincere wishes for the liberation and happiness of all that were oppressed, and in misery. With these sensations we passed through the streets and spectators, many of whom viewed us with apparent complacence.

A curious scene soon made its appearance, which by its novelty and singular sounds, arrested our attention. It was a caravan, probably from Smyrna, or some other place of note; which consisted of about two hundred men, mounted on about half the number of camels and dromedaries. In front came the grandees and other officers, whose countenances in general, indicated too much of that superciliousness and ostentation, so prevalent in oriental countries; others again looked more manly; when these moved past, there next appeared persons of an inferior rank, and so on through several gradations. About the centre was a Turkish band of music, consisting of twelve or fourteen men in a tawdry uniform: their loudest instrument emitted sounds similar to a bagpipe, though not quite so melodious; several others were more grateful to the ear, the remainder were of inferior note; but all contributed to form harmony, which in the midst of a mountainous and uninhabited country was peculiarly agreeable.

Our journey now began to be tedious, the shades of even-  
COLLINS.]

ing were beginning to make their appearance, and we had upwards of four miles to go over mountains, precipices, and narrow passages, which are often infested with wild beasts, of which we saw several of the wolf species at a distance; forebodings would have rendered the road still more tedious and fatiguing. Urged, therefore, by the fear of being benighted on those roads, prompted by an eager desire of reaching the summit of the last mountain, and anticipating the happiness of ere long being in safety, added vigour to our efforts, when we soon reached a caravansary, and after various difficulties, fears of wild beasts, &c. surmounted the last hill, and were once more gratified with a view of the harbour and ship. With cheerful steps we went along the descent, took boat, and through mercy joined our countrymen again.

These caravansaries are often mentioned in history, some of them are spacious and commodious, affording comfortable accommodation and refreshment to man and beast, which to a weary traveller, in a hot climate, proves particularly pleasing. The one we passed was of an inferior description, having a reservoir of water, and temporary accommodation, only without lodgings; but the sight of a safe retreat of a few minutes only, was to us a grateful view.

The government deserves commendation for the part it takes towards the building and furnishing those hospitable inns for the comfort of the weary and benighted traveller; who would otherwise often perish on uninhabited and dangerous roads, and the more dangerous passages over trackless deserts.

During this journey, we had from the mountains an extensive view of the country towards Satalia.

After exploring the harbour, we prepared for our departure. I will conclude my account of Macri, with a hint to seamen who are induced to visit this port. It is situated at the S. E. part of the gulf of the same name, contains two other spacious harbours, named Karagatch and Marmorice.

Macri may be known by several remarkable islands to the northward. In sailing for them the harbour gradually opens between rocks, which a stranger at first sight would conceive very unlikely to afford a passage.

As soon as the harbour is nearly open, another island appears with vestiges of ruins on it; this must be left on the larboard in going in; and bordering nearer the starboard side, you pass safely through, and are gratified with a fine

harbour, and can anchor within about half a mile from the town, in five, six, seven, or eight fathoms\*.

Having obtained a supply of vegetables, fruit, and wood, we took a final farewell of this unfrequented, but to us not altogether inhospitable place.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Arrival at Marmorice—Excellent Harbour—Interesting Vicinity—Description of the Mosque—Author present at their Devotions—Manner of Worship—Apparent Devotion—Hospital on Shore—Recovery of the Sick—View and Productions of this extensive Bay—Inhabitants—Turkish Dress—Dress—Appearance, Agility, Strength, and Industry of the Grecian Women—Turkish Females—Departure—Visit Karagatch—Eligible Spot for the Sick—Alarmed by Wolves—Simple Method of intimidating them—Peregrinations of the Author and Comrades through the Wood—Discover Huts—Caution of the Inhabitants—Acquire Confidence—Friendship—Manners—Habits—Fortitude, Strength, and Perseverance of the Women.*

IN a serene and reviving morning we passed into the bay or gulf: full of islands, created by the expectation of soon seeing more interesting objects, we were borne to the other extremity, and entered its western and the bay of Marmorice, in the neighbourhood of Rhodes, the same evening.

This place appears an extraordinary entrance, at first view, the low part of a peninsula appears the only passage, but on drawing near, the apparent deception vanishes, and the real entrance opens. This entrance is narrow and safe, and conveys into as fine and capacious a harbour as I ever beheld, surrounded with immense ridges of mountains, many of whose rugged summits, covered with snow, often projecting their lofty tops above the clouds, strike the mind with the sublimity of nature.

At the N. E. part is the town, of some note among the Turks. On our visiting it, I found a similarity in its irre-

\* These remarks may be serviceable, and I am the more induced to give them, as the fine harbours in this gulf, are very inaccurately delineated in most of its charts.

gular and ill constructed buildings, with those we had just left at Macri; but the mosque appeared far superior; its dome is conspicuous from every part of the harbour. On a nearer inspection it proved to be built of coarse stone, the roof of an oval form, with a dome.

I was favoured with an opportunity of entering the mosque on a particular day, when worship was performed by a crowded audience; the attendance was so full, that many knelt down in the outer court. At their entrance, after throwing off their slippers, they all fell on their knees, and after a short pause, and uttering something very fast, they joined the general chorus, which to me appeared thanksgiving. From an erect posture they often fell in a state of prostration, and kneeling, and after joining the general service again in these positions, would often pause, and appear in mental prayer between, and then in a moment spring on their feet again, and join the chorus, which was sometimes so loud, that it became a shout. The leader's voice was heard distinctly during the more moderate exclamations, and all seemed to pay great attention to his manner, and to follow his motions with aptitude; and during the whole service, not one of them, that I could perceive, sat down. Their remarkable activity, in falling at once from their legs on their knees, and even to a state of prostration, and frequently rising without the assistance of their hands, excited my surprise. They in general appeared very attentive to the service they were engaged in, and their whole behaviour, in a false religion, was such as might form a lesson to many careless Christians, so called, who are to be found in every audience, slighting, and treating with indifference, the inestimable privilege of having instruction how to worship "God in spirit and in truth."

Several of the ship's company being sickly, and fearing the increase of contagion, the first object was to fix on an eligible spot on shore, on which to erect tents for their reception. This was soon performed, the sick were removed, and the vessel cleaned and purified by washing with vinegar, and striking the hold and decks throughout, which proved beneficial, and appeared to stop the prevalency of disease. Such were the pleasing effects at our hospital on shore, that the most of those removed, were, in a few days evidently on the recovery. Good air, pleasing prospects around, and the verdant spot on which they were situated, with attention and care under Providence, soon made several of their countenances beam with health and vigour.

This delightful bay is many miles round, and exhibits much of the picturesque and sublime of nature. The mountains and precipices are often covered with active animals, principally goats, and intersected with water-falls, which, during the rainy seasons (a description of which will be given hereafter) swell into cataracts, and often deluge the vales and plains below. The declivities and eminences, with the more level parts, are covered with abundance of myrtle, much of which grows to an extraordinary size, and the more woody parts heighten the contrast seen in this comprehensive view; the vales appear delightful, and are certainly capable of a high degree of cultivation. The lilies, and other sweet flowers which rise spontaneously, with a number of sanative and aromatic herbs, and other productions, prove the natural fertility of the soil.

The inhabitants are pretty numerous in the town, and consist of a variety; but the principal native residents are Turks and Greeks. During our stay we were well supplied with vegetables and fruit. They have a market, and several of the manufactures exposed to sale are curious, especially the camel's hair productions.

They are remarkably temperate, and often expressed their wonder at the quantity of animal food taken by an Englishman; indeed there is some reason for such a remark, as perhaps no other nation in the world produce more unskilful caterers; so that it may be said, there is no nation on the globe of which they may not learn striking lessons of temperance; and without intruding into the medical art, we may also observe that it is easy to demonstrate that many of the most obstinate and dangerous diseases are produced by repletion. The Turkish dress has been often described; the turban appears their principal distinction, and their belts containing pistols and sabres, excite more terror than respect. The poor Greeks, who are not allowed the use of them, are seldom admitted into their company.

The Grecian women are in general comely, but the generalty being accustomed to labour, and bearing heavy burthens, they, at an early age, have an inclination forward, and those in years frequently stoop in walking. The general dress of those I saw, is a pair of large open trowsers, drawn in at the bottom; over their body they throw a loose robe, drawn in similar to a morning-dress in England, and appear to have no stays. All their dress being thus unconfined, their agility and industry are surprising. The Turkish women are rarely seen by strangers, being as much

confined, effeminate, and delicate, as the others are exposed, industrious and hardy.

In January, 1801, we made a short voyage to the centre harbour of this gulf, and the next day after our sailing, anchored in it, and found it a commodious and spacious harbour. The similar majestic appearance of mountains and vales met us here as at Macri, but no town or even village was to be seen from our anchorage, but smoke was perceived ascending from various parts of the woods and vales.

Our first object, as before, was to remove our sick, and on going on shore a beautiful vale pretented itself to view, and appeared to possess superior advantages, from its gradual elevation and neighbouring beach, to that we had just left. Here then, the hospital tent was pitched, and the sick immediately removed into it, with the medical gentleman and nurses, and the same beneficial effects were soon experienced as at Marmorice. The principal hindrance to their first advances to recovery was occasioned by the alarm, terror, and consequent depression of spirits produced by the fearful visits of wolves, whose dreadful howling and near approaches caused serious apprehensions for their safety, which was almost altogether removed the ensuing nights, by kindling a large fire, and carefully feeding it with fuel, after which their approaches were so distant, that the yelling only was heard, and all apprehension of near visits were removed by the terror of our remedy. These coasts are much frequented by wild boars also, and the inhabitants, in tracing and taking them, display much agility. There is little danger of receiving any injury from these animals. Buffaloes are so numerous, and so little valued, that we were permitted to take as many as were wanted for present use, by presenting the inhabitants with their skins, which are often considered by them of more value than the carcass.

Our stay was prolonged, and I embraced the earliest opportunity of visiting and exploring these unknown coasts. My first object was to view the vale, near the hospital, where the smoke was perceived. On tracing its source, a little enclosure was discovered, and while endeavouring to find its entrance, a female sprung from the door, and with wonderful agility escaped by another passage. I was surprised and distressed at her apprehensions, but my eye soon lost her in an extensive wood at the end of the valley. Without attempting to proceed to investigate the interior of the habitation, I retired, but on exploring this fertile vale soon after, a man was discovered going towards the hut. I was

glad of this circumstance, to enquire respecting the affrighted woman, and was anxious to see whether she had returned to her hut again. The man, whom we afterwards found was her husband, appeared to give me a friendly reception, and satisfied my mind of the safety of his partner, who was returned, and her fears allayed, when she discovered nothing in her cot had been injured, and that the reason of her temporary alarm was my novelty and unexpected appearance, having probably never seen an Englishman before. From this vale and vicinity we procured a considerable quantity of wood, and those of our men who slept on shore, literally reposed on beds of myrtle, which abound in such quantities as to cover a great part of the coast, and some of its largest trees were often included in the fire-wood, to obtain which was the object of our visit.

In a day or two, being properly equipped and provided, a party of us proceeded to investigate farther into the interior, and to endeavour to procure a wild boar, which creatures abound here, and when young, furnish acceptable food.

We proceeded through woods, abounding with buffaloes, and over precipices covered with goats, till we were gratified with the appearance of a portion of smoke: increasing our pace, we soon arrived at a collection of huts or cottages, formed into what in this country may be deemed a regular village. These habitations were composed of a few boughs of the wild olive, and other trees, twined round and interwoven with a few uprights, which form the pillars and extent of the hut: from these uprights or poles is extended a coarse hair matting, which constitutes the roof, in the middle of which is one, and sometimes two other poles, raising it in that part, and causing the water to descend during the rainy seasons; near the door-way is an opening, forming the chimney. At one end of the enclosure is a small apartment for the young kids, which require much care and nourishment: opposite to this is the bed-place, consisting, principally of matting, with skins for a covering: and between this and the door is the fire-place, on the hearth, with only the hole in the roof to draw off the smoke, which being often green wood, is to a stranger very disagreeable, though the force of habit renders the natives indifferent to it.\*

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\* The head dress of some of the females is quite a curiosity; the hair round the forehead is curiously braided, with numerous pieces of small coin, princi-



In some of these huts are families of eight, and even ten, in number, who all appear to enjoy remarkable health; this must, in a great measure, arise from their habits of temperance and labour; for necessity compels these people to industry and activity. Every inhabitant has his fire-arms, with which he commonly procures a meal for himself and family; the wild boars, especially, serve them for food, and their skins make vessels for culinary uses, supply the men with wearing apparel, and form a part of their beds; with his gun, also, he frequently drives beasts of prey from the borders of his habitation. The wolves are very numerous, and frequently watch near the huts, but they are seldom known to attack a human being: so accustomed are the inhabitants to scenes of this description, that a female of this country would not be more alarmed at seeing a wolf or wild boar near her dwelling, than a female in England would be at seeing a mouse or a frog.

The tops of these stupendous mountains and precipices are frequently covered with innumerable goats, which constitute the principal animal food of the inhabitants, in which they however seldom indulge. Their chief food is coarse bread, similar to oaten, goats' milk, pulse, a little coffee, and rarely an egg: the women perform their household work, and frequently ascend these precipices and mountains in quest of their goats, and return with an infant slung on their back, who, with its little arms thrown round the neck of its fond mother, smiles unconscious amidst danger. It rarely happens that any accident happens either to the parent or child during these perilous excursions. These females deserve a still further description. Not only have they, in this manner, to traverse mountains, attend the kids at home, and perform all other household work; but when their husbands, who are comparatively indolent and unfeeling, are retired to rest, they have often to secure the goats in the precincts of their habitation, and see that every thing is safe around their dwellings, which reason points out as peculiarly the province of man.

At our first visit there was considerable alarm and timidity about these people, which is easily accounted for from the novelty of our appearance, and at an unexpected time; from repeated expressions of friendship, and acts of kind-

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pally of the adulterated silver of the country, intermixed with a few of gold which, contrasted with the homely clothing of the body, forms rather a ludicrous appearance.—A proof of the natural pride of the human heart!

ness, their apprehensions and reserve gradually wore off; and at length there appeared an emulation among them who should have the preference in our esteem. The men appeared to possess a degree of apathy and indolence at home, which prevented their activity in bartering, but received our articles when obtained by their wives, with a considerable degree of avidity and pleasure. We soon opened a negotiation, and obtained a regular supply of milk, and frequently a fine kid, which was as delicious as young lamb in England, and our participation in their wholesome fare was considered as a treat; in short, our friendship and esteem was so heightened, during our stay of less than a month, that we felt a degree of attachment and obligation to these people.

At another excursion, being well equipped for a longer journey, we penetrated still farther into this mountainous country, and travelling principally in an eastern direction, were soon gratified with new and romantic scenery, and though frequently plunged into thickets and woods, the gaining the vales beyond smoothed the rugged road, and the prospect of the view of a village from the adjacent mountains encouraged the ascent; we now reached an extensive wood well stocked with buffaloes, most of which retired on our approach: at the extremity of this wood we entered on a spacious morass, teeming with frogs, whose discordant notes grated on the ear, and soon perceived the holes of wild boars, and several human footsteps: this was a stimulus; and following the tracts, and gaining a pleasant eminence, we were gratified with the view of a few neat huts: on entering the precincts we surprised several of the female inhabitants, who, as at Macri, retreated with precipitation, nor could all our endeavours bring them to a degree of confidence sufficient to barter, and not having the opportunity of repeating our visits at this distance, were prevented the satisfaction of removing their fears by repeated acts of kindness.

On our return we joined several of the men going in pursuit of wild boars; their method of tracing and surrounding, and manner of attack, excited admiration. We parted with mutual expressions of friendship, proceeded through woods over mountains, whose summits, declivities, and precipices were often covered with goats, whose agility, compared with the buffaloes beneath, formed a pleasing contrast; and arrived at the last wood before the prowling of wolves were heard, and reached our ship in safety.

COLLINS.]

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These inhabitants, I am convinced, enjoy more content and happiness, than can be produced in the voluptuous refinements of their cities : far from these temptations, feeling less the effects of oppression, and having every thing within themselves necessary to supply their contracted wants of nature, they are comparatively happy, and had they but the knowledge and love of Christianity in their hearts, emperors might envy their situation.

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## LETTER XV.

*Recovery of the Sick—Revisit Marmorice—Description of a Storm, with Thunder, Lightning, and extraordinary Hail Stones—Critical Situation—Providential Escape—Dreadful Effects on Shore—Distress and Danger of the Sick—Reflections—Former Prosperity of the Country—Dr. White—Transition to a still more happy Period—Outline of its Ancient History—Improvements in Science, but at the same Time the Seat of soltish Idolatry—Sentiments of Solon—Socrates—Plato—Reflections.*

AT the expiration of a fortnight we were gratified with the recovery of several of our sick and the convalescence of several others, and at the end of less than three weeks, all were able to return to the ship ; soon after we took our leave of Karagatch. Passing again into the gulf, we approached the island of Rhodes, had a pleasing view of this entrance into the Archipelago, eminently calculated to produce a train of ideas, concerning the history of its celebrated islands and vicinity, and contrasting its once flourishing and prosperous situation with its present declension, the reflecting mind will commiserate its general depression.

“The God-like wisdom of the temper’d breast,  
 “Progressive truth ; investigation calm,  
 “The patient force of thought, whose silent powers  
 “Command the world ; the light that leads to heaven ;  
 “Kind equal rule ; the government of laws,  
 “And all protecting freedom, which alone  
 “Sustains the name and dignity of man :  
 “These are not theirs.”

THOMSON.

The following morning we arrived again off Marmorice,

and entered the harbour, which contained a fleet of upwards of two hundred sail, principally British, enclosed in a port, whose stupendous mountains form a magnificent amphitheatre, which, with groves of myrtle, vales of lively green, and several fine beaches, all basking on the eye at a short entrance from the gulf, excite pleasing sensations.

The 8th of this month was ushered in with lightning and showers of rain, with little wind, and variable: toward noon it increased to awful thunder and vivid lightning, with heavy showers of hail.

"The skies asunder torn, a deluge pour,  
"The impetuous hail descends in whirling shower."

At this time I happened to be in a boat at a distance from the ship, returning on board, when the hailstones, many of which were nearly as large as a pigeon's egg, beat so powerfully and severely on the hands of the rowers, that after considerable perseverance obliged them to desist, and rest on their oars, to screen their hands under their jackets and great-coats. I exposed myself with, and endeavoured to rally them, but on exposing one of my own hands to the fury of the shower, I was instantly feelingly convinced of the necessity of shelter; in the course of fifteen minutes our boat was one-third full of water, and lay like a log in the water, and had not the shower quickly ceased, several boats, and ours among the rest, must have sunk; but providentially the squall, for an interval, subsided, and all of us were preserved.

The night was increasingly awful. As its shades drew on it became a settled storm, rendered still more dreadful by thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain, all heightened by the dreadful reverberation of the mountainous amphitheatre, which nearly surrounded us, and by signal guns of distress.

"The ethereal dome in mournful pomp array'd,  
"Now lurks behind impenetrable shade,  
"Now flashing round intolerable light,  
"Redoubles all the terrors of the night;  
"Such terrors sin's quaking hills spread,  
"When heaven's loud trumpet sounded o'er its head;  
"Loud and more loud the rolling peals enlarge,  
"And blue on deck their blazing sides discharge;  
"Now in a deluge bursts the living flame,  
"And dread concussion rends the ethereal frame,  
"Sick earth convulsive groans from shore to shore,  
"And Nature shuddering feels the horrid roar."

FAULKNER.

I never beheld lightning so vivid, it swept along the deck with a power and brightness, which frequently left us in total darkness, and I several times feared the organs of vision were gone. Every avenue in the ship was carefully stopped, and wet swabs and coverings laid over all, to prevent the dreadful fluid penetrating the interior, which was providentially prevented by the seasonable and copious thunder showers, which always prove a mercy in the midst of apprehended judgment.

Towards the dawn the storm abated, and at day-light we found ourselves and ship in safety delivered out of this distress and danger, while the next ship, at the distance of about a hundred yards, had one of her masts shivered to pieces by the electric shock, and several vessels driven on shore; providentially but few seamen were injured, and all the largest ships rode out the gale.

But on shore the calamity was dreadful indeed, a weight of water falling on the mountains, swelled the rivulets into rivers, and the water-falls into mighty cataracts, and sweeping over the lower parts of the bay with increasing violence, inundated the vales beneath, and carried desolation in its train; several of the hospital tents were overthrown, and the sickly inhabitants washed from their couches, several of whom soon after expired, and had not that Omnipotent Being, "who walketh on the wings of the wind," controlled the conflicting elements, and caused the torrent unexpectedly to cease, most of these invalids must have perished by the storm.

After the gale had ceased, and fine weather ensued, we again went on shore to procure water, vegetables, and fruit, and to purchase some of the manufactures peculiar to Turkey. On a further acquaintance I was glad to find our conclusions too hastily drawn from transient visits, and some forbidding external appearances, in general groundless; for after repeated visits and dealings with them, such integrity was generally evinced, as commanded respect, and induced confidence.

In their trading with our people, though their prices were frequently high, they almost invariably asked for goods neither more nor less than they would take for them, and were often struck with surprize when any attempt was made to undervalue the article, and when repeated, would frequently express their abhorrence of such duplicity. We found easy access to their public places of resort, and as before related, I

had free admittance to their mosque; in short, these people shewed us such a degree of honourable attention, and exhibited decision of character, and an hospitality the more pleasing, because rather unexpected. It may be hoped our visit will show the necessity of cleanliness, in which they are sadly deficient, and lead them into habits of industry.

We were now favoured with the company of Dr. White, whose benevolent views were directed to investigate more particularly the nature and causes of the plague: his amiable manners gained on all on board, and his interesting conversation, connected with his disinterested and philanthropic scheme, so endeared him to those who had the happiness of his intimacy, that we fondly hoped to have had it continued across the Levant; but other affairs demanding his presence, his removal became necessary, and we parted with mutual regret; for my own part, I was so prepossessed in his favour during his temporary residence on board our ship, that my mind felt a keen sensation at parting so soon with so valuable a man; he took his leave with best wishes, and I saw him no more. The reader will probably be anxious to hear the success of his plan on his arrival in Egypt, and the writer will have the painful task to recite his falling a victim to a zeal directed for the happiness of man.

During our excursions we had from the mountains an extensive view of the country and of the coast.

Viewing, with a considerate mind, the state of these now comparatively desolated countries, and contemplating it in the mirror of the Sacred Scriptures, it is easy to extend the ideas and fix them on that happy period when the gospel was planted and promulgated throughout these regions, by that indefatigable, faithful, zealous, and affectionate herald of salvation, the apostle Paul, who was a native of it.

Here the gospel flourished in its purity; attended by a divine energy, it run and was glorified. How pleasing to a benevolent mind to consider this servant of God, with his associates, travelling these and other lands, preaching the glad tidings of salvation in all its fullness, freeness, and purity; attended by a divine and miraculous power to render it effectual to the conversion of the hearers. Planting churches, appointing bishops, or presbyters, and deacons, in one place, then committing them to the Saviour's grace; and travelling on in other directions with the blessed embassy of peace and salvation, in opposition to all the va-

rious and continued powerful and inveterate enemies with which they had to contend ; gaining fresh strength, in and from every conflict rising superior to every danger, and triumphing in the God of their salvation.

Surely the wisdom and power of God is irresistibly manifest here, to every one who can attend without prejudice, even to the dictates of his natural reason. What but a divine authority and power, could have enabled twelve obscure, poor, unprotected, and vilified men, amidst the deepest poverty, cruel hatred, calumnious reproach, and inhuman persecution from enemies, to carry on the vast project of enlightening and converting a world? that they should carry it on without ever appearing to covet any outward honour, or wealth, and that they should form a system of doctrines and morals infinitely superior in sense and dignity, to all the productions of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and other renowned philosophers and moralists of the heathen world? "How astonishing is it, that these few preachers, without the smallest encouragement from earthly powers, should so triumph over the rage, craft, and power, of the infuriated Jews : triumph over the pride, the policy, and power of the Roman empire, when at its full strength, and maturest sapidity : over the pride of learning, and the obstinacy of ignorance, hatred, prejudice, and lust ; over the hardened inclinations, deep-rooted customs, and long fixed laws of Jews and Heathens ; and that, contrary to every temptation from outward advantage, nay, notwithstanding every conceivable form of opposition, the gospel should, within a few years after Christ's ascension, be preached in almost every corner of the vast Roman empire, and the countries adjacent ; and that multitudes, at the hazard of every temporal loss, or punishment from men, should readily believe, constantly adhere to, and cheerfully practise the same."

It is equally astonishing, that for more than 1700 years, notwithstanding innumerable persecutions, together with the wickedness of professors, and the inconceivable villainies or base indifference of many of the clergy, this gospel has been more or less successful in reforming the hearts and lives of multitudes in almost every nation of importance under heaven. Is it not then a standing miracle? Are we not forced to exclaim, "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes?" Psalm cxviii. 23.

The celebrated antiquity and history of this country, so closely connected with ancient Greece, of which it formed a

part, would take a volume to sketch it, but I can hardly refrain from attempting a few of its outlines, adding some reflections as we proceed.

About the time of David, king of Israel, the Athenians spread their colonies over Ionia, and soon after all the lesser Asia was filled with Grecian cities.

After the defeat and flight of the hundreds of thousands of Persia, under the vain-glorious, stupid and cruel Xerxes, by a few thousand Greeks, animated by a love of liberty, these countries threw off the Persian yoke, and gladly united with their countrymen, and by this confederacy preserved their liberties, in common with Greece, during the time that this empire subsisted: partook of its laws, arts, and sciences, and enjoyed, under the same auspices, that happiness which was in a manner peculiar to Greece.

But gold, cursed gold, working on the corruptions and divisions, the love of ease and pleasure of the disorganized Grecian states, at length introduced Philip of Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable, who, in a short time, found means to bring it under his yoke, and Alexander, his son, united them all together, and about A. M. 3572, raised up an empire of their own upon the ruin of the Persian, less opulent and showy, but more powerful and warlike. He proceeded from hence with about 35,000 choice men, to overturn the empire of Persia, and to conquer the civilized world, which, having in a great measure, in the course of twelve years, rapidly completed, fulfilled the clear and wonderful predictions in Daniel's, and other parts of the sacred writings.

By this means the Grecian language, the most copious,

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\* See Daniel, chapters 7. and 8, where, 600 years before the Christian era, among other descriptions of the rise, decline and fall of the principal empires of the globe, Alexander is pointed out by the figure of a leopard, with four wings, and of a goat, with a notable horn, as significant of craft, cruelty, power, and the rapidity of his conquests; and the words, "smote him, cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him," appear to refer to the three famous victories obtained over Darius at Granicus, at Issus, and at Arbela. In twelve years' time he, in effect, conquered the world, and then sat down and wept because he had no more to conquer; but the great arm that had done all this execution was broken, for he was cut off in the prime of life, by a drunken surfeit, or poison.

† Who, from being a captive, soon rose to the first offices of state, under three of the greatest monarchs of the world, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus and Darius, and saw the reign and fall of the ponderous and unwieldy Babylon, who foretold the rise and fall of the Persian and Macedonian empires, the restoration of the Jews under Cyrus, and uttered the memorable prophecy of the Messiah—Redemption by him, and the final destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish church and nation, for their rejection of him.



and perhaps correct, that was ever spoken in the world, became common to all the nations conquered or subdued by Alexander. A translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew was faithfully given, and thereby rendered clear and intelligible to such a vast number of people. The Jews dispersed over Asia into Europe and Africa, and considerably enlightened the heathen philosophers in the unity and knowledge of the true God.

In this wonderful manner did a gracious God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching. The contents of the Old Testament Scriptures would naturally lead men to look for its completion in the New Testament; surely "the wrath of man shall serve him, and the remainder of it he will restrain." All things shall work for his glory.

Among our visitors, we could number a variety of different nations, who appeared emulous of our friendship, and seen united, formed a pleasing assemblage.—Among the Turks was an officer of rank, who became more stationary and familiar, frequently entering into interesting conversations; he displayed an unusual openness and freedom, and expressed much respect for his English friends; his abilities, natural and acquired, appeared far beyond the ordinary attainments of the Turks, who, in general, affect to despise these things.

Our friend's conversation grew increasingly interesting; besides giving us an historical relation of important epochs and events, he entered more particularly on the subject of religion, and the fulfilment of prophecy, and with a depth, clearness, and precision, that surprized those of his hearers, who were acquainted with the theory (for alas! little was known of its vital power) of these most important of subjects, among many other judicious observations, which has now escaped the memory of the writer.

He expressed his veneration for the Bible, which he considered the only written book of God, and alone pointing out the way to attain lasting happiness; his suspicions of the truth of the Mahomedan religion, that his mind was impressed with the prospect of its fall, and the necessity of their being taught the true religion; a desire to be instructed more fully on the subject, and a wish for the more general instruction of his ignorant countrymen, many of the most intelligent of which were of similar sentiments.

At the time these conversations took place, scarcely one of his hearers paid more than common attention to them, and

the author must, with shame, include himself in this number; but there was something so serious and extraordinary in his manner of delivering his sentiments, as tended to fix the attention even of this too careless company.

On a more mature consideration of these very interesting conversations, the author feels a hope that these reflecting Turks, and others, will soon hail that instruction so many of them desire, by the diffusion of the Christian religion in these benighted countries, which will show them the fulfilment of many prophecies in past ages, which ensure the completion of all that are yet unfulfilled, and unanswerably prove that the reign of the Messiah will take place all over the world.

The writer would humbly submit these hints to the consideration of missionary societies, who are engaged in the god-like plan of diffusing light and happiness throughout the dark and miserable abodes of violence and cruelty.

On Great Britain, especially, the inhabitants of these once favoured countries, appear to have peculiar claims. Their connections by commerce, &c. open channels of communication.

Their desire for the Bible (many mutilated parts of which are to be found in their Alcoran), points out the desirableness of giving them a translation of its genuine contents, in the Turkish language: also their doubts of the truth of many parts of their Alcoran, and that desire\*, so prevalent in many of them, to attain true knowledge of God.

Among many other incitements which might be enumerated, and which the better judgment of those engaged in missions may easily discover: seem to say, loudly to say, as the man of Macedonia, to that hero of the gospel, Paul, "Come over and help us."

This country being originally the birth-place of those Greeks who first colonized the Grecian islands, and whose return has been noticed, it partook of all the advantages of its learning, and fell into all its most senseless idolatry.

Such was its fame for learning, that Athens was called the university of the whole world, and even royal personages resorted to Greece for education, from all parts of the known world; and the common rudiments of science, gained here, would give its possessor a decided superiority in most civilized countries then existing.

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\* A pleasing instance of this will be given here, too, when treating of pious soldiers in Egypt.

COLLINS. 1

But amidst all this boasted erudition and refinement—amidst all this radiancy of glory, and zenith of power—in all these acquisitions of arts and sciences, the most important of all the sciences, theology, was covered with gross superstition, and enveloped in midnight darkness. Let us seriously consider, for a few moments, their deplorable ignorance with respect to the only true and lasting wisdom—the knowledge and worship of Jehovah.

The most enlightened, civilized, and wisest nations of antiquity, the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, were the most ignorant and blind, and retained and cherished the most stupid, coarse, and absurd ideas respecting it. A short deduction will bring this to a demonstration. Greece was so dreadfully sunk in this depravity, that Athens, called the soul and sun of it, was the most deeply involved in idolatry; they multiplied their gods on every occasion; hence the apostle charges it with being “wholly given to idolatry.” This character is demonstrated both by sacred and profane history.

It would pain a serious mind to enumerate the ceremonies of the false gods of the Greeks, and other refined nations of antiquity.

The gravest of their philosophers forbids drinking to excess, if it was not in the feasts of Bacchus, and to the honour of that god. Another, after severely lashing all unseemly images, excepts those of the gods, who chose to be honoured by such indecencies.

Greece, with all her pretensions to superior politeness and wisdom, had received abominable mysteries.

Solon, the greatest legislator of Athens, erected a temple for purposes of licentiousness, and conjugal love had not one temple in the whole country; yet they detested adultery in men and women, and were severe to punish it; the conjugal tie was sacred among them. But when they applied themselves to religion, they appeared possessed of a strange spirit.\*

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\* Indeed, it is evident, from the whole tenor of ancient history, that the most inquisitive of their philosophers were frequently more bewildered in respect of essential knowledge than the illiterate. The Greeks were probably the most learned of all the heathen nations, and Athens contained the wiser men in all Greece; yet, what unworthy, inconclusive, unsatisfactory, absurd ideas, did they form of the Almighty; the relation they held in the scale of being, and the worship due to God. Wearied at length in the pursuit, and impressed with the necessity of better information on the most important of all subjects, many of the wisest and best, at an early period concluded that wisdom must come from heaven to instruct them in true knowledge. This senti-

Nor did the Roman gravity treat religion more seriously, seeing it consecrated to the honour of the gods, the impurities of the theatre, and the bloody spectacles of the gladiators; that is, whatever can be imagined most corrupt and barbarous.

It is true, some of the best of their philosophers had at last confessed that there was another god, than those the vulgar worshipped, but they durst not avow it; on the contrary, Socrates delivered it as a maxim, that every one ought to follow the religion of his country, and at his last accusation before the Areopagus, maintained and asserted, "that he worshipped the god of his country, and that he sacrificed in private and public, upon the allowed altars, and according to the rites and customs of the city." After his confession, reported by two of his ablest scholars\*, there can be no doubt on this head. He was an idolator, and had not, by his great ability in reasoning, delivered himself from the practice of the superstition of his country.

Plato, his disciple, who saw Greece, and all the countries of the known world, filled with an absurd and senseless worship, does nevertheless lay it down as the foundation of his republic, "that men are never to make any change in the religion they find established, and that they must have lost all common sense so much as to think of it."

How inconsistent, inconclusive, absurd, and vain, were their opinions and sentiments on this most important of all subjects, for want of the determinate, and conclusive evidence of the steady, consoling, and animating light of divine revelation.

Those great, and compared to the general darkness, enlightened men, who said so many excellent things of the divine nature, did not dare to oppose the public error.

When Socrates, called the prince of philosophers, was brought before the Areopagus, the most incorrupt, sacred, and venerable tribunal in Greece, and accused of denying the gods whom the public adored; he vindicated himself from it, as from a crime, and after being unjustly condemned to death, his last words to his friend was, a request for him to offer a cock to Esculapius. And Plato, speaking of

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ment extended itself as time advanced, so that by the time Rome had attained the summit of power, the necessity of an heavenly Messenger was so prevalent among mankind, that a general expectation and wish was excited, and who could this refer to but to the Messiah, who is peculiarly called, the desire of all nations?

\* Plato and Xenophon.

the God who formed the universe, says, that "it is hard to find him, and that it is forbidden to declare him to the people." He protests that he never speaks of him, but enigmatically, for fear of exposing so great a truth to ridicule.\*

But in contemplating the characters of such eminent and worthy men as Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Solon, Aristides, Epictetus, Seneca, Thales, Zeno, Antimonous, &c. &c. and viewing them frequently opposing, with the light they had, the idolatry of their countrymen, and the heathen world, at large, and evidencing by their conduct the superiority of their views, the benevolent Christian feels drawn to them in affection, and can feelingly and cordially adopt the interesting lines of a pious poet.

" Is virtue then, unless of Christian growth,  
 " Mere fallacy, or foolishness, or both ?  
 " Ten thousand sages lost in endless woe,  
 " For ignorance of what they could not know ?  
 " That speech betrays at once a bigot's tongue,  
 " Charge not a God with such outrageous wrong,  
 " Truly not I—the partial light men have,  
 " My creed persuades me, well employed may save ;  
 " While he that scorns the noon-day beams perverse,  
 " Shall find a blessing unimprov'd, a curse,  
 " Let heathen worthies, whose exalted mind,  
 " Left sensuality and dross behind,  
 " Possess for me their undisputed lot,  
 " And take unenvied the reward they sought ;  
 " But still in virtue of a saviour's plea,  
 " Not blind by choice, but destin'd not to see,  
 " Their fortitude and wisdom were a flame,  
 " Celestial, though they knew not whence it came ;  
 " Derived from the same source of light and grace,  
 " That guides the Christian in his swifter race ;  
 " Their judge was conscience, and her rule their law,  
 " That rule pursued with reverence and with awe,  
 " Led them, however faltering, faint, and slow,  
 " From what they knew to what they wished to know ;  
 " But let not him that shares a brighter day,  
 " Traduce the splendour of a noon-tide ray,  
 " Prefer the twilight of a darker time,  
 " And deem his base stupidity no crime.  
 " The wretch, who slights the bounty of the skies,  
 " And sinks, while favoured with the means to rise,  
 " Shall find them rated at their full amount,  
 " The good he scorned, all carried to account."

COWPER.

In what an abyss of error was mankind plunged, when it could not bear the idea of the true God.

Athens, the most polite and most learned city in the

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\* Universal History.

world, whose superstitions and idolatries were so clearly developed, and irresistibly confuted by St. Paul in his visit\*, took for atheists those who spoke of intellectual things; and this was one of the reasons for which Socrates was condemned. If some philosophers presumed to teach that statues were not gods, as the vulgar apprehended, they found themselves obliged to recant this doctrine, and even after that they were banished as profane persons. The whole earth was possessed with the same error. The great God, the Creator and Governor of the world, had neither temple nor worship, but in Jerusalem.

What a mercy that Jucea was acquainted with his holy name, and knew that to divide religion, by admitting other gods, was to destroy it.

" They, and they only, amongst all mankind,  
 " Receiv'd the transcript of the eternal mind;  
 " Were trusted with his own engraven laws,  
 " And constituted guardians of his cause;  
 " Their's were the prophet, their's the priestly call,  
 " And their's by birth the Saviour of us all."

— COWPER.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Extraordinary Character—Wonderful Distinction, and Marvellous Preservation of the Jews, with their Punishments, illustrated by their Separation, and the Destruction of their City and Temple—Reflections.*

THE preservation of the Jews, and the Sacred Scriptures, claims the serious attention, and deepest gratitude, from every intelligent being in the world; and calls on us to contemplate and adore the wonderful providence of Almighty God, in raising up, and preserving that nation, as a distinct and peculiar people, giving them the sacred canon of the Old Testament, and making them thereby a barrier against idolatry, and the depositories of those writings, which, as well as the revolutions in their nation, all clearly pointed to the Shiloh.

The distinction of character which still mark the Jews, dispersed, or however situated, the fulfilment of prophecies

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\* Acts, chap. xvii.

already accomplished, and still to be accomplished, in their return to the Messiah, "when God will remember his mercy and his truth towards the house of Israel, and all the ends of the world shall see the salvation of God," command attention and affection from Christians towards this people, by whose means the worship of the true God had been kept up in the midst of an idolatrous world, and by whose instrumentality the inestimable records of Scripture have been preserved, and will be transmitted to future generations.

And when we view this despised, and too often persecuted people, at this moment inhabiting part of all the quarters of the globe; when we consider that of three million, which according to the present calculation is their number, one million remain in the Turkish dominions, where they so nearly approximate the ancient scene of their prosperity, the vast empire of the east—and that they inhabit countries never yet fully explored by Europeans, how forcibly does the idea of the Jews being the heralds of the Messiah to many countries, strike the mind.

This extraordinary people have been kept wonderfully and totally distinct from all the other nations of the globe, in defiance of all their individual and united exertions to confound them. The Assyrians, the Grecians, and the Romans, successively conquered them by their arms; but neither they, with all their other conquerors and oppressors, could incorporate them with their people.

These empires rose and fell, one after the other, while the Jews alone continued. What a wonderful act of Divine Providence is it, that the vanquished should, for so many ages, survive the victors, and the former spread all over the world, while the latter are no more known!

The northern nations have poured forth in swarms into the southern parts of Europe; but where are they now? Who can distinguish the Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans, in England? Or the Gauls, the Romans, and the Franks, in France? In Spain, who can distinguish between the first Spaniards, and the Goths and Moors, who conquered it? They are all blended and lost, and similar observations might be made on all other nations. Much more might it have been expected, that the sufferings of the Jews, like fire, would have melted them down into the common mass of human nature, with the different nations among whom they dwelt: to name one instance only, the destruction of Jerusalem, when upwards of 2 million were said to have perished; but they still are dis-

ting; they still are very numerous; they still exhibit, in every individual, the legible marks of Divine Power; so that whoever sees the face of a Jew, sees a standing miracle, a living argument for the truth of Christianity, whose Divine Author foretold their sufferings, dispersion, and recovery. Luke, xxi. 24; his apostle Paul, Romans, xi. 25; and Moses, 1500 years before the coming of the Messiah; Lev. xxvi.—Deut. xxviii. Not only the mere event, but the particular circumstances, their captivity, their dispersion, the awful destruction of their temple and city\*: the oppressions, persecutions, contempt, and hatred of the world; the miseries accompanying their very name, and the cause of these, their rejection of the Messiah by unbelief; were all foretold, and, blessed be God! their restoration is also predicted. How strong a presumptive proof does their separate state furnish, of their promised restoration, and how worthy of admiration is it, that they carry with them, wherever they go, the books of Moses and the prophets, hereby proving to a demonstration, that their sufferings, as a separate people, predicted in these very books, are for rejecting the Saviour, who is therein so clearly described as the Messiah; they hereby now still continue, in some degree, to be heralds of salvation; and how gloriously will it be increased, when they shall be converted to Christianity, and become instrumental in conveying its glad tidings over the globe, “When the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God, and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.”

Infidels, as well as Jews, would do well to consider these facts, and they are called upon to consider them at their peril, before that awful scripture is verified—“Behold ye despisers, and wonder and perish.”

It is impossible that any man should duly consider these memorable events, without some powerful conviction of the truth of Divine Revelation. Can any stronger proof be given of Divine Revelation, than the spirit of prophecy? And can there be a stronger proof given of the spirit of prophecy, than the punishments and preservation of the Jews? To instance the awful and memorable event of the destruction of Jerusalem only, will illustrate this in a forcible manner.

At the time Christ pronounced these prophecies, Jerusalem was in profound peace, and the Roman governor had

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\* See this memorable event described by Josephus, who was an eye-witness.



ample force to keep the people in obedience; and could human prudence foresee that the city, as well as the country, would revolt against the Romans? Could human prudence foresee, “famines, and pestilence, and earthquakes, in divers places?” Could human prudence foresee the speedy propagation of the gospel, so contrary to all human probability? Could any, or all the powers of human calculation, so much as conjecture the sudden and utter destruction of Jerusalem, with all the wonderful and particular events attending and succeeding it? It was a received maxim among the Romans, not absolutely to ruin any of their provinces, less might it have been expected under Titus, who exerted every effort to save the temple, but in vain.

My plan will not admit of entering fully into detail, as of the marvellous escape and preservation of every Christian in Jerusalem, at the siege, &c. but whoever will enter into consideration of these important events, unfolding the momentous predictions of Him, who said to the roaring billows, “Peace, be still,” will find increasing reason to say, this is the finger of God. These exhibit irresistible proofs of the truth of Christianity.

“ Thus fell the best instructed in her day,  
 “ And the most favour’d lands, look where we may;  
 “ Philosophy indeed on Grecian eyes  
 “ Had pour’d the day, and cleared the Roman skies.  
 “ In other climes perhaps creative art,  
 “ With power surpassing theirs, performed her part,  
 “ Might give more life to marble, or might fill  
 “ The glowing tablets with a juster skill,  
 “ Might shine in fable, and grace idle themes,  
 “ With all the embroidery of poetic dreams;  
 “ ’Twas theirs alone to dive into the plan,  
 “ That truth and mercy had revealed to man;  
 “ And while the world beside that plan unknown,  
 “ Deified useless wood, or senseless stone,  
 “ They breathed in faith their heaven directed prayer,  
 “ And the true God, the God of truth, was theirs.  
 “ Their glory faded, and their race dispersed,  
 “ The last of nations now, though once the first,  
 “ They warn and teach, the proudest would they learn,  
 “ Keep wisdom, or meet vengeance in your turn;  
 “ If we escaped not, if heaven spared not us,  
 “ Peeled, scattered, and exterminated thus;  
 “ If vice receive her retribution due,  
 “ When we are visited, what hope for you?  
 “ When God arises with an awful frown,  
 “ To punish lust, or pluck presumption down;  
 “ When gifts perverted, or not duly prized,  
 “ Pleasure over-valued, and his grace despised;

"Provoke the vengeance of his righteous hand  
 "To pour down wrath upon a thankless land;  
 "He will be found impartially severe,  
 "Too just to wink, or speak the guilty clear;  
 "Oh! Israel of all nations most undone,  
 "Thy diadem displaced and sceptre gone,  
 "Thy temple, once thy glory, fallen and razed,  
 "And thou a worshipper, even where thou mayest;  
 "Thy services once only without spot,  
 "Mere shadows now, their ancient pomp forgot;  
 "Thy Levites, once a consecrated host,  
 "No longer Levites, and their lineage lost,  
 "And thou thyself over every country sown,  
 "With none on earth that thou canst call thy own;  
 "Cry aloud, thou that settest in the dust,  
 "Cry to the proud, the cruel and unjust;  
 "Knock at the gate of nations, rouse their fears,  
 "Say wrath is coming, and the storm appears,  
 "But raise the shillest cry in British ears."

COWPER.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Passage to Egypt—Storm—First View of the Coast—  
 Critical Situation—Wonderful Deliverance—Vestiges of  
 Antiquity—Visit the Vicinity of Alexandria—Pass a  
 remarkable Lake—Land near a Market—Avidity of the  
 Natives for Silver and Gold—View of Alexandria—  
 Pompey's Pillar—Site of the Pharos, &c.—Baths—  
 Statues—Urns—Vases—Remarkable Inscription—Ce-  
 ment in an Ancient Building—Sketch of the History of  
 Alexandria—Description of the various Inhabitants—  
 Moors—Arabians—Coptes—Jews—Turks—Utility of  
 the Camel and Dromedary—Established Religion—  
 Punctuality in their Devotions—Government.*

HAVING replenished our stock of water, and procur-  
 ed a good supply of vegetables and fruit, which the inha-  
 bitants in general were forward to assist us in getting on  
 board, late in February 1801, we weighed anchor, and  
 stood into the Levant with a large fleet in company, for a  
 still more remote destination. For a short time we were fa-  
 voured with moderate weather, after which a fresh gale and  
 storm obliged us to lower the towering sails, and exposed  
 the fleet to danger. We continued much dispersed for two  
 days, when it moderated, and the fleet continued its course  
 to the southward, until the beautiful evening of the first of  
 COLLINS.]

March, when the castle of Alexandria was discovered, bearing S. E. about four or five leagues; and at eight the next morning we anchored in the spacious bay of Aboukir. During this short passage we lost several of our men by a dangerous fever, and with sympathy committed their bodies to the deep.

A comprehensive view of the coast of celebrated Egypt, appeared highly gratifying, and tended forcibly to recall its ancient history to remembrance. Soon after our anchoring we experienced tempestuous weather with a ground swell, which continued for several days, and prevented any debarkation of troops: as soon as the gale permitted, the vessels of easy draught of water were ordered near the beach to cover the landing, and have troops in readiness to land. On the seventh the landing commenced, and on the eighth effected.

I was ordered on this disembarkation, and my first visit to these interesting coasts was a very perilous one indeed; we had to approach the shore in the face of several batteries, and at length reached the beach amidst volleys of shot. Just as the last of the troops had stepped or jumped out of the boat, and were forming, many of them ankle deep in the water, a musket ball passed through my hat, penetrated the periosteum, and grazing the bone, left me instantly senseless in the boat: on recovering my senses, I felt my neck, shoulders, and back, bathed in blood, the vessels still bleeding profusely, and so helpless that every effort, even to seat myself, was unavailing. The scene of confusion with which we were surrounded, was unfriendly to attention from my comrades in danger; and it was a considerable time before I could get conveyed to medical assistance; on reaching alongside the nearest of several vessels, who were placed on purpose to receive the wounded, and cover the landing, we were severely disappointed: for the surgeon was surrounded with so many cases, claiming instant relief, that they were under the painful necessity of refusing admission to any more. I perhaps felt the least at this answer, as by this time I was nearly exhausted from the continual loss of blood. We soon reached the next vessel, and I was hoisted in, and, after a short waiting, was dressed by the surgeon, who took up the vessels, and said, he hoped it was not a fracture. It was indeed dangerous, in my present situation to remove me to our own ship, which lay at the distance of several miles, and the surgeon kindly had me laid on his own bed; I found a state of repose very

refreshing and comfortable, but just as I had begun to be composed and inclined to sleep, the signal was made for the ship instantly to get under way, and proceed further; in consequence I was obliged to be reluctantly taken from my generous host, borne into the boat by a grating or hatch, and conveyed to my ship almost in a state of insensibility. I here received every attention: the paroxysms of fever which succeeded were mild, and in a month I was so astonishingly recovered as to be declared out of danger.

Taking the earliest opportunity, full of curiosity, and in expectation of beholding wonders, I again landed, and reached the vicinity of Alexandria. The eye was engaged the whole way on the various objects around, and the mind forming assemblages of curiosities, dwelt with delight on the novel and interesting scene which imagination presented to view, but which experience proves to be seldom realized, we proceeded towards the bottom of the bay, about nine miles from the ship, and soon beheld on its shores many pieces of granite, some of them apparently vestiges of antiquity; probably relics of ancient cities, whose sites stood on the margin of this bay. With a fine breeze we entered Lake Maadie, which appears to have been anciently the opening of that branch of the Nile, called the Canopite: this, with several others (for there appear to have been seven branches) has from various causes, lost its communication with the parent river, and dwindled into a lake. We sailed pleasantly along; anticipating the satisfaction of curiosity I was eager to land, and by this conveyance avoided a dreary and sultry walk over the vast sand which extends from Aboukir to Alexandria, a distance of twelve or fourteen miles.

After sailing several miles in this spacious bason, we landed on a fine beach in the vicinity of a considerable market, whose motley group, and various and abundant supplies, instantly excited attention.

It was probably the circle of an acre, enclosed by means of posts, with a rope leading from each all round; within and without were numbers of the natives, principally Arabians, who poured forth their stores, and seemed very anxious to exchange them for the silver and gold of their English friends: indeed such was their avidity and importunity for customers, that no part of the metropolis of Gauxa, even Moorfi itself, could excel them in this respect.

We passed through this bustle, and proceeded to view some of the ruins of ancient Alexandria. From the summit

of the hill, near the market, I could perceive part of this once celebrated city, whose ancient limits, by the baths, statues, &c. around us, and other vestiges recently discovered, probably extended beyond the spot on which I was then situated.

Pompey's Pillar rises majestically from the ruins of its ancient greatness, and the present building, near the site of the ancient Pharos, points out the place where the relics of that once stately and useful edifice, esteemed one of the wonders of the world, lies buried, and its once spacious and well filled harbours, now comparatively choked up, and forsaken, so many remains of fallen greatness, striking on the mind, fixed attention, and excited emotions of commiseration.

I was in the midst of ruins, which clearly pointed out they belonged to ancient Alexandria, or its suburbs. Urns, statues, and subterraneous avenues, with pieces of granite, &c. proved that they were no common relics. I was gratified with a view of a piece of stone, containing an inscription of near two thousand years date, recording events in the time of Pompey and Caesar.

The ruins of a magnificent building excited considerable interest, and gratified curiosity by the ingenuity of its structure, but called forth commiseration at the recollection of its history; the author was informed it was a celebrated library, in which appears to have been deposited precious remains of ancient learning, that fell amongst the desolations of those Saracens, who in the seventh century made war upon literature as well as nation. The connection of the cement with the bricks, of which it appears to have been principally built, is to a modern eye astonishing, it has so insinuated itself into the pores as to form one substance; and a forcible separation would probably destroy both; this stands a monument of the ravages of time and desolating invaders.

On my return I again passed the skirts of the market, purchased six hundred eggs for a dollar, ten small fowls for a dollar, and vegetables and fruit proportionably cheap; and returned to the ship gratified with my visit to these celebrated shores.

The history of Alexandria itself, would supply materials for several volumes. I must confine myself to a few particulars: it is situated without that fertile part of Egypt called the Delta, surrounded with sand and water; its population consists of Turks, Greeks, Jews, Arabs, &c. who enjoy toleration; it is now of small extent, but has still

considerable commerce, which its harbour and situation command. It was founded by Alexander the Great soon after the overthrow of Tyre; he considered the value of Egypt, as connected with this port, and appreciating the advantages of commerce, exerted himself to raise it to extraordinary importance, and to perpetuate his memory, named it after himself; and had his conquests in general been so wisely directed, it would have lessened the devastations which his mad schemes of universal empire entailed on mankind. By its situation and connection, it soon rose to be what Tyre had been, a place of uncommon riches and magnificence. It was the mart for all the trade of the Indies, and its capacious harbour contained several hundred sail of shipping at one time; and even after Rome had attained to sovereign power, and had reduced Egypt to its dominion, it was long reckoned the second city in the world.

After the decline of the Roman empire it became subject to the Saracens, who ravaged it, overturned many of its edifices, and destroyed its famous library. It passed from them into the possession of the Turks, who still appoint a magistrate, with whom are connected several others, appointed by the inhabitants, and the internal government is said to be much vested in the hands of the citizens.

Its present condition is a contrast to its ancient splendour and prosperity, the harbours are much injured; the Pharos, called a wonder of the world, is probably without a remain; the inhabitants are about eight thousand, who are mostly attracted by commerce. Alexandria contains a mixture of various nations, many of whom literally dwell amid the ruins of its ancient magnificence.

The present inhabitants throughout this extensive coast, are of various sorts, whose manners and customs are as various. Moors, Arabians, wild and civilized, are numerous.

The Coptes boast of their descent from the ancient Egyptians, whose ancestors were once Christians; they still profess Christianity, and retain a semblance of its excellent system, much enveloped in superstition; they deem themselves of the Greek church, but frequently embrace Mahometan customs. These Coptes are generally the most learned of all the inhabitants of this country.

The Jews, found here as in all other parts of the world, are so many living testimonies to the truth of Christianity, and will so continue, till the God who has dispersed them among all nations, shall graciously call them into the fold of our common Saviour.

The Turks, to whom is committed a principal part of the government, here display their native indolence and ostentation, and are in general arbitrary and ignorant, though some of them seem to partake of that activity and enterprise visible in many of the native inhabitants, and display a promptness and ingenuity in commerce, the more remarkable, because unexpected; nor are they that dull senseless people which Europeans generally suppose; indeed when their abilities are well directed, they excite pleasing surprise. They are attentive to the injunctions of the Koran, which enjoins considerable bodily exertion, and temperance.

The Arabians are partly wild, and partly civilized, the former have no fixed habitation. The latter, living where towns and villages are built, often joining the inhabitants, become more local than their brethren of the inland parts, who sleep under tents, which they pitch in a convenient place, and remove at pleasure: their tents or hovels, are scattered all over the country. The peregrinations, and hardihood of the Arabians, are astonishing; the same piece of flannel that cover them by day, serves for bed and bedding at night; their principal employment is hunting, and sometimes plundering. They are wonderfully expert in mounting and riding camels and dromedaries; their horses are very fleet, and remarkably quick at turning, when at full gallop.

Their chief animal food is goats and camels, the ostrich is said to serve them for commerce and medicine; they substitute dates for bread, which, with goats milk, and a little corn and pulse, constitute their chief food.

The camel and dromedary are their beasts of burden, and are wonderfully adapted to the country, carrying immense burthens, and subsisting with a very small quantity of water; they are peculiarly formed for the sultry and extensive deserts, where little water is to be obtained for several days journey together; these animals will carry loads from four to six hundred weight or more, without a fresh supply of water, and need no unloading during a long journey; when they are fatigued they naturally kneel down to rest, and when nature is refreshed and invigorated, rise up with their burthen and proceed on their journey.

The Arabians are certainly descended from Ishmael, Abraham's son by Hagar, and verify to this day that prophecy respecting him and his posterity, recorded in the 16th chapter of Genesis and 12th verse. "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand

against him." It would lead me beyond my limits to enter into their full history, but a short sketch only will set this in a striking view.

Shishak, the Egyptian conqueror, was obliged to protect his kingdom from their depredations by a deep ditch, and line of defence. About A. M. 2200, the Gadites and Reubenites gave the Ishmaelites a terrible defeat, and seized on their territory and wealth. About 800 years after, the Assyrians ravaged their country. About A. M. 2400, Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean, ravaged the northern parts of Arabia, put multitudes of them to the sword, burnt their cities, and carried off their wealth for a prey.

Provoked by their contempt of himself, or by their depredations on his subjects, Alexander the Great in vain resolved to extirpate them. Antigonus, his mighty general, who attempted to succeed him; Pompey, the victorious Roman commander; and the emperors, Augustus, Trajan, and Severus, attempted to reduce or destroy them in vain. Providence always, and sometimes miraculously, maintained the independency of these wild descendants of Abraham by Hagar.

They have their native chiefs, and wander in hordes, and sometimes pay unwelcome visits to caravans and to neighbouring countries, and too often commit plunder.

In the seventh century of the Christian era, these Ishmaelites, under Mahomet, their countryman and famed impostor, and his successors, furiously extended their empire, and their new and false religion, through a great part of Asia, Africa, and even some countries of Europe.

Since the fall of their empire, the Turks have made repeated attempts to subdue them; but instead of succeeding they have been obliged for near three hundred years past, to pay them a yearly tribute of many thousand crowns, for procuring a safe passage for the pilgrims to Mecca, where Mahomet was born. Circumcision is continued among them as a mark of their origin, not on the eighth day, after the manner of the Jews, but at the thirteenth year, as the Scripture informs us, it was given to their father Ishmael.

The principal authorized religion of the Egyptians is Mahometanism, and its professors are very attentive to their devotions; they rise early, and attend public worship at sun-rise, public and private during the day, and again in the evening or at dusk.

The government is not so arbitrary and oppressive, as in many other parts more immediately under Turkish controul:



this may arise from their distance from the seat of government, and from their struggles for independence, a memorable instance of which recently happened.

The Beys still retain great influence, and the chiefs of several Arab tribes may be said to be quite independent of the Turkish government, who, although they have a viceroy or bashaw at Cairo, cannot carry any measure into effect without consulting the native chiefs, and obtaining their sanction; the Turkish government, therefore, are cautious how they infringe the liberties of these people.

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## CHAP. XVIII.

*Alarming Tempest—Perilous Situation—Necessitated to cut away Boats—Exertions to secure the Remainder—Difficulty and Danger attending it—Two Seamen perish in the Attempt—Cessation of the Storm—Melancholy Spectacle of Wrecks and Dead Bodies on the Shore—Termination of the Gale—Supplies—Pleasing View—Sirocco, or Winds of the Desert—Gloomy Appearance—Distressing Effects—Appearance of Disease—Apprehensions of the Plague—Sudden Change—Reviving Breezes—Reflections—Night Scene—Remarkable Prophecy—Nile—Its Source—Cause of Fertility—Canals and Reservoirs—Wildness of the Winter—Overflowing of the Nile—Anniversary thereof.*

ON the fourth of April we were overtaken with a heavy gale from the sea. It began with fresh breezes and cloudy weather, soon increased to fresh gales and squally, with rain and lightning from almost every part of the horizon, with a ground swell. We struck our masts, and prepared to receive it. In the course of twenty-four hours it increased to such a degree, that the bowsprit of our vessel pitched under the waves, and we were necessitated to cut away our best and largest boat from the stern, to ease the dreadful plunges of the ship; this caused an anxiety to secure the other boat, which was still under the stern, for which purpose several seamen came forward, and offered their services to perform the most difficult and dangerous part of the business, that of going over the stern and hooking her on, in order for hoisting up; five men descended for this purpose, got safely into the boats, gained the tackles, and made every

exertion for a successful issue; but alas! while one hook only had taken, the ship gave several dreadful plunges, lifted the boat by one end only, at her descent filled her with water, and shook and washed the men out. With anxious eyes we beheld them struggling with the mighty waves, and by throwing buoyant things and other exertions, providentially rescued three out of the five from a watery grave. The next morning was beheld numerous wrecks of boats, and several corpses were drifted on the beach. The wind ceased, and a general gloom pervaded the ship's company at the loss of their comrades and sharers in a long series of toils and dangers.

We now received considerable supplies of poultry, mutton, eggs, fine fruits, and fish, and were refreshed with reviving sea breezes, which prevail on this coast, which, together with a comprehensive view from Aboakir castle to the mouth of the Nile, including the landscape near Rosetta, gratified the eye, and invigorated the body. This view of the vicinity of Rosetta becomes peculiarly grateful when the eye has been long fatigued, and the animal spirits become languid in traversing the extensive and hot sands adjoining.

The setting sun in this country is a sight which exceeds any view I ever saw or could conceive. The majestic appearance of its orb, the splendour and peculiar softness of its rays, the variegated and vivid colours of the surrounding clouds, with the remarkable reflection on the glassy wave, and the agreeable serenity of the atmosphere conspire to form a sublime and delightful prospect.

" Low walks the sun, and broadens by degree  
 " Just o'er the verge of day. The shifting clouds  
 " Assembled gay, a richly gorgeous train,  
 " In all their pomp attend his sitting throne.  
 " Air, earth, and ocean smile immense.  
 " And now he dips his orb;  
 " Now half immers'd; and now a golden curve  
 " Gives one bright glance, then tott' disappears.

THOMSON.

This pleasant weather, and these beautiful appearances continued, with a very short intermission, till the 22d of May, when we were surrounded with a gloomy contrast indeed.

It began with variable winds, inclinable to calms, attended with an uncomfortable warmth; at length the wind fixed itself in the S. E. in the direction of the desert, and we

COLLINS.]

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soon felt a sultry breeze, which conveyed innumerable insects into every crevice, and became so troublesome on deck, that we were glad to retreat below, but in vain, for wherever the air reached, there they teemed innumerable, and our dinner was presently covered with them; indeed such was the death-like stillness, heat, and gloom which pervaded the atmosphere, that meat was hardly desirable: in short, the distressing gloom, swarming of insects, and depression of the animal spirits, was soon followed by a variety of alarming symptoms, which many considered as the forerunner of the plague, and reports were quickly, but rather secretly, circulated, that several ships in the bay, and near us, had already been visited by that dreadful disease; that upwards of one hundred were taken ill, and that some had actually suddenly died in it. I now began to consider, with several others, these gloomy symptoms as presages of that pestilential fever, which, if suffered to prevail, would complete the catastrophe, and could have wished an immediate storm to clear the loaded atmosphere, and disperse the destroying evils.

But on a sudden the wind changed, the sun burst through the thick gloom, the increasing sea-breezes chased away the vapours, insects, and all the impending horrors which prevailed just before; the animal spirits felt the grateful change, and flew with eager activity over its world of wonders; disease rapidly decreased, the plague was no longer feared, and every countenance bespoke the unexpected, wonderful, and gratifying change.

What a mercy is it that these pestilential winds are neither long nor frequent. During my stay of upwards of four months, they visited us but twice: at all other times we were daily cheered by refreshing sea breezes, which prevail all along this coast and country, and without which it would become insufferably hot.

The beauties and grandeur of the night, viz. as it were, with the more enlivening splendours of the day: the beams of the sun fade gently away, the evening star and the other planets follow, and display their brightness with increasing splendour; other stars advance, the milky way is formed, and the moon, walking in all its reflective softness, all glittering on the sea, the whole empyrean arch shines forth with refulgent lustre, and a "flood of glory bursts from 'all the skies," and beheld in the contrast with the late storm, and sickly atmosphere, became peculiarly animating and grateful, and eminently calculated to suggest those higher reflections

which lead to the contemplation of the Almighty architect who spake them all into existence.

The present population of Egypt is far from numerous, and exhibits but a gloomy contrast to the celebrated periods of its history. An illustration of a remarkable prophecy will set this in a striking point of view. Among the many memorable prophecies contained in Ezekiel (six of which appear to pertain to Egypt) are these words, "Egypt shall be the basest of kingdoms," and "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." By base kingdoms is meant, that it should be tributary and subject to strangers for much the greatest part of time; "this," says Bishop Newton, is the purport and meaning of the prophecy." And this will appear by a short deduction of the history of Egypt from that time to this. It was first of all tributary to the Babylonians under Anasis; upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire it was subject to the Persians; upon the failure of the Persian empire, it came into the hands of the Macedonians; after the Macedonians, it fell under the dominion of the Romans; after the division of the Roman empire it was subdued by the Saracens, in the reign of Omar, their third emperor; about the year of Christ, 1550, it was in possession of the Mamalukes, which word signifies a slave bought with money, but is appropriated to those Turkish and Circassian slaves whom the sultans of Egypt bought young, and taught military exercises; those slaves usurped the royal authority, and by that means Egypt became their prey; but in the year of Christ, 1517, Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks, conquered the Mamalukes, and annexed Egypt to the Ottoman empire, of which it continues to be a province to this day. It is governed by a Turkish basha, and several of these Mamaluke beys or chiefs under him, who are advanced from servitude to the administration of public affairs; a superstitious notion possessing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate, that captives shall reign, and the natives be subject to them, a notion, which, in all probability, was at first derived from some mistaken tradition of these prophecies, "That Egypt should be a base kingdom, that there should be no more a prince of the land of Egypt, and that Ham, in his posterity, should be a servant of servants unto his brethren." By this deduction it appears, that the truth of Ezekiel's prediction is fulfilled by the whole series of the history of Egypt, from that time to the present. And who could pretend to say, upon human conjecture, that so great a kingdom, so rich and fertile a

country, should ever after become tributary and subject to strangers? It is now above two thousand years since this prophecy was first delivered, and what likelihood or appearance was there, that the Egyptians should for so many ages bow under a foreign yoke, and never, in all that time, be able to recover their liberties, and have a prince of their own to reign over them?

The celebrated river Nile runs through the Lower Egypt, dividing itself near Cairo; one chief branch runs to the N. E. and empties itself at Damietta, the ancient Pelusium; the other runs to the N. W. and falls into the sea at Rosetta; this latter branch we had much intercourse with during our stay, frequently receiving supplies of water and provisions. These branches are about one hundred miles asunder, forming a principal part of Lower Egypt. This part of Lower Egypt, called at present, the Delta, having the greatest advantage by the overflowing of the Nile, whose salutary streams always bring fertility, is by far the most fruitful; the ground yields abundant crops, wheat, barley, rice, pulse, &c. rise surprisingly quick. The mud acted on by intense heat sometimes sends up unwholesome vapours, but its other wonderful and peculiar advantages compensate; for this annual flood always fertilizes the ground, and generally purifies the atmosphere. Without its genial streams the soil would be sterile, for in parts where the waters of the Nile do not reach, barrenness prevails.

Rain is seldom felt in Lower Egypt. During the four months of our stay, I did not observe one powerful shower; but excepting two or three siroccos, or winds of the deserts, and the tempest before related, an almost constant succession of sea breezes prevailed. These breezes keep back the waters of the Nile, which otherways would flow too fast, and prevent the fructification of its banks and plains to their full extent: this opposition is sometimes so powerful, as to render the entrance difficult. Our boats were several times impeded by this opposition, but during all our other visits to this extensive coast, the landing was easy.

There is probably no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt, which, under Divine Providence, is owing entirely to the Nile. The husbandman in this country has no occasion to fatigue himself with the breaking up of the land, for as soon as the Nile retires, he has little to do with the earth but to temper it, after which he sows with great ease, and with little expence. The waters retire in the months of October and November, and as

they draw off, he harrows the grain into the mud, and in five or six weeks after this short and easy process, the fields are covered with various sorts of corn and pulse; and in the months of March and April following, they experience a plentiful harvest, and the land which is not sown, is abundant in herbage, &c. and becomes rich pasture, which is another source of wealth to Egypt. At present the ground affords subsistence to near three millions of inhabitants, and exports considerable quantities; and, had they the blessings of a liberal and active government, their exports might soon be greatly increased.

Both sacred and profane history agree in describing the richness of its pastures, the number of cattle, and the immense quantities of corn produced in this country; their flocks and herds are even now remarkably fine, and grow in a very little time; their sheep in general have large and heavy tails; weighing from eight to twelve pounds; their poultry also is abundant, and they have a peculiar method of hatching by ovens. A proof of its ancient prolific soil may be variously seen in the interesting history of the ancient Israelites.

The fruits are excellent, various, and abundant; melons, dates, plantains, grapes, figs, &c. &c. are amply produced, and together with abundance of fish, and a little bread, form a plentiful meal to its temperate inhabitants at a very easy rate.

But Divine Providence in blessing this country with such a wonderful and salutary river, did not thereby intend that the inhabitants of it should be idle, and enjoy so great a blessing without some application on their parts; but, that there should still be a stimulus to industry and activity, so necessary for the well being of mankind, ordered, that as the Nile does not of itself cover the whole country, labour should be necessary to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; as the sun is extremely hot, being but a few degrees from vertical in summer, and rains fall very seldom in it, it is natural to suppose, that the earth would soon be parched unless some means were used to draw from the Nile a sufficiency of water; therefore numbers of canals are cut, in order to convey the waters to these more remote parts, and refresh, and fructify the whole.

At the height of the flood, the whole champagne country is covered, and the towns and villages built on eminences, appear like so many islands, connected by causeways, and interspersed with trees. The inhabitants contemplate this

rich sea with admiration and delight, celebrate this ancient and annual visit, and know by the height of the waters the produce of the ensuing harvest.

The villages and towns are numerous near the banks of the Nile, have each their canals and reservoirs, which are opened at proper seasons, to let the water into the country, and by the same means the inhabitants of the most distant parts, have their share of it also.

The countries overflowed by this wonderful river, are so extensive and low, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt, it is supposed, that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

Egypt has been long considered by the Ottoman government as a farm, and had they been equally solicitous to encourage its resources, as they are expert in drawing supplies, it would have yielded half as much again. Unhappily for this country, its governors, in general, acting on a narrow and selfish principle, instead of a broad and liberal policy, have checked its abundance, and Egypt has generally poured forth her stores to enrich impolitic and ungrateful masters.

The Ottoman government would do well to consider this important subject, which so nearly concerns them, adopt measures to encourage agriculture and every species of industry, by giving increasing security to property, and by banishing that wretched and narrow policy, which cramps honest enterprise; every cultivator of his natural soil would then exert himself to produce the utmost, and thereby tend to the prosperity of all. This encouragement would not only improve the soil, but considerably tend to check the progress of those dreadful diseases, which so often desolate this celebrated country; for wise policy would stimulate to generous independence, civilization, and improvements in building; cleanliness would ensue, fresh channels of commerce would be opened, lime and brick might be introduced, instead of mud walls; houses white-washed, and purified; marshes and stagnant waters drained, with many other improvements continually opening, which the inhabitants would be glad to avail themselves of, with a combination of improved medical skill, which Great Britain, and other enlightened nations should gladly encourage, would in time correct the corrupted exhalations, check the ravages of disease, and enable the people of this country to anticipate the annihilation of the plague, and other diseases.

The ancients were quite in the dark respecting the source of the Nile, and according to their usual custom, rendered

this subject more impenetrable, by enveloping it in fables and other subtleties: but it is now no longer a matter of dispute; modern travellers, especially Mr. Bruce, having well ascertained its origin, describing it as rising from two springs which are near the foot of a great mountain in Abyssinia; its beginnings are very small, but are soon increased by numerous rivulets and lakes, still receiving, as it runs, it soon becomes a considerable river: after various windings and collections, it proceeds by Cairo, and then falls into the Mediterranean, as before described. Its inundations are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia.

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## CHAP. XIX.

*Farther Description of the Nile—Simplicity of the first Adepts in Medicine—Hot Sands often pernicious, especially to Strangers—Diseases—Recent Investigation—Death of Dr. White.*

THE Nile not only nourished the soil and purified the air, but by means of many curious and extensive canals, cut by the ancient Egyptians, cities and villages were united and defended, commerce was carried on and extended, the riches of the Indies flowed into Egypt, and from hence it was distributed to other parts of Africa, Europe, Asia, &c.

The governors of Egypt had placed at Memphis, a scale on which the different increases of the inundation was marked, and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew by that means beforehand, what they might promise themselves from the ensuing harvest; and from the earliest ages the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an universal joy throughout the country, that being the fountain of their plentiful harvests. Other nations participated in the general blessing, as this country has been a public granary long before the rise of Rome, and supplied that vast city, as well as Byzantium, and many more modern, with grain.

The overflowing of the Nile led to several arts and sciences of great utility. To adjust the property of their lands, they were obliged to have recourse to measuring and surveys, and this first taught them geometry; and as their country was level, and the air generally serene and unclouded, they were



some of the first that observed the courses of the planets. Those observations led them to regulate the year from the course of the sun.

It led also to natural philosophy, by which study they invented or improved the science of physic, which in those ages was easily comprehended; as soon as any sanative or medicinal herb was discovered, its success was registered and made public, that others might experience the same benefit; the physicians were obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the observations of old and experienced practitioners, who generally confined their practice to the cure of one disease only.

The air and soil, varies much in proportion to its proximity to the Delta and the coast, and during three months of my stay it was intensely hot: in travelling the sands, which are frequently in hills, I have found the entrance into the vales as if going to the mouth of an oven, and when the sea breezes fail, there is danger to be apprehended from this intense heat, increased by the hot sands. One of our seamen being near the banks of the Nile, wearied and heavy, thoughtlessly falling into a sleep, quite exposed to the powerful rays of a summer's sun, was so struck, that he was brought on board, and soon after expired.

At the dry and hot season diseases prevail. During the late events in Egypt, opportunities have been afforded, and men of science and benevolence have bent the whole force of their powers to investigate the nature, causes, and effects of the plague; their united efforts have reflected considerable light and information on this important subject: and remedies\* have been applied, which if not a specific, have tended to stop its ravages, and often to a cure; and both French and English physicians, appear almost unanimous, that the further prosecution of this interesting subject will prove this terrible malady is not always contagious†, confined to atmosphere, and local‡; hence we are gratified to find a con-

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\* The embrocation of oils has been found to check its progress, and mercury, in its early stages, has had a happy effect. We had a Frenchman on board, who informed us, he was cured by cutting out the part affected; the scars were visible, and he said the incision in his leg was performed by himself.

† During the marches of the French, English, and Turkish armies, they frequently passed through a country where the plague raged, and were often so incautious as to form habits of intimacy, in bartering or buying of the natives infected, and yet frequently escaped contagion.

‡ Illustrated by the longer continuance of the symptoms at Aboukir, during our stay, while the sea breezes prevailed and prevented the absorption of the putrid matter.

## ERRATUM IN COLLINS'S VOYAGE.

We are under the necessity of breaking off rather abruptly in the concluding part of Collins's Voyage, owing to the following circumstances. The Author, at the advice of many friends, had printed a few copies of his work in a small pocket volume, previously to its appearance in the present form. These few were only intended to be circulated amongst his particular friends, and with a view to give still farther publicity to sentiments which do the more honour to him, because they are so rarely found amongst persons of his profession, the Publisher consented to reprint them in the present volume of the "Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels." As the work proceeded, however, it was discovered that two or three leaves were wanting at the end of the original volume, and though many efforts have been made to procure another copy, the attempt has been unsuccessful, in consequence of the Author being now again in the service of his country. The few passages which are deficient, may however, be easily supplied by the imagination of the reader. One result of our inquiries respecting the deficient paragraphs is, that we have been assured by one of the Author's friends, that when he left Egypt, he proceeded direct to England, but did not, during the whole passage, meet with a single event worthy of particular notice. He concludes his volume with some well-merited compliments to Dr. White, who fell a sacrifice to the interest which he took in discovering the causes of the plague, and with a dissertation on the advantage of religious sentiments amongst seamen in general.

END OF COLLINS'S VOYAGE.

COLLINS.]

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**JOURNAL**  
**OF A**  
**TOUR**  
**TO THE**  
**WESTERN COUNTIES**  
**OF**  
**ENGLAND,**

PERFORMED IN THE SUMMER OF 1807.

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**BY**  
**THE AUTHOR OF A TOUR IN IRELAND.**

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**1809.**



JOURNAL OF A TOUR  
THROUGH THE  
WESTERN COUNTIES  
OF  
ENGLAND.

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**I**N a beautiful morning, in the end of June, I left London in the Southampton coach ; and after breakfasting at Egham, well known as being in the vicinity of Runnymede, and dining at Winchester, of which the cathedral and college have been often described, I reached Southampton about six in the evening.

A gentleman from Guernsey, whom I met in the coach, directed me to an inn, having the sign of the Dolphin, which seemed eligible, as being close to the beach from whence the Cowes packet was to sail the next morning. But however convenient I found this place of entertainment, I cannot say much for its comforts or cheapness ; and if my companion formed his notion of its excellence from the inns of his own island, Guernsey must not be a very comfortable residence for a stranger.

The evening being tempting, I strolled out along the bank of the beautiful Southampton river, which I was fortunate enough to see to the best advantage. A walk between a row of fine trees leads to a ferry, over which passengers are conveyed who visit Netley Abbey, or the eastern shore of the river. From this point the prospect was delightful. The waters were perfectly calm, and reflected all the delicate hues, in which the departing sun painted the still and thin flakes of clouds. The shores on each side of the Channel are richly wooded down to the water's edge, and covered with villages and romantic cottages—some of them half-hid amongst the trees, and others having the wood cleared away in their front, to lay open the display of their pride. How many flatter themselves that they have resigned the passions

of the world, and contracted a love of retirement, who shew in their retreat, that there is one passion at least, which they have not eradicated—the love of being admired! A true votary of solitude would bury himself amongst these woods: and a mind rightly weaned from folly, would not stretch the spreading lawn, and protrude the shewy mansion, to the gaze of every passing sail.

Southampton lies low, and seems at a distance to be a flat extent of houses, with a tall spire near one extremity. The town contains one handsome street, with several good inns; and shops in which every luxury is to be found. It has five parish churches; and sends two members to parliament. Southampton is celebrated for port wine; for the importation of which the inhabitants have some exclusive privileges: but that which I got at the Dolphin was certainly "*Expers maris*."

On Tuesday morning, at seven o'clock, embarking in the packet, I sailed down the delightful Southampton river. The scene varies and expands as we proceed: the ruins of Nettley Abbey on the left, in all their solemn majesty, contribute to the general charm: vessels of all descriptions, from the light pinnacle, tacking from bank to bank, and yielding to the breeze, to the tall merchantman lying at anchor, with its gay streamers fluttering in the air, add motion and variety to this beautiful scene. Towards the mouth of the river, Calshott castle invites attention, on the right. The haziness which distance gave the island gradually vanishes: objects on its romantic coast, one after another, become visible: at length we see the harbour, the houses, and castle of Cowes, smiling upon the water's edge; and on the opposite side of the river Medina, East Cowes, and the seat of Lord Seymour, on a boldly rising eminence.

Nettley Abbey recalled to mind the plaintive poetry which it drew from the poet of Southampton:

" Fallen pile! I ask not what has been thy fate;  
 " But when the weak winds, wafted from the main,  
 " Through each rent rock, like spirits that complain,  
 " Come hollow to my ear;—I meditate  
 " On this world's passing pageant, and the lot  
 " Of those who once full proudly in their prime,  
 " And beauteous might have stood, &c."

The same bard thus describes the voyage which we have now taken.

" Smooth went our boat upon the summer seas,  
 " Leaving, for so it seem'd, the world behind,

"Its sounds of mingled uproar : we reclined  
 "Upon the sunny deck ; heard but the breeze  
 "That o'er us whispering pass'd ; or idly played  
 "With the lithe flag aloft : a woodland scene  
 "On either side, drew its slope line of green,  
 "And hung the waters shining edge with shade ;  
 "Above the woods—Nettley ! thy ruins pale  
 "Peer'd as we passed ; and Vecta's azure hue,  
 "Beyond the misty castle\* shut the view  
 "Where in mid-channel hung the scarce-seen sail.  
 "So all was calm and sun-shine, as we went  
 "Cheerly o'er the briny element.  
  
 "Oh ! that this vessel were to us the world,  
 "As thus we wandered far from sounds of care ;  
 "Circled with friends, and gentle maidens fair,  
 "Whilst morning airs the waving pennant curled :  
 "How sweet were life's long voyage ; till in peace  
 "We gained that haven still, where all things cease."

There being little wind in the passage, one of the seamen, with a horn fixed to the end of a long pole, threw water from the sea upon the sails ; this by swelling the threads, fills up the interstices, and thus renders a faint wind more easily caught.

In Southampton river the tide flows four times in the twenty-four hours. The waters coming up the channel, send up a stream on one side between the Isle of Wight and the mainland, and then going round the island, rush up along the opposite bank. The first tide is by this time on the ebb ; and it is curious to see the two currents passing each other in contrary directions.

West Cowes, where we landed, has a good harbour, off which large fleets of merchantmen wait for convoy in time of war. The town contains about 2000 inhabitants. In five minutes after our arrival, a coach set out to Newport, and wishing to get immediately to the interesting spots, I availed myself of this conveyance. There are some pretty cottages above Cowes, but the country possesses no beauty in the interior ; and the isle is only visited for the scenery of its coasts. Newport, being in the centre of the island, makes a good point, from which every part of the circumference may be reached with the greatest facility.

Within a mile or two of Newport, on the right of the road, stand Parkhurst barracks ; which are in fact a considerable military village. This island is a good place for lodging troops, as it affords security against desertion ; but their intermixture with the peasantry destroys all that sim-

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\* Calshot.



plicity which we naturally desire to find harmonizing with a romantic country.

Newport, the chief town of the island, consists of five streets crossing three others at right angles. The town is clean and well built. Here is held a court, called the *Curia Militum*, for trial of all actions of debt and trespass under forty shillings, and having jurisdiction over the whole island, except the borough of Newport. In the school-room, Charles I. attempted to treat with commissioners from the parliament in 1648. In the church lies Elizabeth, second daughter of the unfortunate martyr. Newport contains 7000 inhabitants: it supports a theatre, and carries on a large manufacture of starch and hair-powder. The inn at which I stopped was good, and the charges reasonable.

My first excursion was to Carisbrook castle, which stands about a mile from the town, above a hamlet of the same name. It has a noble appearance, being situated on the summit of a very steep hill. The keep, the oldest part, is elevated to a great height. This castle existed in the sixth century: part of it has fallen to decay; but the governor's house, and a chapel, are still in good repair, though these are much more modern than the keep. You enter the castle through an old gateway, flanked by two towers; and as soon as you come into the court-yard, observe the little chapel of St. Nicholas on the right hand. Attention, however, is soon called away in an opposite direction, by the more interesting ruins of those apartments in which the First Charles was immured. The stone work and iron bar of a window of his chamber remain, to wake recollections which warm the breast with the generous feelings of sympathy and loyalty.

Nearly in front of the entrance to the castle, stand the barracks and Governor's house: humble buildings, but in tolerable preservation. Passing to the north-east corner, you ascend by seventy-two steps to the keep, which commands a magnificent prospect in every direction. Glimpses of the sea appear on all hands; and in the distance to the north-west are Lymington, and the borders of the New Forest.

In returning, I stopt aside to view a well, of great depth; the water of which is drawn up by means of a large wheel placed perpendicularly to the ground; in which an unfortunate ass works like a turnspit. In the annals of the castle it is recorded, that one of these wretched animals had plodded at this dull occupation for the space of forty-five years, and

terminated its career in 1771. Its successor performed its revolution for twenty-six years, and died in 1798; and the present emblem of stupidity, having then appeared on the stage, is now in the ninth year of its probation. I forgot to state, that one of these animals was a pensioner on the bounty of the late Duke of Gloucester, who ordered it to be supplied with the daily dinner of a penny loaf.

Walking back to Newport, I dined on cold meat, and mounted a hired steed of the place, to which the Sabbath, I doubt not, has long been no day of rest; and which the sides seem to have been familiarized with the stimulus of an "*immensum calcar*;" being quite disobedient to that of a common whip. Giving this animal, patient as the Carisbrook ass, its own way, I proceeded gently through Shorwell, Brixton, Motteson and Brook, four insignificant villages, and along the summit of Compton Downs, to Freshwater Gate. In this place, close to the sea, is a poor small inn, where nothing is to be had; and a cave, which, with all due respect to the lovers of the romantic who have swelled its praises, is a very childish mockery of the trouble taken by any one, who will cut his feet amongst the sharp stones, and wade through the deep sand to reach it.

The cliffs, above this excavation, are frequented by the duck, which furnishes the cider down. The sea view here is highly interesting: on one side, the wall of cliffs stretches out as far as the Needles Point; and the farthest stock of the three masses which terminate it is seen. On the other side, appears the long line of shore as far as St. Catherine's Hill; the southern angle of the island. The Needles Point is about three miles from Freshwater Gate; but my curiosity being satisfied, my expectations wofully disappointed, and my spirit exhausted with heat and fatigue, I summoned my companion from the barn; where he had found as scanty fare as had fallen to my share in the parlour; and returned to Newport by Calbourne, a village which has several good seats in its vicinity; but none of these picturesque, if I except a neat mansion in the cottage style, on the brow of a hill, which commands a beautiful view of Yarmouth, the sea, and the Hampshire coast. I think it is called Swainston.

*Wednesday.*—Immediately after breakfast my horse was again brought to me, and I rode out through a very uninteresting country, to the southern part of the island: on the beauties of which I first alighted above the chapel of

St. Lawrence. The tract of land here, extending several miles, is called Undercliff. It is a narrow stripe of ground, bounded by the sea on the south, and a high wall of cliff on north. The rock seems to have been rent asunder by some convulsion of Nature; and the whole extent of the Southern portion to have subsided into the land now called Undercliff. It is covered with romantic cottages and luxuriant underwood; and the scene from the little fort, under the chapel of St. Lawrence, to Sir Richard Worsley's marine cottage, with its pavilion and temple embosomed in trees; and from thence to Steep Hill, the elegant cottage of the Earl of Dysart, as far outstrips the descriptions given by lovers of the picturesque, as Freshwater and its cave fall short of them. The side of the rock, of which Undercliff formed once a part, rises perpendicularly several hundred feet above it; and a winding road which would frighten weak nerves, leads up to the top of St. Boniface Down: from which, on reaching a signal-house on the highest point, I enjoyed a delightful circular prospect. In a valley beneath me, lay the palace of the island, Appledurcombe, the seat of Sir Richard Worsley, surrounded with pleasure-grounds, laid out in the modern taste of clumps and belts: beyond which I could discern the land as far as the Needles; and the sea on the northern side of the isle: then on the left hand a sweet scene stretches out from St. Catherine's Hill (the south angle) along the whole extent of Undercliff, beyond which lay an expanse of azure waters; and turning from these enchantments, I beheld before me, in long perspective, the sequestered village of Shanklin, half buried in the hollow; above which Sandown Bay made a noble sweep; then the neck of land which forms the right wing of the Eagle; and beyond this, the retiring bay and town of Brading.

Having stood for some time admiring this magnificent amphitheatre, I descended the precipice (for the hill deserves that name) to Shanklin village, which has a poor inn; but a very neat and picturesque parsonage, which commands a sea view down the Chine. Shanklin Chine, of which the walls of Somerset-house often afford representation, is a vast rent in the rock, from the sea upwards: each side is covered with wood, and a walk with steps leads half way down one bank to a picturesque cottage, called the Chine public-house, from the front of which a striking view of this natural beauty presents itself. At the termination of the view up the steep and umbrageous gap, the Chine

makes a sweep to the left, and runs about a quarter of a mile farther, when it narrows into the bed of a rivulet.

From Shanklin, I lost no time in riding back, over Arretton Downs, to Newport: which I reached in time to get a place in the coach to Ryde. Along this road, I believe, there are several beauties: but having got warily engaged in a theological dispute, with a rather clever puppy who was my fellow-passenger, I saw nothing but ten brooding faces, until I arrived at the end of my journey.

Ryde is a pleasant watering place; but for the convenience of not dressing for company, and being near the packet boat in the morning, I contented myself with the second inn; which was wretched enough. Ryde is a straggling village on a hill, from whence it is divided into Upper and Lower. After a hasty repast, I set out on foot, having a cool and beautiful evening before me; and taking a pleasing view of Apley and St. John's, two sweet seats that stare up on the margin of the water (the latter the property of — Simon, Esq. and surrounded with wood, disposed by the taste of Mr. Repton, I walked across the country to the Priory, the seat of Sir Nash Grose. Next to Underhill, this is certainly the most delightful spectacle in this island. It receives its name from its being built on the site of a Cluniac monastery. The mansion is beautifully embosomed in trees; and the winding walks under a continued bower, interspersed with rustic temples and seats, are evidences of a very refined taste in the mind which planned them. It is difficult to say, whether Nature or Art has done most for the Priory. The walks lead to various openings, from which the eye is regaled with sea views of Spithead and the opposite coast, with Gosport and Portsmouth, St. Helen's Road, the Sussex coast, and the Bay of Brading. I took notice, in one of the walks, of a garden-gate, which had a good device. Instead of the common five bars, its parts consisted of imitations of a fasciculus of gardening tools: a rake, a spade, and a pitchfork. The gardener, an intelligent and obliging person, shewed me a way from the Cliff to the shore, along which I returned in the calmness of twilight, softened by the repose of the ocean; and faintly but pleasingly relieved by the evening sheep-bell.

Being now about to leave the island, I shall set down a few general observations, which may be useful to any into into whose hands this little tour may drop, in a leisure half hour.

The Isle of Wight, called *Vectes* by the Romans, and  
WESTERN COUNTIES.] C

by the Britons, *Guith*, is twenty-one miles in length, and thirteen in breadth; its form resembling a bird with its wings spread; or rather a turbot, I think. It contains five towns—Newport, Newtown, Yarmouth, Cowes, and Ryde; the three former of which send six members, two each, to parliament. The population is computed at 18,000 souls; the parishes are thirty in number. The river Medina runs up the middle; and a range of hills crosses the country from east to west, forming good sheep paths. The land on the north is chiefly meadow and pasture; to the south, arable land. Corn is the chief export; of which the island produces in one year as much as it can consume in eight. It also exports tobacco-pipe clay, and fine white sand for manufacturing glass.

Wight has a governor and lieutenant-governor appointed by the Crown. The channel which separates it from Hampshire is seven miles broad opposite Portsmouth; but not more than one opposite Christchurch. The barracks of Newport consist of five officers' houses, eight large and twelve small barracks, containing 1700 men; and in an enclosure, which, with the hospital, covers 100 acres, there are six other smaller barracks in the island, and signal-posts along the coast, on the Downs. There are 3000 volunteers, besides a squadron of horse, and about 500 marine fencibles.

After passing an uncomfortable night at the Dolphin, a bad and dear inn in Ryde, I was rowed over to Portsmouth in about two hours, in an open passage-boat.

The excursion was highly interesting; the objects which attracted attention being well calculated to swell the heart of a British subject. We passed between many men of war, and large transport vessels, known by having, instead of names, large numbers painted on their sterns. On the coast were the strong fortifications of Portsmouth, and its harbour crowded with shipping; while on the Gosport side stood that magnificent evidence of the care of a generous country for those who fight her battles—Haslar-hospital.

Portsmouth having experienced the attention of many of the English Sovereigns, it has progressively risen to be the most regular fortress in Britain. Towards the sea, it is impregnable; and if it were necessary, could easily be made so by land also. The mouth of the harbour, which is not so broad as the Thames at Westminster, is secured on the Gosport side by four forts, besides a platform of twenty cannon, level with the water; and on the other side by strong fortifications. The harbour is deep enough for the

largest ships, and capacious enough to hold the whole of our Navy. High lands defend it from winds, and the Isle of Wight breaks the fury of the sea. Several branches from the harbour run up the country. The town is low, and aguish; the streets uncleanly, and in many places wretched: but from the constant resort of seamen, a busy scene is presented. You meet companies of three or four sailors, each with his trull under his arm, whom he has decked out in flaring ribbons, and with whom he posts up and down the streets without any apparent object, from morning till night. At the crossing, if you are not upon your guard, you are in imminent peril of being run over by a midshipman driving a blind horse in a crazy jingling gig, as furiously as Jehu. These gentlemen come ashore, and get rid of their money by fatiguing the miserable brutes up one street and down another, at half-a-crown an hour. Sometimes a low alehouse presents itself, with a *pas de deux* between Jack and a Portsmouth Parrot, in the vestibule, to the elegant strains of two blind fiddlers. But the most entertaining scene of all is found in the coffee-houses, where every table is covered with fierce cocked hats and hangers; and where every five minutes you hear—"Waiter! get me a beef-steak; and bear a hand."

Soon after my arrival, I walked towards the dock-yards, and stood some time admiring the construction of a piece of machinery in the harbour, formed for clearing away the mud. Two vessels lie close together, and in one a circular chain revolves by means of steam, each link having iron buckets, so sharp and narrow at the edge, as to scoop up a quantity of mud at every descent; and carrying this to the top of their ascent, they deposit it, on revolving in a long wooden channel placed obliquely, and reaching to the other boat, into which of course the mud slides of itself. Hiring a boat, I was put alongside the Bulwark, a new ship of seventy-four guns; and the officer on duty very politely conducted me through every part of it. The Bulwark is fitted up with mahogany: the captain's cabin and dining room, under the poop, are apartments of great extent, but too low in proportion. The three decks, the quarter, main, and lower, of a seventy-four, have each fifteen guns on a side. At the end of the main deck, under the captain's apartments, are the lieutenants' mess-room, and cabins along the sides of it. The powder-room is lighted from behind, through a double partition of glass, and a wire-

work. Close to this ship lay the *Temeraire*, so much shattered in the action of Trafalgar.

After coming ashore, and waiting a considerable time, I obtained admission to the dock-yards: a dépôt of naval stores, truly calculated to impress every visitor with an idea of the power and grandeur of the first maritime nation in the world. The first object of attention, on entering, is the mast-house, where masts of all sizes are ranged in regular order; and some of them being grazed with balls, are suspended as trophies of naval victories. The rope-house above is nearly a quarter of a mile long. Some of the cables require 100 men to work them, whose labour is so hard, that it seldom exceeds four hours a day. Near to this is a quay for laying up the cannon.

A number of convicts from the hulks which lie in the harbour, were at work, in chains: they were making a shew of pulling a cable; but the progression of their labour was very imperceptible; and indeed it is matter of wonder how they can be brought to work at all; since I was informed, though I think the guide must be mistaken, that there are neither any indulgences for labour, nor any punishments for indolence. Others of them came about the party begging, or selling small wares manufactured from bone. The guide warned us to take care of our pockets; and said that the last week one of them stole a purse from a lady; and upon being challenged with the theft, boldly demanded that he might be searched; but the guide pushing him back, removed his foot from its place, and disclosed the property, which he had covered with it. There is here a very old convict who has been twice transported for fourteen years, exclusive of his present term in the hulks, of which he has only four years to run. The next object, and a wonderful one, is the block manufactory, where machinery of the most ingenious invention, saws, chips, and shapes the block, drives the hole in the centre, even polishes the iron and brass work; in a word, performs every operation but that of the last polish, which is given by the hand. We were then led into the anchor-forge, which, if Virgil could have seen it, would have enabled him to heighten his description of the workshop of Vulcan:

*Ocyis incubuère cunæ, paritæque laborem  
Fornu; fluit æs rivis; FLAMMÆQUE metallum  
----- Alii ventosis foliibus auras  
Accipiunt redduntque: alii Stridentia tingunt*

*Æra lacu ; gemit impositis incudibus antrum.*

*Illi inter sese multâ vi brachia tollunt*

*In numerum, versântque tenaci forcipe massam.*

*Æneid, lib. 8. l. 445.*

The continued and copious waste of perspiration, occasioned by violent labour, and exposure to the intense heat of the furnaces, requires to be supplied with five pints of small beer, and with three pints and a half of strong beer daily, which, with wages of 29s. per week, form a sufficient inducement to these Cyclops to abridge their life, and to live in this emblem of Tartarus for sixteen hours every day. The copper work is done by the piece ; and the men who undertake it work less, no drink being allowed them.

The tour of the dock-yards leads from the anchor-forge to the store-house for boats ; and from thence we pass long lines of noble dwellings, built for the governor and all the principal officers. There is also a commodious chapel. A thousand men at least are said to be employed about these dock-yards, which resemble a town, and cannot be visited by a hasty inspection in less than two hours.

On the beach at Portsmouth there are bathing-machines ; but the bathing is very uncomfortable, owing to the quantity of sea-weed in which one gets entangled.

*Friday*.—I was conveyed in a coach through Titchfield, Southampton, and Rumsey, to Salisbury. No object on the road, if I except Porchester castle, and no occurrence during the journey, is worthy of notice.

I forgot to mention, that the Crown at Portsmouth is excessively dear ; but I believe all the other inns are liable to the same objection. The inn at Titchfield is cheap and good.

*Saturday*.—Salisbury stands on the river Avon, which dividing here into several streams, waters almost every street in the city. The little aqueducts brought through the streets give the town a cool and clean appearance. This town was originally built on a hill—a situation chosen by the Britons, and continued by the Romans ; being the celebrated Old Sarum, of whose fortifications some vestiges still remain. This place, though deserted, and containing only one house, a little tavern kept by one Kaines, retains its privilege of sending two members to the British parliament. The present town was begun in the reign of Richard I. ; and in 1219 Bishop Poor founded the cathedral, which, by the di-



ligence of foreign artists, was completed in 1258, and consecrated in the presence of Henry II. It is a light and beautiful Gothic structure, built in the form of a lantern, and having a spire of free-stone in the middle, rising to the great height of 410 feet. The windows, by a barbarous ingenuity, equal in number the days of the year. There are no less than eighty-eight bells; but the spire itself will only bear one.

Salisbury manufactures woollens, bone lace, and cutlery. Many old materials, as a tessellated pavement in the chapter-house, were brought from Old Sarum. The new stained glass, as in other places, is more brilliant, but less opaque and venerable than the old.

The monuments are well preserved. A remarkable one represents the boy bishop, in allusion to a very old custom of dressing a chorister in episcopal robes during a vacancy in the see, and paying him all the respect due to a great dignitary. One of these boys, it seems, died during the continuance of his office, was buried in episcopal state, and had this monument raised to him. It was found some time ago, in removing an old pulpit.

There is another monument by Flaxman, representing the Merciful Samaritan; with a figure of Charity lifting up a veil, by which the scene is disclosed, and bearing the appropriate inscription, "Go and do likewise."

The modern wood-work of the choir is very rich, being designed by Wyatt: the altar is thrown back, without rails, and an ascension piece, by Egginton, throws on it a gloomy light. On the left of the altar stands a magnificent monument, in the old style, erected to the memory of a son of the Protector Somerset's.

The chapter-house is an elegant building, supported by the branchings of a pillar in the shape of a palm-tree. The walls are surrounded with old sculptures in basso-relievo, representing the history of the Old Testament in succession. The cloisters were converted by Cromwell into stables.

After breakfast I hired a gig for the day, and drove to Stonehenge, in the centre of Salisbury Plain. In the way to this monument are a variety of barrows, under which bones and armour have been found. This place has been often described: it is a large druidical temple, having an altar towards the east, and consisting of large stones raised on their ends, by means of powers, which it is not known how the ancient Britons possessed or employed. One of

these masses of rock fell some years ago after a thaw, in consequence, it is said, of the earth's being loosened around it. It now lies prostrate on the ground, with a slanting base, from which it appears not to have been fixed deeper in the earth than a few feet, or a few inches in one part. Is it not possible that the sudden expansion occasioned by the thaw, may have broken the rude column from a base still deeper in the ground? A great stone is laid over each two columns at right angles, and fixed upon their summits by mortises.

In the Museum at Oxford, I have seen an elegant model of the whole monument. A shepherd here, who was very attentive and communicative, solicited no recompense for his services. He called to my mind the beautiful story written by Miss H. More, in the Cheap Repository Tracts, *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*.

After dining at the *Druid's Head*, a plain but comfortable little inn on the road side, not far from Stonehenge, which the female waiter said "was dull and bleak in winter, but very pleasant in summer," I drove across the country through Wilton, where Lord Pembroke has a fine seat, to Fonthill, a beautiful situation, where the owner, rich beyond the dreams of avarice, but seemingly dissatisfied in the midst of his wealth, is continually employed in parting with what is obsolete to a vitiated taste, and procuring some new whim. A noble abbey is now nearly completed, on the summit of a hill, destined to be his future residence; while the present mansion, commodious, elegant, well-sheltered, and finely situated, is doomed to be demolished. There is a fine sheet of water in the valley, and the hills are well clothed with wood; but no stranger is admitted within the park wall of the abbey. While I was waiting at a little inn, for the purpose of feeding the horse, the owner rode past at full gallop, with a dwarf, and a servant, on three white ponies. This dwarf looked like an abortion, or rather like a man—once of moderate size, who had been squeezed down in a press, so that all his substance should grow out sideways.

After having made good use of my time, I returned to the inn at Salisbury at eleven at night.

*Sunday.*—I this day attended divine service at the cathedral; which was decently performed before a crowded congregation. The sermon was a very indifferent one: the text of it was—"If I had not come unto you, ye would not have known sin; but now ye see we see, therefore your sin re-

maineth." From these words the preacher took occasion to shew, that servants and poor persons were exempt in a great measure from the blame of sin, at least more excusable than the rich and intelligent, whose trespasses could find no apology : but he treated his subject in a flimsy and superficial style. By his hood I observed he was a D. D. and ought certainly, for his dignity's sake, to have delivered something of more stamina.

There were prayers in the afternoon, but no sermon, which I think a great shame, where there are so many well paid deans, canons, and minor canons, on the one hand, and on the other such swarms of enthusiasts, locked in a conspiracy (whatever may be their differences) to pull the fine cathedral, with all its temporalities, about their ears.

A night coach carried me through Blandford, Dorchester, Bridport, and Honiton, to Exeter.

Of Wiltshire in general it may be observed, that it is divided into two districts, South and North Wiltshire : the former appropriated to sheep and corn husbandry, the latter to pasture, which produces the celebrated Wiltshire cheese. The chief manufactory is that of carpets. North Wiltshire yields a thin stone called corn-grate, fit for slates or finers.

Dorsetshire is hilly, and supports 800,000 sheep, of which 150,000 are annually sold. Ewes are provided from hence, to yearn at a very early season, for the midland counties, which supply London with fat lambs. The wool is short and fine, being in esteem for broad cloths : the annual produce of it is 90,000 weys or weights, of thirty-one pounds each. The chief manufacture of this county is that of cordage, near Bridport.

The beautiful Vale of Honiton appears to give a smiling welcome into Devonshire to the traveller.

*Monday.*—After an excellent dinner, at which appeared two articles peculiar to the country (clotted cream and draught Devonshire cider), I walked out to the cathedral, the chief object of attention in Exeter. It is a large and extensive pile of building, the dimensions of which the vergier has at his finger ends, for the astonishment of all visitors. The organ is of a great size and loud tone, and the throne in the choir betokens the lofty pride of episcopacy in the twelfth century. In one part of the edifice is a clock, old and curious in construction. A fleur-de-lis serves a hand, pointing to the hour, and also to the moon's age ; while a figure of the moon moves round, so as to exhibit its

apparent disk (for the time) in the heavens. Grinning in another corner, hangs the entire skeleton of a woman, who was executed for child-murder.

Some of the monuments are curious. There is one in particular, representing a bishop, who had taken it into his head to fast during the whole of Lent, but died quite exhausted on the thirty-eighth day of his mortification. The image is represented in the emaciated state of the original, in his last moments. I must not pass over another memorial of a gentleman, whose name was Fenshard, and who seemed much fonder of enjoying the world than his famished lordship, for if you believe the inscription, he was married successively to fifteen wives, the arms of all of whom are quartered on the tablet with his own.

From the tower of the cathedral a noble panorama salutes the eye: immediately underneath lie the handsome streets and squares of the city, while the surrounding country is covered with cottages, and seats, and all the hills are cultivated to their summits. Powderham castle appears at a distance on the side of a hill; and the river Ex rolls his placid stream through the whole extent of this beautiful country. There are eleven parishes in Exeter. The inhabitants are computed at 28,008: they manufacture the wool of Dorsetshire into coarse goods; but the city chiefly flourishes by being the thoroughfare to Plymouth, Falmouth, and every part of the west of England.

In the evening I went out into a beautiful walk upon a mount, under high elms: this seems the favourite resort of the inhabitants. In passing three fine ladies, who were very elegantly dressed, and appeared to be the principal people on the mall, judge of my astonishment at overhearing one of them, on sending away a child who was along with her, say to the others—"Lord, he can void his way home!" In a field at a little distance appeared an immense crowd, engaged in the horrid diversion of bull-baiting: no part of the sport, however, appeared to the persons on the mount, except a dog tossed every five minutes over the heads of the multitude, and the widening of the circle by means of three men, two of whom held a stick by the two ends, high over the heads of the mob, while the third belaboured them with another stick laid over it at right angles.—Devonshire is a healthy country: in the west, oxen are bred; on the northern downs, sheep. South Hants, near Torbay, is famous for its cider. This county was formerly more celebrated for its

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mines than Cornwall ; and four stannary courts still claim authority over the miners.

*Tuesday.*—A miserable day ; and I could get only an outside place in the Falmouth mail : a Cornish baronet, and other inside passengers, had great coats, for which, as insides, they could have no use : not one of them ever offered to accommodate me ; and the guard, who had several box-coats, was equally selfish. Though it poured in torrents without intermission the whole day, and drenched me completely to the skin, I was tempted to exclaim with Lear, on considering the unfeelingness of man,

“ I tax not you, ye elements, with unkindness.”

From Exeter to Falmouth there is one continued system of greediness and imposition : the rapacity of the guards and coachmen, is only equalled by the enormous charges at the inns. The route of the mail lies through Crumpton, Oakhampton, Launceston (a prettily situated town, with a round tower), Bodmin, where there is a race-course, and Truro, the inn of which is an exception to the censure I have cast on the places and people of this miserable-looking county.

I expected to find at Falmouth a good refuge from my fatigues, and relief from the uncomfortableness of my cheerless journey ; but the inn is an execrable one, and every thing in it has the aspect of misery, as every person in it is a harpy.

The road for shipping here is supposed to be unequalled in Britain. It is guarded by two castles, and capable of receiving vessels of any burthen. From hence sail the packets for Portugal, America, and the West Indies. I can only account for the imposition practised, by supposing that the people calculate upon an ignorance of prices in those who come from abroad, and the possibility of never more seeing those who set sail.

Cornwall contains much poor soil, mixed with strata of marl, rich loams and clay, and a wide field for industry in mixing these soils is opened. The chief mines are at St. Austle. The strata of mines run from the Land's End, due west and east, into Devonshire, being about seven miles in breadth.

The annual produce of the tin is computed at 22,000

blocks, each valued at 10*l.* 10*s.*, exclusive of duties, *i. e.* a produce equal to 330,000*l.* The grain tin produced from stream ore, is superior in price to the common tin, by a difference of from four to twelve per cent. The copper mines afford 40,000 tons of ore, yielding 4700 tons of metal, or eleven pounds three quarters in the hundred weight. All the persons employed about the metal may amount to 16,000. Myrtles thrive here in the open air. Cider is made in the eastern parts; and the mulberry tree thrives well.

*Wednesday.*—An early coach setting off to Penzance, though very tired, I took my place in it; and was driven through Helstone, and a country not at all interesting until within a few miles of Penzance, St. Michael's Mount presents itself.

This is a fine bold hill, in Mount's Bay, a little to the south of Marazion, a small town, which is vulgarly called Market Jew. The Mount is connected with the land by a passage, which is entirely covered in spring tides; and not fordable in common at high water. On the north west side is an extensive pier, or mole, where a great many ships may clear and refit. There is here, however, in winter, a rich harvest of wrecks, and the people are not slow in plundering them; but civilization having advanced, they no longer murder the crew, as they used to do. The castle which crowns St. Michael's Mount, belongs to Sir John St. Aubyn. The noble sweep which Mount's Bay makes round this elegant cove, with the Lizard Point on one side, and the promontory to the south of the Land's End on the other, stretching into the ocean, forms as delightful a scene as any which Cornwall presents.

If the northern parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire afford the best field for the researches of a botanist, this county is equally well adapted to favour the studies of the mineralogical traveller. Cornwall is the cabinet of Nature: here fossil productions are to be found in greater variety than in any other county.

One would think that this coach from Falmouth to Penzance could have very little employment in winter. One of my fellow-passengers was the owner of a vessel which had been run ashore on one of the Scilly Islands. Travellers of this description, I allow, must be multiplied in the winter months; and how melancholy is the reflection, that such errands are the support of a conveyance!

Penzance is well built and populous, having a port of

good trade, but not fit for large vessels. Many blocks of tin lie loose in the streets. It is curious, in this last and remote town of England, whose inhabitants seem "*penitus toto divisor orbe*," to find the luxuries of a metropolis and the caprices of fashion;—gay belles parading the streets, soldiers and bands of music, millinery, confectionary, and fruit-shops; and windows having a show of caricatures and engravings. After breakfast I mounted a hack, and rode through this remote and barren extremity of the island, in which there is little to attract the view, save the tall fox-glove peering above the melancholy furze, as if looking in vain for a prospect. In the centre of every field is fixed a stone for the cattle to rub themselves on: a Scotchman might think the custom a national reflection. All along the road wild thyme grows in great abundance, and the breeze wafts its delightful fragrance on the senses; so that, but for the surrounding wretchedness, one might be transported in fancy to the classical ground of Hybla or Hymettus. There is a fine mass of rocks, rudely thrown together by the hand of Nature, like a cluster of minarets, on the spot where what is called the *Laggan Stone*, a large rock poised upon a narrow point, excites the wonderment of Cockney visitors. Amongst these, some years ago, a Dutch trading vessel was wrecked, and soon driven in pieces, mistaking the spot for the entrance to Plymouth harbour. I here entered into conversation with a very intelligent farmer, a methodist, as every person in this quarter is. The itinerant preacher of the sect lives at Penzance, having a salary of 12*l.* per ann. and his horse kept *r* from his head-quarters he makes a regular round through all the little hamlets. His labours are forwarded in this neighbourhood by the charity of two pious ladies, who distribute Calvinistic tracts. My guide seemed to have extended his reading and reflection to secular subjects: his information and acuteness of remark surprised me. He talked, however, as all the people here do, about some of his relations being in the smuggling line, as coolly as if he had mentioned any regular occupation. The *Land's End* lies about four miles to the northward of this scene.

As soon as I got to the village of Sennan, a short distance from the extremity of my journey, I inquired which was the way to the Point; and instantly the whole population rushed out at the doors of their mud houses, informing me with one accord that I should need a pilot. As I had no intention of going to sea, I did not perceive the occasion for such a guide, and accordingly rode forward, supposing that

the people merely had a design of treating me like a summer wreck. On looking back, I perceived a little girl running after me, who coming up, assured me that I could not ride down to the Point, and must have some person to hold my horse. I proposed to carry her down behind me; but she declined, saying with a pretty address, "That she was a very good traveller." This intelligent and well-behaved child was twelve years old; had learned to read from a village school mistress, and in her life-time had been once at Penzance. With these poor advantages, she was self-possessed without boldness, correct in speech and manners. Some tenants of a cottage have a native elegance; while many who spend their lives within the precincts of a court, cannot divest themselves of their original sheepishness and coarseness. This little courtier of the Land's End is employed in spinning with her parents, and in the intervals of her work, picks up shells and other marine curiosities on the shore, which she sells to casual visitants.

The system of imposition which commenced at Exeter continues, I find, in an unbroken chain to this last cape of Cornwall. The Cornish peasantry are in that horrid state of incipient civilization, in which they retain all the vices, while they have abandoned the simplicity, of savages. To them a stranger is fair plunder. Scarcely had I reached the bank which overtops the object of my search, when two men, an old and a young one, offered their services as guides. Their joint information was, indeed, scarcely enough to be comprehended within the compass of a single brain, but they had a whimsical way of making it serve for two.

There is a story of two old maids, sisters, who had so long been accustomed to trade upon a common stock of ideas, that on some occasion when they had to say "*accidentally*," the one said "*acci*," and the other "*dentally*." As these worthy ladies split their words, my two guides continued to distribute their sentences; what the one began the other was ready to terminate. In like manner, to questions put to them, they answered alternately, like machinery. Perceiving that this conversation had no other tendency than to make me pay double fees, I told the young one that I saw no occasion for two guides; and that although he was welcome to accompany us if he pleased, he might depend upon it I should only pay one. At this he seemed nettled, and saying, "What you please, Sir," sat down on a rock. No sooner had we got out of hearing, than the artful old



knave began to abuse his companion, calling him an impostor, observing that he served all the gentlemen so, and advising me not to give him a farthing. But travellers will learn to beware of these characters, when I inform them, that by some circuitous questions, I found that they were father and son. When on parting I remunerated the services of the old man, the other joined us, and made a second attempt to extort money; to which I put a stop at once, by a single brief interrogatory—"For what?"

To resist this spirit of depredation, I conceive to be one of the duties which every traveller owes to the travelling community; and I shall not have related the anecdote in vain, if it shall be the means of persuading any ignorant, timid, or weakly over-generous individual, to pluck up a spirit, and to be less lavish of his money.

I am sensible of my inability to convey to my readers any idea of the grand and sublime scenery of the Land's End: it consists of immense rocks of granite, disposed by the wild and fantastic architecture of Nature in rude masses, rugged steepes, and excavated arches. Beneath, at the depth of several hundred feet, the clear green sea foams amongst these obstacles, which have bidden it a proud defiance throughout revolving ages. On either side a continuation of this grandeur is exhibited in the Capes Clear and Cornwall, both protruding their adamantine breasts into the Western Ocean. The Land's End forms the central cape, and is the most westerly. In the sea on the left of it, lies a huge rock, to which very little imagination was requisite to bestow its name—the Armoured Knight—as it closely resembles the head and shoulders of a gigantic warrior. Nearly a mile out at sea stand three bare rocks, round which, even in a calm, the sea breaks in angry waves. On the centre one stands a pharos, like a pillar, in which two men reside for a month without coming on shore; after which they are relieved.

If even in this tranquil summer's day, when the expanse of the ocean is nearly waveless, the navigation to these islands be dangerous, what must be the horrors of this scene during the storm of a winter's night, when the bark is dashed against the base of these precipices, and the dying cry for help! is mocked by the whistling of the merciless tempest.

Far off, hanging in the horizon, I faintly discovered the islands of Scilly, at the distance of nine leagues. In another part of this dangerous navigation lies the Wolf-rock, which I had seen from the Laggan Stone, for ever marked by a

circle of foam. To the point of rock on which I stood to behold this wonderful prospect, there is nearly a precipitous descent from the spot where I had alighted from my horse. Down this steep, a fool-hardy gentleman pushed his horse, about three years ago. In returning, the animal took fright, and throwing the rider into a place of safety on the bank, was precipitated into the abyss! I saw the marks of his hoofs, which tore the ground in sliding down; and the guide pointed out the spot on which the rider was cast—a few feet from the precipice.

The reflections of horror occasioned by the scenery which I have attempted to describe, deprive the mind of all power of entering into the feelings of Lucretius.

*Suave mari magne, turbantibus æquora ventis, &c.*

“ ’Tis pleasant safely to behold from shore

“ The rolling ship, and hear the tempest roar;

“ Not that another’s pain is our delight;

“ But pains unfelt produce the pleasing sight.”

This scene, and the feelings excited by it, are more accurately represented in the twelfth book of the *Odyssey*: in which the father of poetry has given the finest description of a bark, steering its perilous course betwixt concealed rocks and absorbent whirlpools; a description which I think few could read without hearing the hoarseness of the surges; beholding the boiling of the eddy; and sharing the apprehensions of the mariners.

The Cornish language has now scarcely left a trace behind it. Dorothy Pendreth, the last who could speak it fluently, died at Penzance twelve years ago. Within these five years a few old people lived near Falmouth who could speak a little. The little sensible girl who held my horse at the Land’s End, said, her grandmother, who was now alive, could say God, and count twenty in Cornish. The old man who went down with me to the Point, affirmed that he had, when a boy, heard two old persons converse together in Cornish, and he is upwards of eighty. To this traditional intelligence, I shall add the information communicated by the peasant who accompanied me to the Laggan Stone. ♦ He says, he does not know what the Cornish is; that he heard his mother say, she had heard her two grandmothers converse in that language; that he understands there is a Cornish dictionary in the neighbouring parish, but has never seen it. On pointing out a head of land, which he said

passes by the name of "*Pyd in a many mere*," he added, that that was Cornish, signifying the head of many more.

At the country schools in Cornwall, the church catechism is taught, but seldom writing. Vaccination has been introduced in Penzance; but the country people have a prejudice against it. When a flag is hung at the mouth of a mine, it signifies that the mine is then in working. The proprietor of a mine must stop when the vein runs under another person's land; the contests on this head are endless. This, more than the uncertainty of finding ore, constitutes the speculation of mining; by which so many are ruined, and a few suddenly start up from being clerks, into great land proprietors and borough dealers.

I now hastened back by a different route to Penzance, where I found an excellent dinner, and a cheap one; the charge for eating being only 1s. 8d. per head, for which another gentleman and myself had fish, fowl, flesh, and pudding. We were waited on by a female servant called Grace, who has a sister named Prudence. The coach drove to the door after dinner, and conveyed us back in a fine evening to Falmouth.

At Helstone, all the inhabitants were crowding into the town-hall, to see a set of strolling players.

The system of imposition at Falmouth is abominable, and is partly occasioned by the easiness with which sailors, coming on shore after a voyage, part with their cash. A sea officer last night gave 5s. to boots, and 10s. to the waiter, after having been only one night in the house. No wonder that such servants are insolent, when they are offered a shilling or sixpence, by what in other places would be called liberality.

*Thursday.*—I returned in the Exeter mail to that city. The day being fine, I sat for some part of it with the coachman, on the box. On my happening to tell him the story of the sea officer with his five and ten shillings, he said with the utmost anxiety, and betraying the feelings of pure nature—"Is he in the coach?"

The company consisted of a Neapolitan messenger, an English lady from Lisbon, a young sailor, and a long *etcetera* of outsiders. The rapacity of the Falmouth inn becoming the subject of conversation, the lady told us, that she had given the chambermaid a shilling for the porter; but afterwards discovered that only one penny had been

delivered to him; the maid saying, that the lady protested she had no more money about her. A dispute arising between them, the lady overheard the porter say, "How could you tell such a story as that the lady had no money?—do you think if she had none, that she would have come *here*?"—"You may well say that," observed the lady.

I was much interested for the Neapolitan, who was greatly depressed on account of the fate of his country, and in the remembrance of his own losses; his adherence to his prince having cost him his whole property. He was a well educated man; and, as I could not speak French well enough to carry on a conversation fluently, we agreed to converse in Latin, which he spoke better than most foreigners. The surface of Cornwall, he observed, was rough; but it contained riches in its bosom: like a man with a "*mal visage*" and a "*bon cœur*."

Another of his remarks, I am sorry that the manners of my countrymen in every village through which we passed, too well justifies—" *Tout part, ces gens buvont.*"

At dinner I gained his affections, but rather depressed his spirits, by drinking "Success to legitimate royalty."

The young sailor was a noisy lad with rough jokes. To the lady, who asked him at dinner, whether she should help him to a small piece of something, he replied, "No, thank ye, but you shall help me to a large one."

Some of the little towns through which we pass, are royal boroughs. I had the curiosity to enquire whether the electors were very competent to make an intelligent use of their franchise. In some places they were totally ignorant of politics; and in others, had not even a newspaper.

*Friday.*—I was conveyed from Exeter to Bristol through the delightful county of Somerset. This county contains two cities, Bath and Wells; thirty-three market-towns; and 482 parishes. The valleys are very rich: whether distributed into meadows, pasture, or tillage; and many of the hills produce good crops of grain; hemp, flax, teasles, and woad, are all cultivated in great quantities. Very large cattle are fattened on the plains and moors, and the Cheddar cheese is in deserved celebrity. The sheep are small: but the Mendip mutton is sweet. The mineral productions are lead, calamine, copper, manganese, bole, and chiefly red ochre, with which many of the lower orders are dyed in the vicinity of Bristol. Bath is built of a fine free stone obtained from the neighbouring quarries. The blue Kenton stone is admirable for paving. The red ochre, called raddle, is used in marking sheep. A second species is employed as

an inferior paint; and substituted for armenian bole by the druggists. A third, and the most valuable sort, is confined to a narrow space on Winfold hills, five miles from Bristol. It is brighter and smoother than the others, and does not crumble between the fingers. It is found in a stratum of four feet in breadth, about six fathoms beneath the surface of the ground; imbedded in black marle, and is equal to terra persica. Somersetshire sends no less than eighteen members to parliament.

Cullumpton, where we breakfasted, is a pretty neat town; seeming to consist chiefly of one wide and straggling street. The next stage is Taunton, a well built town, consisting of four principal streets, and having two parish churches. The coach stops in the market-place, which is spacious, containing a market-house and town-hall over it. The woollen manufacture has flourished here since the year 1236. It has now passed to Wellington. Monmouth made Taunton his head-quarters in 1685, and here judge Jeffries held the bloody assize, after that nobleman's death. The whole country here is quite enchanting. Near Bridgewater (the next stage) is the field of Sedgmoor, now a fine pasture for horses. There are many fine fields of lint to be observed along the road. A good manure is made of the mud of the Severn, mixed with lime. From the summit of Cureton-hill, the eye is delighted with the extensive prospect of a richly cultivated country, far superior to any thing in the Isle of Wight. All beneath is a rich flat; while the distance is finely varied by the Cheddar and Mendip hills, and the rising grounds of Glastonbury and Stourhead.

Within a few miles of Bristol, the channel appears in all its glory, and Bristol with its gay crescents, which, though uninhabited, look well from a distance;—Clifton with its wooded slopes, St. Vincent's rock, with the gap which the Avon seems to have formed through the scenery—all glittered in the soft beams of the departing sun. On one side of the road the white and castellated seat of sir Hugh Smith; and the house of a clergyman on the side of a well-wooded hill, like an elegant cottage, contribute to the general effect.

*Saturday.*—Providence favouring me with another beautiful morning, I went in the coach to the New Passage, ten miles from Bristol, the fare, 2s. 6d. We crossed the channel immediately, and had a capital breakfast at the Passage-house on the Monmouth side. An intelligent young gentleman of Bristol, agreed with me to walk across the country to Piercefield; and as if it were one of my smiling days, we had no sooner set out, than we met with a country school-

mas'ter, who undertook to direct us by the nearest way. If he shortened the journey by his information as to the bye-paths, he beguiled it still more by his rational conversation. He seemed to be a person of worth and piety, who had read many of the best authors in his own language, and thought deeply. We talked about agriculture—politics—the state of the poor—religion—and literature: on all which subjects this poor man, who toils in this obscure manner for a few shillings in the week, acquitted himself respectably. He told us his favourite books were Goldsmith's three histories, Guthrie's Grammar, Addison's works, and the Bible, than which selection a more sensible one could hardly be found for a man who has leisure to read but little.

This poor man accompanied us nearly to the gate of Piercefield, and then gave us an invitation to his cottage on our return. He had a slight touch of dissatisfaction with the present state of things in the country; but that will be forgiven in a mind superior to its condition, by those who are told that it was not disloyalty or disaffection, but the rational views of a mind somewhat darkened by disappointment.

On parting we thanked him for his very great civility; and he made an observation which struck me forcibly. He had met, he said, with a civility from a stranger in the morning on leaving Bristol, and he thought he could not do better than repay it, although to a different person. Civility and courtesy, are duties in all situations; they may not return directly to us, but by diffusing good humour throughout society, they increase the general disposition to oblige, and contribute to the circulation of a happiness of which we will ultimately partake.

Piercefield belongs to Mr. Wells, a West Indian, who is universally well-spoken of by the peasantry. The gardener conducted us round the grounds, the chief beauty of which consists in different openings of the shady walks to exquisite views of the Wye, creeping round steep, very finely covered with wood. The banks are precipitous, and the rock at intervals pushes its brows through the foliage. Various aspects of Chepstow castle form a prominent object in all the views. Sometimes the Bristol Channel is to be seen. One seat is called the double view, containing on the right the prospect of the house, and on the left the Wye with the charms of Nature.

We now pursued our journey to Tintern, about four miles distant from Piercefield. The abbey is a venerable Gothic ruin in a sequestered glen. The windows on all sides and

central arches are upwards of sixty feet in height; the abbey itself is seventy-seven yards in length, and fifty-three in breadth. But to its merits, the pencil and not the pen, is requisite to do justice.

The inn at Tintern where we dined, is a poor inn; indeed a hedge ale-house; but it is very cheap, and very comfortable. We had fried bacon and eggs; and good cheese, and good bread, and good butter, and good ale, and a clean table-cloth, and a reasonable bill. Dine, ye monarchs, on your three courses, and your services of plate!

Parting with my companion, I proceeded to Chepstow, a clean and pretty town. From a hill on the Old Passage side of the town, there is a magnificent view of the Wye and Severn forming their junction, and the whole channel opening its shores, and covered with ships. On the other side the sweet romantic town of Chepstow smiled in the last beams of departing day. The castle rising on one wall with the perpendicular rock, the grounds of Piercefield, and the rich environs of Chepstow, rank this view in the first class of picturesque scenery. I crossed the river at the Old Passage, a few miles higher up than the New one, and slept at the inn on the Bristol side of the ferry.

*Sunday.*—I rose very early, and walked into Bristol; and after dressing, went to the cathedral, a very poor one, where the service is ill performed. The sermon is delivered in the body of the church; and as soon as the prayers are finished, there is a general movement, and very indecent scramble for places in the holy drawing-room. A dignitary preached from the text—"Train up a child in the way he should go." The discourse was plain and practical enough, but too simple. It was adapted for the remotest villagers, not for an intelligent audience. It was also ill divided and ill arranged; the parts did not rise in importance. One division stated that children should be brought up in the paths of piety; another, in those of virtue; a third, in those of industry; and a fourth, in those of temperance. And pray, good divine, are not the two last included in the second? In the afternoon, it was my fate in another church to hear the worst sermon I ever remember to have heard, and delivered in a most miserable style. The tendency was likewise bad: it was a decrying of the pursuit of knowledge; while the preacher recommended the direction of every moment's attention to heavenly contemplation, and to an anxious wish for death.

This is totally impossible to such a being as man; and if it were possible, it would be sinful. The Almighty, who hath

distinguished us from the lower animals by the high prerogative of reason, cannot be supposed to condemn the improvement of that faculty, and even to its highest possible elevation. The proper province of a divine is not, I apprehend, to teach us to bury our talents, or to let them rust, but to improve them for the good of society, and the glory of the Giver. As to an anxious wish for death, it betrays a somewhat impious dissatisfaction with the appointments of Providence; it is at variance with those active duties which we are placed in this state of probation to discharge, in order to make death a comfortable consummation: it is the very germ of suicide.

Betwixt the morning and evening services I strolled up to Clifton, and indulged an hour of melancholy, and I hope suitable reflection, in pondering on the variety of tombstones, recording the premature exits of young men and women, of nineteen and twenty-one, in rapid declines. So many blossoms of promise blasted in their early opening—the feelings of so many parents so deeply wounded—the ardent expectations, the sanguine views of so many breasts throbbing with delight in the morning and freshness of life, all buried in darkness—furnish materials for meditation, which might inspire the most giddy with seriousness, and the most thoughtless with reflection. Yet I am told, that, with all those melancholy beacons continually present, deprived perhaps by their multiplicity and frequent appearance (the very circumstances which should make them interesting) of their effect, it is not uncommon to see the tall emaciated hectic shades absorbed in the whirlpool of amusement; tricked out in all the meretricious ornaments of fashion, as unsalutary for a valetudinarian as indecent for a dying Christian; to see these figures, through whose wasted frames the stars may almost be seen to twinkle dimly, dancing in heated ball-rooms at night, and to hear the death-bell toll out their departure on the ensuing morning.

“ Then foremost at the banquet and the ball,  
 “ Death leads the dance, or stamps the deadly dye:  
 “ Gaily carousing to his gay compeers,  
 “ Inly he laughs, to see them laugh at him:  
 “ As absent far; and when the revel burns,  
 “ ————— he drops his mask,  
 “ Frowns out at full: they start, despair, expire!”

Much were it to be wished, that they who are carried to Clifton for the sake of health, without needlessly depressing their cheerfulness, which may perhaps be necessary, as affording one of the faint chances they have of recovery,



would sometimes peruse the beautiful elegy of Mason on the death of his wife.

"Take, holy earth, all that my soul holds dear, &c."

"To Bristol's font I bore her trembling frame ;

"She stooped—she drank—and died.

"Does youth, does beauty read the line?"

The pump-room at Bristol is covered with petitions for the public charities of the place. The water has a sickly taste.

The rivers Avon and Frome unite their streams at Bristol, and become capable of carrying large ships into the Severn, which receives their joint waters at King's-road.

Bristol carries on a large trade to the West Indies, and in time of peace, to the Continent, Newfoundland, and the Mediterranean. The quay and dock-yards, the exchange, and custom-house, are the chief ornaments of this commercial city. Its manufactures are those of brass, iron, lead, shot, sugar, turpentine, sulphur, vitriol, china, woollen stuffs, broad-cloth, sail-cloth, lace, silk, and cotton. There are seventeen churches, for as many parishes, and five chapels, with fifteen places of sectarian worship. The population, including that of the suburbs, amounts to 100,000. Bristol being a county, an assize is held in it every year: it was formerly a place of great strength, but capitulated to prince Rupert in the civil wars. By a charter granted by Elizabeth, every man who marries the daughter of a Bristol merchant becomes free of the city.

The hot-well is situated about a mile and a half west from the city, and is defended by a thick wall, to prevent its being injured by the tide. The water is said to be impregnated by the limestone quarries with a soft alkaline quality, together with some weak tincture of sulphur, with nitre, sea-salt, and a little iron: it is of an agreeable warmth, and excellent in hectic, diabetes, weak lungs, preternatural evacuations, acrid juices, viscid blood, and in the first stage of a phthisis pulmonalis.

In the evening I proceeded with the coach to Bath, the double Crescent of which has a magnificent appearance, and was enlivened by the crowds who moved in the promenade under it.

*Monday.*—Bath is a very ancient city, known to the Britons by the name of *Cacr Badon*, and to the Romans by that of *Aquæ Solis*. It stands in a valley, enclosed on three sides with an amphitheatre of hills, which shield it from winds, and supply it with fine springs of water. The hills contain freestone, of which the city is built. On the north-west side the valley widens into rich meadows watered by

the Avon. The waters contain a small portion of common salt, a larger portion of selenite, fixed air, and sulphureous gas, with a slight chalybeate impregnation. As these qualities are inadequate to the effects produced by the waters, it is probable that there is some subtle property which chemistry is incompetent to discover. There are three principal springs, the King's Bath, the Hot Bath, and the Cold Bath. The waters are beneficial in obstructions of the viscera, palsy, gout, rheumatism, hysteric colic, jaundice, white swellings, leprosy, hypochondriasis, and all spasmodic disorders. The cases in which the use of the Bath waters is dangerous, are those in which there is any fever, till the fever be removed; pain in the breast, with cough, or difficulty of breathing, cases of hemorrhages and phlethora.

The discovery of these waters is by ancient historians attributed to Bladud, son of Lud, who was king of this county 890 years before Christ; and there is an image of the prince in one of the baths, giving no doubt as correct a representation of him, as the information is accurate.

The Romans, in the year 44, certainly sat down on this territory, under Vespasian, the general of Claudius; probably induced to make their settlement by a report of the natural heat of the waters. Here the first detachment of the second legion was situated, and walls, temples, and theatres, speedily arose in what was till then an inhospitable wild. It became the only place in the island for manufacturing the legionary arms and ensigns. It formed part of the dominions of the West Saxons for 200 years: they destroyed the Roman monuments, and erected new buildings out of the ruins.

In the reign of William Rufus, John de Villala, a native of Tours, annexed the abbey of Bath to the bishopric of Wells; a fact which falsifies the common story of a Scotchman, who being asked by one of the kings, on a vacancy, whether he would have Bath or Wells, replied, *Baith*.

It was made a city by a charter from Elizabeth. Its commerce is inconsiderable, and the inhabitants are chiefly supported by the influx of valetudinarians. Bath, like Rome, has risen from mean beginnings to be an elegant city: the most superb edifices, built by the most skilful architects, compose one of the most beautiful cities in the world. The pump-room seems an elegant lounge. I bathed for curiosity's sake in the public baths, boiling up at 114 degrees of heat. It is very pleasant to put on a loose dress, and wade about, but for a person in perfect health must be enervating.

"Balnea, vina, Venus vitam nostram corrumpunt  
 "Sed vitam faciunt balnea, vina, Venus."

Thus elegantly translated by Dr. Darwin:

"Wine, women, warmth, against our lives combine,  
 "But what is life—without warmth, women, wine?"

After bathing I walked to Frome, where all the people are dyed purple with the manufacture of blue cloths; and from thence to Stourhead, at which beautiful place I arrived in the evening.

Its chief beauties are comprised in a little amphitheatre of rising grounds, richly wooded, and interspersed with classical temples, surrounding a noble sheet of water. There are models of the Temple of Flora, the Pantheon, and the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra. A boat is curiously contrived with wheels to be pushed across the lake; on the opposite bank of which are sweet walks, amongst caves, grottos, cool fountains, and elegant cottages, all disposed with the most classic and delicate taste. The little inn at Stourton is very comfortable and cheap.

*Tuesday.*—I walked through the park to the lofty tower where Alfred reared his standard after his concealment in the Isle of Æthlingay. The view from the summit is expansive and magnificent.

In the house of Sir R. C. Hoare there are many fine paintings: holy families and wise men, by Raphael, and other painters, without end. The most interesting seemed some views of Naples, by Canaletti; gypsies by night at a fire, by Rembrandt; and above all, Elisha raising the widow's child, by the same artist.

Amongst the curiosities, is a superb cabinet which belonged to Sixtus the Fifth. It is supported by pillars of Sicilian jasper, and decorated with a profusion of all manner of precious stones.

*Wednesday.*—I employed the forenoon in walking about Bath. In the cathedral are monuments of Nash and Quin; and of a more valuable character, Sibthorpe the botanist.

Having now visited all the places I had sketched out in my plan, I returned with great satisfaction to London. Near Newbury, the traveller sees the White Horse cut in the chalky hill; and at Foxfield the philanthropist beholds an asylum for the widows of clergymen.

THE END.

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TO

## BOLINGBROKE'S VOYAGE TO THE DEMERARY.

\*. \* A mistake having occurred in the paging of Bolingbroke's *Travels*, the page after 96 being printed 55, and the rest continued wrong till the beginning of Chapter XII. we are under the necessity of making the references in the Index correspond with the figures in the print. Those which refer to the pages erroneously printed, are distinguished by a star.

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