A

VOYAGE

TO

COCHINCHINA,

IN THE YEARS 1792 AND 1793:

CONTAINING A GENERAL VIEW OF

THE VALUABLE PRODUCTIONS AND THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS FLOURISHING KINGDOM; AND ALSO OF SUCH EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS AS WERE VISITED ON THE VOYAGE:

WITH SKETCHES OF THE

MANNERS, CHARACTER, AND CONDITION

OF THEIR SEVERAL INHABITANTS.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY,

MADE IN THE YEARS 1801 AND 1802,

TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE CHIEF OF THE

BOOSHUANA NATION,

BEING THE REMOTEST POINT IN THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA TO WHICH EUROPEANS HAVE HITHERTO PENETRATED.

THE FACTS AND DESCRIPTIONS TAKEN FROM A MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL.

WITH A CHART OF THE ROUTE.

BY JOHN BARROW, ESQ. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA," AND "TRAVELS IN CHINA."

"——Hæc olim meminisse juvabit
"Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
"Tendimus in Latium."——

ILLUSTRATED AND EMBELLISHED WITH SEVERAL ENGRAVINGS BY MEDLAND, COLOURED AFTER THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS BY MR. ALEXANDER AND MR. DANIELL.

LONDON:

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1806.

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TO

SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BARONET,

F.R.S. & F.L.S.

&c. &c. &c.

WHO, AS COMPANION OF

"THE VOYAGE TO COCHINCHINA,"

AND PARTAKER OF MOST OF THE OCCURRENCES AND OBSERVATIONS RELATED THEREIN,

IS WELL QUALIFIED TO APPRECIATE THEIR FIDELITY,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,

IN TESTIMONY OF THE SINCERE REGARD AND FRIENDSHIP

OF HIS MOST OBLIGED

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

JOHN BARROW.

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PREFACE.

THE Voyage which is here presented to the public has no pretensions to new discoveries, and can boast but little of its collection of new and important facts. It will conduct the reader precisely over the same ground which a much abler writer has previously occupied in "*The Authentic Account of an Embassy to China;*" and in whose hands were placed, in fact, a great part of the materials of which it is composed. The expectation, therefore, of new discoveries and extraordinary occurrences, which in books of voyages and travels is alone sufficient to keep the attention constantly on the stretch, should only be indulged to a moderate degree in the perusal of the present work. Yet although the ground may already have been trodden, the range is so extensive, the prospects so various, and the objects so numerous, that new scenes are not difficult to be exhibited, nor those before observed to be sketched in different positions, as seen from different points of view. The lapse of ten or twelve years, having materially changed the aspect of the political horizon in every part of the world, has also given scope for new suggestions and reflections which could not exist when the voyage was made, but which are particularly applicable to the present time. Besides, every foreign country, though it may have been visited by fifty different voyagers, will still present something new for the observation of the fifty-first. Such a variety of objects pass before the view of an attentive traveller, affording so wide a range for observation and reflection, that there is little danger of the materials being speedily

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exhausted. It may be observed, likewise, that the same objects are capable of exciting a greater or less degree of interest according to the manner in which they are viewed and represented, and the colouring that is given to them. The *Voyage d'un Philosophe*, by Monsieur Le Poivre, contains in point of fact no new discoveries, very little information, and that little not always correct, and abounds in declamation; yet it is a book that always has been and must continue to be read with pleasure, and one from which some instruction may be derived.

The Author is not unaware of an objection that may be urged against the present work, on account of the shortness of the stay made at each of the places which were visited on the voyage. He certainly does not mean to set up pretensions to ample and accurate information on every subject which he has introduced: a book of voyages or travels does not indeed imply it; but, at the same time, he has no hesitation in saying that, by him who makes a proper use of his eyes and his ears, much knowledge may be collected within the sphere of his observations, in the course of a very few days. It has justly been remarked, that a person will obtain a more correct notion of a city or town from walking the length of one of its principal streets, than from the most detailed description. The truth of the observation will be felt by every one who may have passed up one side and down the other of the High Street in Oxford. In like manner the natural historian, in skimming over the surface of a country, will be able to seize and to communicate a more distinct and comprehensive view of its productions, and their value, than one who, ignorant of natural history, shall have passed his whole life upon the spot. And here the Author cannot but lament his own want of knowledge, and consequently the deficiency of his materials, in this part of his subject. It was in the progress of the voyage he was first made sensible of the high and important advantages which a competent knowledge of natural history is capable of imparting. To him thus instructed, every living creature, however contemptible it may appear to common eyes; every plant that grows, from the stately tree of the forest down to the humble moss; every stone, from the sparkling diamond to the dull

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pebble that strews his path; in short, every object in the creation, however insignificant in ordinary estimation, is capable of exciting in the naturalist a lively degree of interest. Whether he may chance to stroll the flowery fields, or climb the mountain's brow, or walk the street, or sail upon the ocean, he has at all times and on all occasions the means within himself of deriving from the surrounding objects a pleasure and an advantage denied to those who have neglected the study of this valuable branch of science. Such will only meet with dreary wastes, and feel no other sensation than that of weariness, where the observer of nature

> " Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> " Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

But not to himself alone are confined the superior advantages which necessarily result from the knowledge of natural history. Without a systematic classification, it is next to impossible to communicate to others distinct ideas of any particular object among the almost endless variety that occurs in the universe. To say that an unknown plant resembles such a plant that is known, when perhaps in point of fact they are totally unlike, except in the shape of a leaf, is conveying not only vague but faulty information. The Author would, therefore, most earnestly recommend to every young person, and more particularly to such as may be designed for travel, the study of natural history; by which he will contribute largely to the stock of his own pleasures, as well as to the real information of those to whom he may afterwards communicate his observations.

The moral and physical advancement or retardation of Europeans in their foreign settlements; the influence of their conduct on that of the natives, and its effect in promoting the happiness or increasing the misery of the latter, in accelerating or retarding their progress towards civilization; their endeavours to extend the cultivation of such articles of colonial produce as are valuable for local consumption or for commerce, are subjects of the highest importance to the concerns of humanity, but such as can only be accurately represented after long and patient investigation, conducted with-

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out partiality and without prejudice. On those subjects, therefore, more will not be expected in the present work than what the time afforded the means of acquiring.

So little is known to Europeans of the kingdom of Cochinchina, that every piece of authentic information respecting it may be considered as valuable. The historical sketch of the affairs of this country for the last thirty years, the rapid progress made by the extraordinary talents and exertions of the present King in the recovery of the ancient domains of that country out of the hands of usurpers, the treaty concluded between him and Louis XVI. of France, and the causes which annulled that treaty, will be found important in a national and political point of view. The substance of this sketch is taken from a manuscript memoir drawn up by Captain Barissy, a French naval officer who, having several years commanded a frigate in the service of the King of Cochinchina and being an able and intelligent man, had the means and the opportunity of collecting accurate information. That the English East India Company know so very little of a country of such extent and importance as Cochinchina is, though situated nearly in the direct track of their China fleets, and supplying many valuable articles for the China market, is not a little surprising. It is to be feared, however, that the growing influence of the French, already too powerful in that country, will only draw their serious attention towards it when it is too late to take advantage of those favourable circumstances which have long presented themselves. Were the enemy to renew this treaty and employ actively against us the force that was intended for the purpose, just when the French revolution put an end to all the plans of the old government, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the East India Company could any longer be able to maintain their valuable commerce with China.

The Journey into the Interior of Southern Africa, inserted as a supplementary article at the end of the Voyage, was undertaken by the order and at the expense of the Cape Government, for the purpose of discover-

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ing whether any and what tribes of native inhabitants, dwelling to the north-eastward of the colony, might possess a sufficient stock of horned cattle, beyond the supply of their own wants, to replace the vast numbers which had perished in the settlement in the course of a dry and sickly season. Mr. Truter member of the Court of Justice and Mr. Somerville the garrison surgeon were appointed Commissioners of the expedition. The manuscript journal, of which the Author has availed himself, was written in Dutch by Mr. Truter. It contains a plain and detailed narrative of all their proceedings, as for instance the exact time they travelled on each day, the names of the places where they halted, the number of sheep bought and consumed, the quantity of knives, beads, flints and steels given in exchange for every ox they procured, of tobacco distributed among the Hottentots, and a variety of other matters which Mr. Truter, in his official capacity, thought it his duty to notice, but which the translator conceived might very properly be omitted without diminishing the interest. He thinks it right at the same time to observe, that Mr. Truter is responsible only for the facts and descriptions; and that, from his own knowledge of the country, the Author has taken the liberty to introduce many of his own remarks and observations. From this journal he has also laid down, on his own reduced chart, a route of the journey, which, though probably not strictly accurate, will be found sufficiently so for the assistance of future travellers.

This article might perhaps, with more propriety, have formed an appendix to the Author's "Travels in Southern Africa," being intimately connected with the same subject. At the time, however, when his Second Volume of that work was put to the press, he understood it was the intention of Mr. Somerville to publish an account of the expedition of which he bore a part, and for which he was consequently better qualified than any other person; he therefore forebore, on this account, making use of the materials then in his hands. But as the Cape of Good Hope is once again a British settlement, and as Mr. Somerville seems to have wholly abandoned the idea of favouring the public with whatever information he may have col-

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lected, the Author deems it of sufficient importance to make known to the public the extent to which discoveries have already been pushed into the southern part of the continent of Africa; and from the intelligence which is herein contained respecting the civilized *Barroloos*, he cannot suppress a hope that the African Association will be induced to prosecute their discoveries in Southern as well as Northern Africa, especially as the possession of the Cape holds out such great facilities for the undertaking. Here there are no inhuman and unrelenting Moors to oppose and harass the progress of the traveller; he can here proceed without molestation over wide trackless plains as secure as they are solitary, and pass with equal security through a succession of mild and harmless inhabitants. And though Southern Africa boasts not of a *Niger*, it has its *Gariep* or Orange River, whose magnitude and known length of course are sufficiently remarkable to make the source of the one an object of interest as well as the vent of the other. But, what is of much greater importance to humanity, the traveller will here have the satisfaction to find that, in the interior and central parts of the southern continent, a state of slavery is not the predestined and inevitable lot of the native African. He may here likewise promise to himself a constant succession of new objects, in every branch of natural history. It was a common observation among the Romans, which they borrowed from the Greeks, that "Africa always "affords something new;" the justness of which, as the late journey sufficiently proves, holds good in our own times. In fact, the geography, the natural productions, and the various tribes of natives inhabiting the interior parts of this great continent may yet be considered as unknown; and consequently a wide field is here presented for the researches of the inquisitive and philosophical traveller. Little was it suspected that at no greater distance from the southern angle of Africa (which has now been colonized near two hundred years) than seven hundred miles, and not more than three hundred miles from the skirts of the Cape settlement, a tribe of natives should for the first time have been discovered (for nothing was known of them but from vague report) within the last five years:—a people living together in large societies, in peace, security, and happiness;

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whose chief place of residence formed a town, embracing a population of nearly fifteen thousand souls! Still less did our travellers expect to hear of other societies dwelling in towns many times the extent of that which they saw with their own eyes, at the distance only of a few days' journey beyond the spot to which they themselves had proceeded. These facts being now established, the Author cannot forbear repeating how strongly he entertains a hope that the African Association will feel an irresistible impulse to open an intercourse with the *Barroloos*, and not lose the favourable opportunity which now presents itself of extending our knowledge of Southern Africa.

The Author deems it unnecessary to say any thing respecting the Engravings which illustrate and embellish his book. As works of art they speak for themselves; and he has only to observe, that they are faithful representations of those objects which they profess to describe.

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A

VOYAGE

TO

COCHINCHINA,

&c. &c. &c.

CHAP. I.

THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA.

The Bay of Biscay—Current setting into the Mediterranean explained by an Experiment—Remarkable Appearance of Madeira—Town of Funchal—Cathedral—Franciscan Convent, and Chamber of Skulls—Nunneries—Climate and Diseases—Condition of the Inhabitants—Portugueze Beggars—Clergy—English Inhabitants—Discovery of the Island—its Defences—Productions—Wines—how and to what Amount exported—Fiery Meteor.

On the 26th of September 1792, our little squadron, consisting of the Lion ship of war of sixty-four guns, the Hindostan Indiaman, and the Jackal Brig, sailed from Spithead with a fair and fresh breeze, which, as we proceeded down the British Channel, increased to an equinoctial gale from the south-west, and compelled us to seek for shelter in Torbay. Here we remained two days, when, the wind becoming moderate and favourable, we again put to sea and rolled rapidly across the bay of Biscay, which, like the "Wavering Nation," as Shakspeare aptly calls it, whose shores it laves, is

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ever in a state of restlessness, even in the midst of a calm. There are few scenes in nature so terrific and sublime, so well calculated to impress the mind with wonder and admiration, as a storm at sea; and tremendously awful must such a scene have appeared to him,

> "Who first to the wild Ocean's rage
> Launch'd the frail bark, and heard the winds engage
> Tempestuous."——

As we approached Cape Finisterre the water became much smoother, but at the same time the effects of the well-known current, which flows incessantly towards the Mediterranean, began to be sensibly felt—a current which, in the strait of Gibraltar, is so strong as to prevent ships from passing into the Atlantic with a westerly breeze, however moderate. This phenomenon has in part been explained by the hypothesis of the learned and ingenious Doctor Halley, which supposes the quantity of water evaporated from the surface of the Mediterranean to be greater than the quantity thrown into it by the rains and rivers, and consequently that, in order to preserve the level by supplying the deficiency, there must necessarily be a constant tendency of the Atlantic to rush into the Mediterranean. It has since, however, been supposed, though as far as my knowledge extends not proved, that an under-current sets as constantly out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic. It is always pleasant to find ingenious theory corroborated by simple facts; and as the following experiment, communicated to me by Admiral Patton, applies so directly to the point, and accounts for the two currents in a manner so satisfactory, I shall tran-

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scribe it without making any comment. The Admiral took up a small flask of salt water in the Atlantic Ocean, near Cape Saint Vincent, which weighed 22oz. 5drs. The same quantity, in bulk, of salt water taken up by him in the Mediterranean near Minorca, was found to be 13 grains heavier. Two decanters were afterwards filled, one with fresh, the other with salt water, their specific gravities differing in the above proportion, and the fresh water tinged with red colouring matter. The decanters being placed horizontally, and their necks closely luted, a gradual interchange of their contents was observed to take place, the fresh and coloured water making its way through the upper, and the salt water in a contrary direction through the lower, part of the necks; being a just representation of the upper and under currents, which are supposed to flow in contrary directions through the strait of Gibraltar.

Welcome as the sight of land must always be after a sea-voyage, it will be doubly so to the passenger who, for the first time, has been buffetted by the billows of the Bay of Biscay. Yet the appearance of the mountainous island of Madeira, enveloped, as it usually is, in the obscurity of a dense cloud, is far from being inviting. So rarely indeed is its gloomy mantle drawn aside, that when Gonsalez Zarco discovered the island of Porto Santo, though at the distance only of 40 miles from Madeira, he remained at the former for a length of time, without even conjecturing that the latter might be habitable land. He and his people had observed with marked attention the thick black cloud hovering constantly over the same spot of the horizon; an appearance

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which inspired them with a superstitious and reverential awe, being firmly persuaded, as men were in those days, that

> " ———'Tis not vain or fabulous
> (Though so esteem'd by shallow ignorance)
> What the sage poets, taught by th' heavenly muse,
> Story'd of old in high immortal verse,
> Of dire chimeras and inchanted isles,
> And rifted rocks, whose entrance leads to hell."

In fact, it was the popular conjecture, that this settled gloom might be suspended over one of the mouths of hell.

The point of elevation, at which this cloud rests on the brow of the mountain, is said to be regulated generally by the course of the sun; floating at his meridian altitude as a thin fleece on the aërial summit, and descending as he sinks into the western horizon in dense volumes to the skirts of the town, over which it remains suspended during the whole night. As the next rising sun gradually dissipates this heavy vapour, a succession of objects, full at least of novelty to the stranger, and of great variety, is unfolded to the eye. On the sweeping shore of a spacious bay, whose extreme points are high and rugged volcanic rocks, is situated the town of Funchal, the white buildings of which, contrasted with the surrounding rocks of black lava, and the lively verdure of the plantations on the brow of the mountain, convey neither an unpleasing nor an unpicturesque effect. Interspersed among these plantations are numerous delightful villas, churches, chapels, and convents, various in point of form and situation, and mounting one above the other on the steep acclivity, till they are lost in the obscurity of the hanging cloud. The highest visible object that parti-

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T. Medland Engraver to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Funchall

Published June 1. 1809 by Mess.rs Cadell & Davies Strand London

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cularly catches the eye is the convent of *Nossa Senhora do Monte, our Lady of the Mountain*, which, being surrounded by gardens and groves and avenues of chesnut-trees, appears as if buried in the midst of a forest. The wide open bay with the shipping at anchor, the numerous craft on the beach, the *Ilheo* or *Loo* rock, a huge insulated mass of black lava, surmounted with batteries, constitute a foreground that is well suited to the grandeur of the scenery on shore. But the annexed view of that part of the island immediately over the town, reduced from a drawing taken by Mr. Daniell, on board a ship at anchor in the bay, will recal to the recollection of those, who may have viewed it from the same situation, its general features as they appear from thence, better than any description which I can pretend to give.

The bay of Funchal, at all times indifferent as a place of anchorage for shipping, is considered as extremely dangerous from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, when the strong southerly winds cause a high and rolling swell of the sea to be thrown in upon the shore. Poor Mackintosh, who commanded the Hindostan, was in a state of constant alarm and uneasiness while we remained here, having on a former visit to this place lost his ship, when every soul on board perished; he and his cook escaped the melancholy fate of their companions by being on shore.

How deceitful are oftimes the fairest appearances; and how frequently is the beauty of objects, when viewed from a distance, converted into real deformity on a nearer approach! After a difficult and disagreeable landing, on account of the

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surge, which breaks with violence on a rough pebbled beach, the passenger enters directly into the irregular and meanly built town of Funchal, whose streets are narrow, crooked, and dirty, some paved with small pointed pebbles, that seem to pierce through the soles of the shoes at every step, and others without any pavement but the ridges of schistose lava breaking through the surface, whose points are not less sharp than the former. The mountain rills trickle through some of the streets in their passage to the bay; but, instead of contributing to the cleanliness of the town, these little streamlets are productive of every kind of nuisance. Here the inhabitants wash their clothes, clean their fish, deposit the offals of butchers' shops, empty the contents of their night-machines, and, in short, bring together all the filthy and offensive materials that are collected or generated in the town. The number of hogs that are attracted by this plentiful supply of provender, and that are suffered to run loose about the streets, is another source of annoyance to the passenger; for these four-legged gentry are so familiar, that he who happens to walk the length of a street without being gently brushed by some of them may consider himself as being in great luck.

The few good dwelling-houses that are found in the town are those which are occupied by the British merchants, who have established themselves here in the wine trade; these houses are in general sufficiently spacious, but neither commodious nor comfortable. These and a few others excepted, all the rest have rather a mean appearance. Their roofs are chiefly covered with tiles, on which large loose stones are laid to prevent their being carried away by the blasts of

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wind that occasionally blow with great violence from the mountains behind the town. The extent of Funchal may be nearly a mile in a line parallel with the beach, and rather more than half a mile in depth. It is said to contain two thousand houses, occupied by about twelve thousand inhabitants. There are besides six other small towns or villages on the island, the whole population of which, including Funchal, is estimated to amount to about ninety thousand persons.

At a little distance behind the government-house, which stands within the fort Lorenço, and overlooks the bay, is the *Passao Publico*, the public mall, a short but very pretty walk, well shaded with orange or lime trees, willows and poplars. On one side of the entrance stands the theatre, which is seldom opened, and on the other the hospital. Funchal, like other towns and cities of Roman Catholic countries, has no scarcity of churches and convents; but we met with little in any of them that could be considered as deserving of particular notice. The beams and the roof of the cathedral are pointed out to strangers as being of cedar, a species of tree with which it is said the island was at its discovery nearly covered. Another curiosity which is shewn in the town is a chamber in one of the wings of the Franciscan convent, the walls and ceiling of which are completely covered with rows of human skulls and human thigh bones, so arranged that in the obtuse angle made by every pair of the latter, crossing each other obliquely, is placed a skull. The only vacant space that appears is in the centre of the side opposite to the door, on which there is an extraordinary painting above

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a kind of altar, but what the subject is intended to represent I am really at a loss to decide. A figure in the picture, intended probably for St. Francis, the patron saint, seems to be intent on trying in a balance the comparative weight of a sinner and a saint. But the very accurate drawing from which the annexed print was taken, and with which I have been favoured by Mr. Daniell, will perhaps best explain the subject. A dirty lamp suspended from the ceiling, and just glimmering in the socket, served dimly to light up this dismal den of skulls. The old monk who attended as shewman was very careful to impress us with the idea that they were all relics of holy men who had died on the island; but I suspect they must occasionally have robbed the churchyard of a few lay-brethren, and perhaps now and then of a heretic, (as strangers are interred in their burying ground,) in order to accumulate such a prodigious number which, on a rough computation, I should suppose to amount to at least three thousand. The skull of one of the holy brotherhood was pointed out as having a lock-jaw, which occasioned his death; and, from the garrulity of our attendant, I have no doubt we might have heard the history of many more equally important, which, though thrown away upon us who had no taste for craniology, would, in all probability, have been highly interesting to Doctor Gall, the famous lecturer on skulls in Vienna. On taking leave we deposited our mite on the altar, as charity to the convent, which seems to be the principal object in view of collecting and exhibiting this *memento mori* of the monastic and mendicant order of St. Francis.

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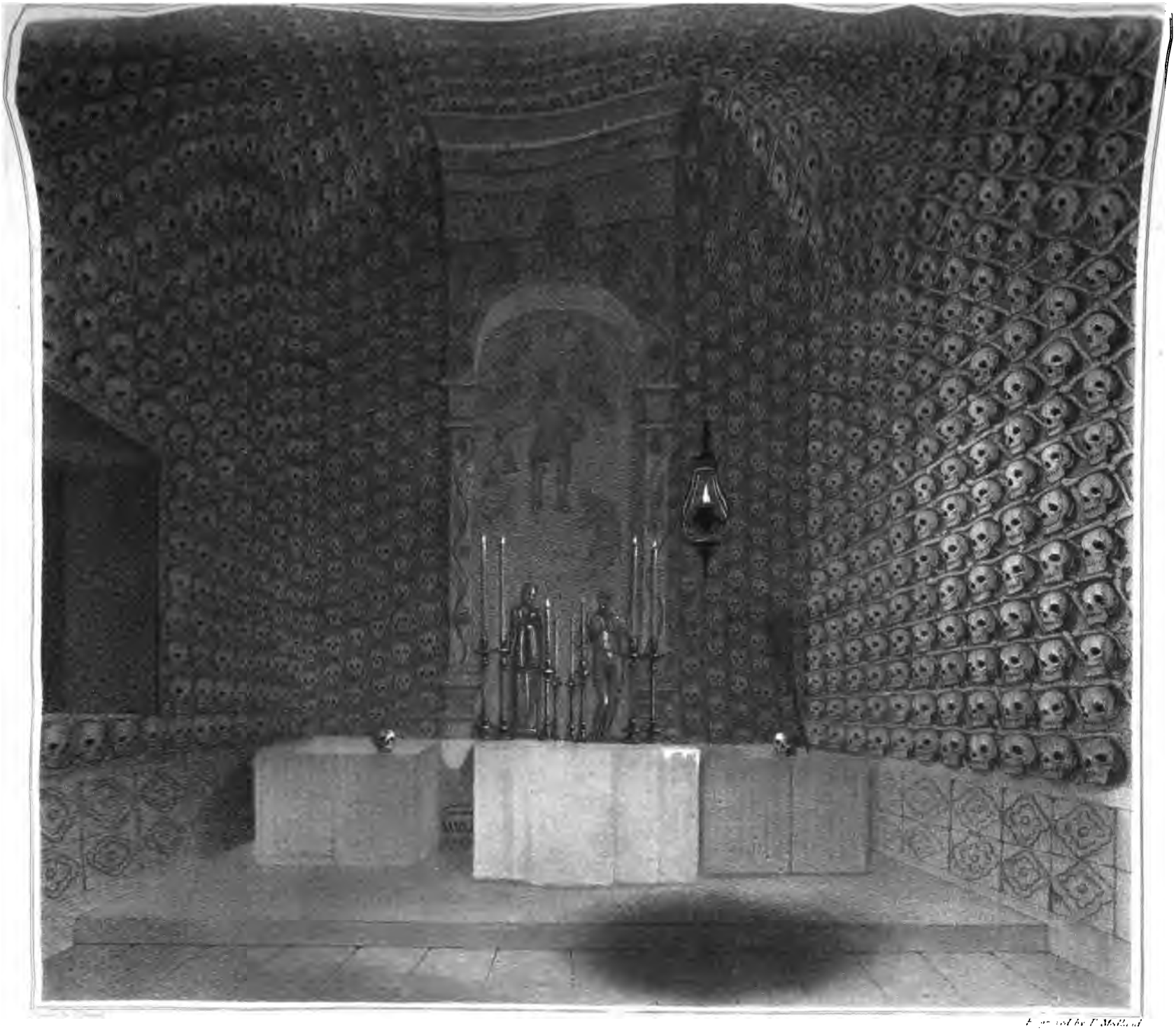

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There are other convents, to which young women are sometimes sent for the purpose of completing their education; but not a single instance of the veil having been taken occurs for many years past. Married women also, who are particularly tenacious of their character, and who wish to be considered as models of chastity and virtue, sometimes retire into a convent during the absence of their husbands. In those which were visited by our party, we saw only a few antiquated virgins, who affected a considerable degree of shyness; and though their air and general appearance were not ill calculated to inspire feelings of pity, it was not, however, of that kind which "melts the soul to love," but whose less powerful influence pleads rather to the purse than to the heart: and accordingly we gave them, what was considered to be the most acceptable, a few dollars in exchange for pieces of paper cut into representations of the virgin, and saints, and crucifixes. A general languor, occasioned by confinement and the unvaried insipidity of a monastic life, frequently passes in the nun as the token of patient resignation; and we are apt to attach a lively interest to young females, who are thus so cruelly, as we suppose, separated for ever from all society except that of each other: but it is by no means clear that we do not often ascribe to persons under such circumstances notions of purity and delicacy, which are more romantic than just. It is extremely doubtful if they possess those exalted sentiments, nice feelings, and sound understandings, which prevail among females of those countries where they are allowed to enjoy unrestrained freedom. The education of the former is suited to prepare them for their future condition: they are held in such little consideration in their own family, that they are fully

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aware they cannot be less esteemed in a convent; and they make the sacrifice of their liberty under the consoling reflection that, by so doing, they shall secure everlasting happiness in the world to come.

The residence of a few days among a foreign people cannot be supposed to furnish much information of their manners, character, and condition. It requires no little time to get rid of our own prejudices; and, while labouring under the influence of those, we are apt to forget the making of a due allowance for the prejudices of others. It does not require, however, any very long stay at Madeira to perceive that the great bulk of the people of Funchal, as in most other cities, is doomed to encounter the ills of poverty:—ills that, in this country, however, on which Nature has bestowed so fine a climate, would seem to be rather owing to some mismanagement on their own part, than to any system of oppression in the government, deficiency in the means of subsistence, or other moral or physical causes. The steady and moderate temperature which this island enjoys is scarcely excelled in any part of the world. In the winter months, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom descends below 55°, or rises higher than 65°; and the usual range in summer is from 66° to 76°. It is visited, however, occasionally, but very rarely, by a kind of Sirocco wind from the eastward, that scorches vegetation, and renders the air suffocating and insupportable; at such time, the thermometer rises to 90° or 95°. It cannot be the climate, therefore, that occasions the meagre, sallow, and sickly appearance which the inhabitants of Funchal generally wear, but may rather be attributed to the

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poverty of their food, which chiefly consists of fish, pumpkins, and sour wine, or pernicious spirits; to a life of drudgery and exposure to great vicissitude of climate, by daily ascending the steep and lofty mountains in search of fuel; and, above all, to a total disregard of cleanliness. As a corroborative proof of this being the case it may be mentioned, that almost all the natives are infected with what they consider an incurable cutaneous disease, a species of itch, which is attended with an extraordinary degree of virulence and inflammation. I do not remember to have seen or heard of any remarkable instance of longevity; and the chances are, that Dr. Price, in speaking of the mortality of this island as one in fifty only of the population, while that of London he considers as one in twenty, is not less inaccurate in these instances than in many other of his calculations.

The peasantry, however, like all other mountaineers, are a strong, healthy, hardy race of men, whose chief employment consists in the various occupations of agriculture, but more particularly in the cultivation of the vine. When the vintage is over, and the labours of the vineyard suspended for the season, several hundreds may daily be seen descending the mountain paths, in their way to the town, with their *borrachas*, or goat-skin bags of wine, slung on a stick across the shoulder.

In all countries where little progress has been made in the refinements of civilization, the drudgery of labour is unfairly thrown on the weaker sex. In our excursions among the mountains of Madeira, we observed great numbers of women,

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both old and young, cutting down broom and cytisus, and other frutescent plants, as fuel to be used in the town, which they afterwards bear in large bundles on the head; travelling barefooted on sharp stoney roads, and down frightful precipices, over a distance of at least ten or twelve miles every day. The men, who are employed in the same business, go out at two or three o'clock in the morning, in order that they may return to Funchal before the heat of the day, when it is usual to see them basking at full length in the streets before their doors, conveying to a stranger an idea of their extreme indolence, which, however, is far from being the case with this class of men, whose chief occupation is that of supplying the town with firewood. Those who may prefer a life of ease, with scanty meals, to the comfort of a decent livelihood to be procured by moderate labour, are such as are occasionally employed in fishing, in shipping wines, which are usually slipped to the beach on sledges drawn by oxen, in smuggling, or in furnishing seamen with wine and spirits. Such employments occupy only a small portion of the day, and not many days in the week. Some few are engaged in the preparation of a sort of white leather for boots, coarse woollens for caps and jackets, and striped linens for trowsers. A linen or calico shirt, a pair of canvas or checked linen trowsers, and a red or blue woollen cap, mostly of the latter colour and not unlike the late sacred emblem of Gallic liberty, constitute their usual dress, which, with their sallow and meagre looks and long black hair, gives them a ferocious appearance, that an unprotected stranger would not be desirous of encountering in a lonely place; yet they are in fact a civil, harmless, and well-disposed people.

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The dress of the female mountain wood-cutters consists of a shift, a petticoat, and a thick cap or coarse handkerchief tied about the head. The middle class of people, who earn a livelihood by keeping shops, by carrying on a petty traffic, or by practising some of the handicraft trades, are distinguished in their dress from the vulgar by the addition of a hat, shoes and stockings, and a long black cloak, which frequently conceals beneath its covering a multitude of rents and patches. Their wives and daughters are almost invariably habited in black cloth petticoats, and a jacket of the same material, with a large hood drawn over the head. It would be unreasonable to expect that the women of this place should exhibit the most perfect models of purity and delicacy; but we were not exactly prepared to observe these hooded matrons and damsels stepping aside, with perfect composure, to the creeks and corners of the streets and, like Madame Rambouillet, "plucking their roses," in open day, and in full view of every passenger.

Nor do the men, who affect to rank among the upper classes of society, appear to feel those elevated notions of independence which attach to their condition in other countries: for instance, they are not ashamed of begging in the public streets. The monks of St. Francis profess it *por amor de Deos;* and the laity beg for the love of themselves. Contrary to the custom of our beggars, who assume at least the outward appearance of being objects of compassion, and frequently of disgust, a Portugueze puts on his best coat when he goes a begging. This may not be so much the case in Ma-

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deira as in some of their commercial stations in the East, once flourishing, now sunk into ruin and wretchedness. I recollect distinctly, when we were at Macao, to have observed one of the inhabitants asking charity at the English factory, dressed in his bag-wig and sword. Indeed the miserable people of that settlement are half supported from the money that is either spent, or given in charity, by the English and other European houses which are established there for the conveniency of their commerce with China.

It would seem that the clergy of Madeira are not very rigid in exacting from others the duties of religion, nor in setting an example of pious conduct in their own persons. On the contrary, the loose manners, the intemperate mode of life and the free conversation of many of the monks are a disgrace to the sacred office which they hold; yet these men assume to themselves the character of guardians of public morals, and, under this cover, sometimes make use of the most extraordinary and unwarrantable liberties. We observed, with astonishment, at the Governor's table, the impertinent, indecent, and debauched conduct of a drunken fat friar; and were equally surprized at the little pains that were taken to check his career. These men carry about with them evident marks of good living; and if the general appearance of the inhabitants indicates few symptoms of plenty or comfort, that of the clergy at least is such as even Cæsar might not have objected to, they being

> " ——— Men that are fat;
> " Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights."

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The penurious and solitary life of the Portugueze forms a striking contrast with the splendid and convivial manner in which the houses of the English merchants are constantly kept open for the accommodation of strangers who may call at the island. If the English at home be represented by foreigners as a cold, formal, and distant people, they have at least a very different character abroad. Their hospitality at Madeira is unbounded; and the state of society, the delightful climate, and the variety with which the island abounds, are such that he, who could not spend here a few months with pleasure and satisfaction, must be possessed of a very fastidious taste. The Portugueze Governor, however, was a social, well-bred, and respectable man. He entered into all the parties of the English, during our stay on the island. He gave, also, a most sumptuous entertainment at the government-house: and, as few nations, beside our own, exhibit on their tables whole animals, as pigs grinning with oranges in their mouths, hares squatting as if about to leap down the throats of the hungry guests, and pheasants with their feathers ready to fly after them, the Portugueze Governor, in compliment to the English taste, had employed English cooks for the occasion: a mark of consideration which I very much doubt if any of the British merchants would have condescended to pay to the Portugueze Governor; as a due respect for the customs and prejudices of other nations is certainly not to be found in the catalogue of an Englishman's good qualities.

The Governor of this settlement, which is the case in few belonging to Portugal, has a sufficient allowance to enable him to support the dignity of his station, and his powers are

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still greater than his appointments are liberal; yet his whole income is barely 2000*l.* a year, about 200*l.* of which is in the shape of a present from the English merchants.

The accidental discovery of Madeira is attributed, by most of the early voyagers and historians of Portugal, to an Englishman; and the subject is said to be painted on the walls of a room in the government-house. Whether the fact be really so or not, the adventures of Robert Macham and the lovely Anna d'Arfet furnish an interesting and an affecting story, the incidents of which are extremely natural, and not improbable. Gonçalvez, indeed, who, after Macham, may be considered as the discoverer of Madeira, was so much convinced of the truth of the story which was then prevalent, that he named the place of his first anchorage *Porto dos Inglezos;* and, on his second voyage, changed it to that of *Porto de Machino*, in honour of the unfortunate discoverer, which at this day is corrupted into *Porto Machio* or *Machico*. At this place are still shewn the remains of a cross, that was supposed to have been erected over the grave of the beautiful and amiable *Anna d'Arfet*, and which they pretend to have been cut out of the very tree under which she died and was buried.

Whoever might have been the discoverer, it is certain the Portugueze were the first to take possession of it; and in doing this they are not chargeable with any injustice or violence, for there was not found a single inhabitant of the human species upon it. Since that period it has not been out of their possession; nor could it perhaps be better placed for the commerce and convenience of all nations, than in the

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hands of a power which has neither the means nor the inclination to go to war. In the possession of a great maritime state, it might be made instrumental, in time of war, in materially interrupting the commerce of the East and West Indies, as almost all the outward bound ships to both countries pass within sight of Madeira or Porto Santo. For the mere improvement of the island, and of the condition of the people, the English ought to be the masters; whilst misery and ruin would be the inevitable consequence of its falling into the possession of the French. The defences of the island are by no means contemptible, nor neglected. The Peak castle which commands the town on the west, the fort and wall extending along the beach, the works on the Loo rock, and the fort of St. Jago on the east point of the bay, with proper ordnance and a garrison of two or three thousand men, might oppose a very obstinate resistance to a much superior force. The best and perhaps, indeed, the only practicable landing-place is at Funchal, where the shot from the castle striking the pebbly beach, which is from sixty to eighty yards in width and flanked by batteries at each extremity, would occasion a dreadful havoc among the invading party, in the attempt of making good their landing. On the whole island there are said to be from twelve to fifteen thousand well-appointed and regularly trained militia, of which four or five thousand could be brought, in the course of a few hours, to act at any given point.

In order to pick up a few native plants, and to gain some little information as to the produce and the rural economy of the island, we determined to make a long day's excursion

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across the mountains. For this purpose we engaged a number of mules and as many muleteers, each beast having its driver who, with his long staff armed with a pike, goads the animal in the flank, or checks his career by a blow on the face, to regulate the pace of the beast with his own, without regard to the feelings of the rider. There being very little level ground on the island, our road was either up steep acclivities, along the edges of frightful precipices, across deep ravines, or through swampy thickets of brushwood. The island, however, abounds with grand and picturesque landscapes; and many of the deep vallies exhibit magnificent and romantic scenery. In the vicinity of the town, and along the sea-coast, the rocks and stones are mostly formed of compact bluish lava; but in proportion as we advanced in height, the volcanic products disappeared, and quartz and close-grained schistus became more abundant. In crossing the summit of a mountain, towards the east end of the island, we met with the crater of an extinct volcano, which appeared to be about three hundred yards in diameter; the bottom was nearly covered with a species of penny-wort.

We saw only a few trees, and these were generally growing in the deep glens, none of which were remarkable for their size or their beauty, except the tall and elegant *Ardisia excelsa*. Some large trees of a species of cedar, with which the island is supposed to have once been covered, are said to be still growing in the ravines among the higher mountains; but we did not meet with any of them. The general scarcity of soil, indeed, which prevails in every part of the island, except in particular situations, where rills of water may have carried

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down, in the course of ages, an accumulation of loose earthy particles, would seem to contradict the common opinion that its name was given in consequence of the vast forests with which it originally abounded. There certainly is not the least appearance that such has ever been the case: thickets of underwood might have covered several parts of the brow of the mountain, and such patches of ground in the glens as are now converted into vineyards and orchards; but there never could have been such forests and thickets as to justify the idea of the conflagration having lasted for seven years, as we are told by Portugueze historians. The native shrubby plants that chiefly prevail are broom, cytisus, whortleberry, laurel, myrtle, brambles, euphorbia, cactus, a fine scented jessamine, and wild olives. It was these which, viewing them from the ship, our imaginations had transformed into groves of oranges, lemons, citrons, and other fruit trees that are congenial with such a climate. A species of lavender, a stock, and several of our cultivated plants, are found in their natural state. The common fern is abundant, so likewise is polypody, maiden-hair, and other cryptogamous plants. Wormwood, trefoil, nightshade, bugloss, fox-glove, Saint John's wort, convolvulus, plaintain, and many of our grasses grow on the sides of the hills, wherever there happens to be the smallest quantity of soil to fix their roots.

The cultivated plants are vines, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, bananas, guavas, apricots, peaches, and European fruits, besides good walnuts and chesnuts. The island produces wheat, barley, and rye; but more than two-thirds of the grain consumed is imported from the Azores or Western Islands,

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and from America. For more than a century Madeira was considered as valuable chiefly for the quantity of sugar it produced; but since this aromatic reed has been spread over the continent and islands of the new world, little is now in cultivation here; and the sugar extracted from it is of a coarse quality, used only among the lower class of inhabitants, commonly as an inspissated brown juice, not unlike molasses. The arid soil seems much better suited for the growth of the vine than the sugar-cane. Wine, indeed, may be considered as the principal product of the island, of which the quantity made varies, in different years, from fifteen to twenty-five thousand pipes. The greatest quantity exported in any one year appears to have been fifteen thousand pipes, in the following manner:

To the East Indies - -	*Pipes*	5500
To England - - - -		4500
To the West Indies - - -		3000
To America, and taken away by Americans		2000
		15000

The value of which, with a little fruit and other articles exported, may be estimated at 500,000 *l.*, of which more than 400,000 *l.* is taken by Great Britain and its colonies, in exchange for various manufactures and provisions, amounting in value to about 300,000 *l.*, making thus a balance against us of 100,000 *l.* America supplies the island with lumber, staves, salt provisions, and grain, to the amount of 80,000 *l.* annually, which is more than is imported into the island by

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Portugal from Europe, Brazil, and the Azores; and the whole amount of produce taken by the mother-country from Madeira does not exceed 10,000*l.* The total revenues of the island, consisting of one-tenth of the produce and duties on import and export, are said to amount to about 100,000*l.*, out of which, after paying the expences of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishments, the Crown is supposed to receive about 30,000*l.*, although the old Governor assured Lord Macartney that the net sum received by the Crown of Portugal seldom exceeded eight or ten thousand pounds.

It will appear extraordinary, and I should not have ventured to mention it had I not the authority for so doing of a gentleman who has been thirty years on the island, that so large a quantity of wine should annually be sent to India, and consumed there, (for of this not 300 pipes a year are returned to Europe,) and so little imported into England. The latter would appear to be of less difficult explanation than the former; for although it is supposed that the quantity consumed in Great Britain, under the name of Madeira, is, on the least calculation, equal to the whole quantity that is exported from the island, or more than three times what is actually imported, yet it is well known that a variety of mixtures pass for Madeira, some of which are compounded of wines that never grew on the island, as those of Teneriffe, Lisbon, and Xeres. And with regard to India it may be observed, that although the number of English there is very limited, and few of any other nation drink Madeira wine, yet this and claret are the only wines in general consumption

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at both the Presidencies and in the army, the former of which is freely used during dinner.

This wine is known to possess many extraordinary qualities. I have heard it asserted, that if pure genuine Madeira be exposed to frost until it is congealed into a solid mass of ice, and again thawed by the fire; if heated to the boiling point, and then left to cool; if exposed to the sun for weeks together in open casks, or placed in damp cellars; it will not suffer the least injury by such great and violent changes. That part, however, which is consumed on the island is a raw meagre beverage, which, if compared with *London particular*, is as bad as small beer to fine ale.

The usual mode of training the vines is by basket-work fixed to espaliers, about five feet high; but in some vineyards they are led up trees, or high poles; and in others, cut down to the height of two or three feet, as at the Cape of Good Hope. In some places the hills are terraced, in order to retain the soil, by stone walls. The process of making the wine is very simple. The grapes are picked from the stalk, thrown into a vat, pressed first with the feet and afterwards by a weighted wooden lever. The proprietor of the land and the collector of the taxes for the Crown both attend at the press; the latter takes out of the tub his tenth of the whole must, after which the remainder is equally divided between the land-owner and the tenant. Each takes with him a sufficient number of porters to carry away their respective shares, sometimes in barrels, and sometimes in goat-skin *borrachas*,

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to the cellars in Funchal. The English merchants usually supply the farmers beforehand with money, to enable them to make a more extensive tillage.

In the course of our journey we did not observe a single wild quadruped, and very few birds of any kind appeared. Hogs are said to be turned loose among the thickets to fatten on roots, and especially on those of fern, by which they acquire a flavour of game. Goats are pretty numerous, and rabbits are not scarce in the mountains. The island affords but a scanty supply of food for a few cows, and milk and fresh butter are consequently accounted among the luxuries in diet. A few oxen are used in the town for drawing sledges; small saddle horses are kept by some, but the common animal of burden is the mule. Among the birds are hawks, kites, partridges, pigeons, quails, woodcocks, swallows, sparrows, grey canaries, finches, and linnets.

There are few insects of any kind to annoy the stranger, as usually happens in warm weather countries; and not a venomous reptile has ever been known to exist on the island. The honey bee, however, is not uncommon; and in certain sheltered valleys, where the surrounding hills abound in heathy plants, the honey is said to be unusually fine, and is frequently sent as a valuable present to Portugal. Such myriads of lizards I never beheld in any country. On a warm sunny day, every rock and stone-wall are literally covered with them. They are perfectly harmless, except that, creeping along the branches of the vine, they pierce the ripe grapes, and suck out their juice. In doing this they fre-

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quently tumble off and are caught in small glazed pots, that are purposely placed underneath to receive and prevent them from doing further mischief. This contrivance, however, must be too expensive to be general.

We had scarcely descended the heights and reached the village of Santa Cruz, which is situated on the eastern point of the island, before it became dark; and we had still ten miles to travel, along the edges of rocky precipices overhanging the sea-shore, where we had little to trust to beyond the cautious steps of the mules. In this part of the journey, one of the most brilliant and beautiful meteors I ever beheld passed over our heads, from the body of the island, with a rustling noise like that of a sky-rocket, appearing to fall in a curvilinear direction into the sea. The duration of its light we conjectured to be from eight to ten seconds. The first impression, made by a light so exceedingly brilliant, suggested the idea of a fresh eruption from the volcanic mountains we had just descended, and all eyes were turned towards that quarter. Our troublesome journey, as I observe by my notes, was much shortened in philosophizing on this phenomenon. On the principles of the old-fashioned doctrine which then (now thirteen years ago) prevailed, it was concluded that the electric fluid, passing through contiguous or blended volumes of oxygen and hydrogen gasses floating in the upper regions of the atmosphere, might effect that chemical combination which is known to produce water; and that, notwithstanding the clear starry hemisphere, we might be caught in rain before we reached Funchal. This did not exactly happen, but several smart showers fell in the course of the

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night. The signs and prognostics of the weather become more than usually interesting to him who has to travel over desert wastes, where he has no expectation of meeting with even a hovel to hide him from the storm. Such having been my case since the period on which I am now writing, it may readily be supposed I was not wholly inattentive to these circumstances; and I can safely say that, as far as my observations go, either a clouded atmosphere or rain has invariably succeeded the appearance of fiery meteors, or, as they are sometimes called, falling stars. Perhaps, indeed, the same effect of combining the airs might take place, whether these meteors be considered as mere electric sparks, or heated masses of stone formed under circumstances and ejected from situations equally unknown. The modern conjecture, that the latter might be hurled from lunar volcanoes, seems to be the most plausible, as, under favourable positions of the sun and moon, calculators have assured us, that the force required to send a stone from the latter planet within the attractive sphere of the former would be little more than three times that of a cannon ball.

Thus the various accounts we meet with, in ancient history, of stones descending from the heavens, and supposed to have been ejected from the sun or the moon, are not quite so fabulous as they were long held to be. Even modern philosophers disbelieved the fact, and ridiculed the hypothesis; but they have at length condescended to concede that the ancients might be correct as to the fact, and possibly not wrong in their conclusions. Pliny, who in his natural history has given us a compilation of every thing he had read, heard, or seen, records an instance, among others of a similar kind,

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of a large stone which, in the days of Anaxagoras the astronomer, is supposed to have fallen from the sun in a district of Thrace, near the river Ægos; which stone, he tells us, was shewn in his own time. To this passage the very ingenious author of Hudibras has thus humourously alluded:

> " For Anaxagoras, long agone,
> " Saw hills, as well as you, i' th' moon,
> " And held the sun was but a piece
> " Of red hot iron, as big as Greece;
> " Believ'd the heavens were made of stone,
> " Because the sun had voided one."

But this meteor, I perceive, like an *ignis fatuus*, has led me astray from my subject, which, not being sufficiently interesting to resume, I shall here conclude, and proceed without further delay on our voyage.

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CHAP. II.

THE ISLAND OF TENERIFFE.

Conduct of the Captain of a French Frigate—Bay of Santa Cruz, its Defences and Defects—Attacks of Blake and Nelson—Appearance of the Island, and Town of Santa Cruz—City of Laguna—Vegetable Productions—City and Sea-Port Town of Oratava—Teneriffe Wine—Journey up the Peak—Caverns for burying the Dead—The Guanches or Aborigines of Teneriffe—Condition of the present Inhabitants—The Clergy—Royal Monopolies—Improvement of which the Island is capable—Climate—Remarkable Instance of Longevity—Description of the Fortunate Islands by Homer and Plutarch.

THE passage from Madeira to the Canary Islands is, in most cases, as smooth and pleasant as that between England and Madeira is boisterous and disagreeable; and, in the present instance, we made the run in less than four days; having discovered, on the third of our departure, the pointed summit of the celebrated peak of Teneriffe, though at the distance of about sixty miles; an object which, indeed, in clear weather, is visible nearly as many leagues.

The Spaniards in their foreign settlements are not accustomed, and indeed generally refuse, to return the salutes of ships belonging to other nations; but whether their declining the compliment of mutual civility may be ascribed to the haughty and reserved temper of the government, to an af-

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fected superiority, or to a parsimonious saving of gunpowder, I cannot pretend to determine. Sir Erasmus Gower, knowing it to be the case, sent an officer on shore, conformably to his instructions, to make an offer of the compliment on the ground of reciprocation, which the Governor, however, with great politeness, declined; observing that his orders would not allow him to make any return; and intimating, at the same time, that it would be more agreeable if the usual custom was dispensed with of firing the morning and evening guns. When the wishes of a friendly power could be acceded to on such moderate terms, a refusal would have indicated more of pride than policy. From Sir Erasmus Gower the desire of the Governor met with a ready compliance. There was a Frenchman, however, commanding a frigate at anchor in the bay, who, in the true spirit of Gallic liberty, disdaining the restraint of orders and port regulations, saluted and fired his morning and evening guns, in defiance of the rules laid down by the Spanish government. Like a true Gascon he had boasted, as we afterwards heard, that, concluding from the sight of our squadron war must have broken out between England and France, he had prepared to receive us with one broadside at least, in order to do all the mischief he could, *pour l'honneur de la Grande Nation*, before he struck his colours. Yet these are the people who are loudest in complaining of the tyranny of the English in exercising the sovereignty of the seas; but, were the exercise of that sovereignty placed, unluckily for the world, in the hands of the French, their conduct on the continent is a sufficient test to evince with what degree of moderation they would hold the dominion of the ocean.

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On entering the bay of Santa Cruz, situated on the eastern side of Teneriffe, and casting an eye round the shores, such a lengthened barrier presents itself of bold rocky projections, connected in some parts by lines of masonry, and strengthened in others by so many batteries, that, concluding from appearances, one would not hesitate to pronounce that a small but well-disciplined garrison must render this part at least of the island impregnable. There seems to be but one landing-place that can be considered as tolerably good, in the whole compass of the surrounding shore; and this is within a well-built mole, projecting obliquely into the bay, and forming a shallow bason of considerable extent for the protection of the numerous small craft against the heavy swell of the sea, which occasionally, indeed almost continually, rolls in during the winter months. This mole is defended by a work of some strength at its extremity, and by several forts on each side of it, which are connected by lines for musquetry running close along the shore. The anchoring ground in the bay is so foul and rocky that, unless the cables are floated up with buoys, they are liable to be fretted and worn in pieces in no great length of time. The Hindostan, after losing two anchors, had nearly been dashed on the lava rocks. To render it even a tolerable port for the safety of large ships, the first thing that appears to be necessary is the laying down of mooring chains, fastened to cast-iron sinkers; after which it would still be expedient to float the cables with buoys. The winds, indeed, are so unsteady, and particularly in the winter months, rushing down in violent gusts, and nearly at the same time from every point of the surrounding high land, unless when they blow directly into the bay from the east-

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ward, that large ships will always be exposed to considerable risk, and more particularly so from the months of October to March inclusive.

Under such disadvantages, it was considered as a bold measure of Admiral Blake to run in with a fair wind, in order to take or destroy a fleet of Spanish galleons, which, however, he completely effected and, by a fortunate shift of the wind, escaped with his own fleet; but it is far from certain what the consequences might have been to his ships, had not this sudden, and by no means to be expected, change of wind in his favour taken place at the moment he had finished his work of destruction, and carried him out of the bay; leaving the Spaniards in astonishment (as Hume expresses it) at the happy temerity of their audacious visitors. Blake was a brave officer but not a good seaman, a profession of which a competent knowledge can scarcely be attained by one who like him first engages in it at the meridian of life. Still more daring than Blake's, though less successful, was the attempt of the late Lord Nelson to take the place by surprise, in the year 1797, by embarking about one thousand brave fellows in the boats of his squadron, and entering the bay in the middle of the night. Being unfortunately discovered on approaching the mole, the alarm was instantly communicated to the town, the bells were rung, the drums beat to arms, and the lines and the batteries began to open upon the invading party. The night was so dark that a great number of the boats never reached the pier, on which a considerable force was drawn up to oppose their landing. It was here that the immortal hero, always the first in every perilous enter-

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prise, lost his arm, and had almost the whole of his party killed or wounded by grape and musquetry from the citadel on the left; not, however, before they had completely dispersed the enemy, and driven them from the mole. Another division landed to the southward of the mole, among rocks and breakers, where all the boats were dashed in pieces. From this place, however, under the command of Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Sir Thomas Troubridge, the party forced their way into the great square, where they formed about four hundred strong. Here they were informed that eight or ten thousand Spaniards, with a considerable artillery, were preparing to attack them; which, although not strictly true as to numbers, they had no reason to disbelieve. Yet, in this situation, cool and collected as a British officer is generally found to be in the most critical moments, Sir Thomas sent to the Governor a spirited message to say that, on condition of his immediately supplying a sufficient number of boats to reimbark his people, the squadron would forbear to bombard the town; otherwise, that he could not answer for the consequences. The Governor required them to surrender as prisoners of war; in reply to which, Captain Troubridge declared, in the most peremptory manner, that if the terms he proposed were not instantly accepted he would be under the necessity of setting fire to the town; having kindled a blaze on the windward side of the square, to shew them that they had it in their power to put their threat in execution. On this being reported, the Governor not only complied, but performed the conditions of the treaty in a manner that was highly honourable to his character.

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Should it be considered expedient, on some future occasion, to get possession of Teneriffe, though I confess its utility does not appear to me to be very important to this country, a more eligible plan would seem to be the landing of a body of men at Oratava, the port at which the greater part of the wines are shipped, and where the works of defence are so trifling as to afford little if any resistance, which indeed is the case along the whole western shore between the point de Nago on the north and Garrichecà on the south, where, in any of the small bays or inlets, an easy landing might be effected in the summer months. From any part of this coast, a single day's march, over an open and plentiful country, completely in the possession of the invading party when once landed, would bring them to the city of Laguna, the capital of the island, which is entirely without defence It is scarcely probable they would meet with any opposition in the field, especially if a division of the ships employed in the attack should make its appearance at the entrance of the bay. This force would confine the feeble garrison to their forts; and, as the distance from Laguna to Santa Cruz is only about five miles, down a considerable descent, every point of which commands the town and the bay, the fate of the place must instantly be decided. At all events, the extreme difficulty of landing in the bay of *Santa Cruz* seems to require both daylight and fine weather, in order to insure a successful issue.

The prospect, on entering the bay, is by no means so inviting as that of Madeira, as will readily be perceived by the annexed view. The town of Santa Cruz has pretty much the

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Drawn by W. Alexander

Engraved by T. Medland

View of Santa Cruz

Published [illegible] by Messrs. Rivington, Strand, London

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same appearance as that of Funchal; but the steep and rugged scenery, with which it is immediately surrounded, has a barren and a forbidding aspect: the rocky surface being of an uniform sombre hue, unenlivened by the least verdure, and varied only by its rude inequalities, and a few windmills perched on the heights behind the town. The summit of the peak, but just visible above the highest ridge, conveys from this point of view a very inadequate idea of its stupendous height.

On approaching the shore, the beauties of the town are gradually unfolded. The upper surface of the mole, built of granitic lava, forms a broad gravelled walk which, inclining to the right, leads to a beautiful *Passeadero* or mall, for the use of the public, well shaded by several rows of trees; and to the left, it branches towards a spacious square, in the centre of which is an obelisk supporting a statue of San Bernardo of no mean execution. The streets are mostly laid out in straight lines, are wide, airy, and clean; and the houses in general have a neat appearance, being white-washed with lime, though this article is not by any means cheap or plentiful, being made of shells, as there is not any lime-stone on the island. The substitution of wooden lattices in the windows for glass is, however, a very considerable drawback on the lively appearance of the town. In Funchal there were taverns, and wine-houses, and shops; and a degree of bustle prevailed in the streets sufficient to indicate its being a place of some trade and resort: but here, the houses were always shut up and, except in the mornings and evenings, scarcely a creature was to be seen but the porters and the fishermen about

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the quay. So large a town, with a population so apparently scanty, is apt to impress a stranger with an idea of some dreadful calamity having swept away a great proportion of the inhabitants. The fact is, the Spaniards seldom stir abroad except to attend matins and vespers; and the British merchants, who here as well as at Madeira may be said to monopolize the wine trade, are few in number; and those few reside chiefly at the port of Oratava, from whence the greater part of the wines are shipped.

The many little conveniences and comforts to which an Englishman is accustomed at home but ill prepare him for the awkward shifts he is obliged to make, the bad accommodations he is sure to meet with, and the endless difficulties he must necessarily encounter, in every country where Englishmen do not form a considerable portion of the inhabitants. We were told, however, that in Santa Cruz there was an excellent inn; but the expectations we had formed, from our experience in Madeira, suffered little disappointment on finding it just the reverse of what it had been represented. The bare walls, scarcely covered with lime, the miserable furniture and, above all, the dirty appearance of every thing within, if not a criterion of absolute poverty, were at least sufficient indications of the indolence of the owners and the little sense they entertained of the comforts arising from cleanliness. It afforded nothing but a few grapes and brown bread, and wine that was scarcely drinkable. Having secured, as we thought, a sufficient number of horses and mules for an expedition to the Peak the following morning, and taken a view of the town, we were glad to return to dinner

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on board our respective ships. And as a journey of twenty miles is considered to be a great day's work, in a hilly country, where the roads are not the best, nor the beasts of burden the strongest, we determined to start at break of day. On our landing, however, not a mule was in readiness at this early hour, nor could we collect more than nine in the whole place. We started with as many as we could get, and, after jogging on for two hours at a slow rate, over a rocky road, mostly up hill and in some places very steep, we reached Laguna, which is about five miles distant from the port. This city is considered as the capital of the island; but its size does not appear to entitle it to that distinction, being little, and perhaps not at all, more extensive than the town of Santa Cruz. The houses are in general built on a larger scale, and the streets are wider. There are two churches, five or six convents for nuns and friars, several hospitals, a large jail, a court of judicature, and many other buildings and offices of a public nature, appropriated for the civil and ecclesiastical departments of government; but it appeared to us to be still more gloomy and desolate than Santa Cruz. A few jolly looking friars were the only persons who enlivened the streets, many of which were literally overgrown with grass. Here and there we observed a solitary figure, muffled up in a black hooded cloak, and gliding along as if afraid to be seen. The jail was by far the most lively part of Laguna. It seemed to be crowded by disorderly females, who were laughing and singing at the iron gratings, and whose joyful countenances wore no indications of their suffering in confinement any very severe punishment for their offences, whatever the nature of them might have been.

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Here we procured, with some difficulty, a pair of fresh mules for two of our servants, who had proceeded thus far on foot; and whilst the others were refreshing we looked into one of the churches, where we observed a few tolerably good paintings, and a piece of sculpture in marble that had lately been sent over from Spain. All the ornaments and decorations of the church were splendid and costly, and were so well designed and arranged as to produce a grand and solemn effect. Our time was too pressing, and our curiosity not sufficiently strong, to look over, as we might have done, their collection of relics. The coagulated blood of St. Januarius, the milk of the Virgin, the vermin of St. Anthony, and the parings of St. Peter's toe nails, might be just as genuine in the Canary Islands as on the continent of Europe, and just as well worth seeing; but the wonders of nature were more the objects of our journey than the miraculous remains of the saints.

Having finished our visit to the church and eaten a hearty breakfast of grapes and brown bread, we were just about to remount, when a strange cavalcade made its appearance in the great street. It proved to be a party of our fellow voyagers from the Hindostan, respectably mounted on asses and driving before them a large, raw-boned, white horse, laden with provisions. Our increased cavalcade now began to attract some notice; and as we continued our route through the streets of Laguna, the curiosity of the inhabitants was in some degree awakened, and the young women in particular smiled on us most graciously through the lattices as we passed along.

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Leaving the city behind us, we entered upon an extensive and fertile plain, whose surface was intersected by several rills of limpid water which, being collected in wooden troughs, was conveyed to the town and discharged in jets from obelisks of stone placed in all the principal streets. The harvest was already gathered in, but we could plainly perceive that a considerable portion of the land had been under tillage, of which, as we understood from the peasantry, the chief produce was wheat, holcus, maize or Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and calavances. On our right, towards the sea-coast, appeared a succession of pleasant villas and considerable hamlets, situated in the midst of orchards and vineyards; and on our left were ridges of hills well covered with coppice wood, and their summits crowned with pines. The middle part, over which we had to travel, was an open tract of arable land, without any kind of fences or other apparent divisions to mark the boundaries of property; but the great *Agave Americana* was plentifully planted by the sides of the road for several miles. Our botanists collected, on the brow of the hills, specimens of a great number of plants, among which were a species of *Sempervivum*, a quadrangular leaved *Euphorbia*, the *Rhamnus crenulatus*, *Cacalia clinea*, *Cactus opuntia*, *Datura*, *Convolvulus*, *Brionea*, *Hypericum*, fox gloves, trefoil, grasses of different kinds and various other plants, few, however, of which were considered as rare or curious; and these are here mentioned with the view only to mark some of the general productions of the country.

We had descended nearly to the skirts of the fertile and extensive vale on which are situated the city and the sea-port

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town of Oratava, without having obtained a single glimpse of the grand object of our journey, the Peak of Teneriffe; when, by the clouds suddenly dissipating, its lofty and stupendous summit burst at once upon the view, far above the thinnest vapour that floated in the air: these clouds again collecting into different masses, either by the difference of their specific gravity, or by the attractive power of electricity, remained in suspension on the bosom of the mountain, in successive strata, like so many belts. Nothing could be more majestic than the huge cone tapering to a point, and backed by the azure blue; and nothing could exceed in picturesque beauty the lower part of this grand mountain melting into the plain, which, with an almost imperceptible slope, stretched away to the sea-coast. At the foot of its base stands the pleasant city *La Villa d'Oratava;* and three miles to the right the sea-port town *El Puerta d'Oratava.* In the former reside most of the grandees of the island, to whose families were originally given grants of land and who affect to set no small value on their true Castilian blood. It abounds with churches, monasteries and convents, and is surrounded with gardens, vineyards and fruit groves. Six British mercantile houses contribute in no small degree to the flourishing state of the sea-port town, which appears to be fully as large as the city, and to support quite as many churches, monasteries and convents.

The quantity of wine produced on the island varies from ten to twenty thousand pipes a year, the greater part of which is exported to the London market at the prime cost of about ten to twelve pounds a pipe, where it is said to be converted

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into Madeira, to which indeed, in its original state, it seems to be little if at all inferior. This and similar conversions of Sherry and certain other Spanish wines will account for the great consumption of what is called Madeira in England beyond what is actually exported from the island. The grape of Teneriffe is the same as that of Madeira and the soil volcanic; but the higher and more steady temperature of the former communicates to the fruit a greater portion of saccharine matter, in consequence of which the wines, like those of the Cape, grow sweeter with age. Much, however, of the quality of wines, I am inclined to think, depends on the care and attention that are bestowed in the selection and the pressing of the grapes. The high price that real good Madeira bears on the spot of its growth encourages the cultivator to bestow a greater portion of labour on his vineyard than the grower on Teneriffe could possibly afford to do. It answers his purpose to assort the sound and ripe fruit, grape by grape, and to press them with the nicest care; and there can be no doubt that the singular qualities which this wine is known to possess are, in a great degree, owing to the must being more pure, and of a more homogeneous nature, than that of almost any other wine.

In the dusk of the evening we entered the port of Oratava, on full gallop, as the etiquette seemed to require; for as to ourselves we had no choice of our own: all we had to do was to keep our seats as well as we could and in every other respect to remain passive. To remonstrate with the muleteers would have been in vain: they goaded the little animals

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on the flanks and sides with their long pikes, hollooing, and shouting, and scampering in such a manner that all the latticed windows flew open as we passed along the streets; whilst some of the party were in little better plight than poor Johnny Gilpin when he rode farther than he intended. And that no part of the town might be deprived of having a peep at our respectable cavalcade, the rascals separated us, as if by design, some taking one street, some another, whilst we were under the necessity of remaining perfectly unconscious whither they meant to drive us. At length Dr. Gillan, Mr. Maxwell, and myself arrived at a large decent looking building, with a quadrangular court, surrounded by galleries, not unlike some of the inns in England, and which indeed we concluded to be a house of this description. The Doctor marched into a room without ceremony and began to call lustily for the landlord, when a gentleman shewed himself, whose appearance and manner excited some doubts in his mind whether he might not have committed a mistake; and accordingly was beginning a suitable apology in French, but was immediately relieved from his embarrassment by the gentleman taking his hand and interrupting him with—"No "apologies, my dear Sir, I pray you; every Englishman is "welcome to my house and to what it can afford." Mr. Little happened to be the very person to whom our letters were addressed; and we afterwards found that the muleteers had severally been instructed by Mr. Runy, the British consul in Santa Cruz, to what houses they should conduct us, which circumstance explained to us the reason of our separation on entering the town.

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One of the first objects of our inquiries was the mode of ascending the peak; but we had the mortification to hear that the season was too far advanced, as the snow had begun to lie upon the summit. Mr. Little, however, very obligingly sent for several guides from the city that very evening, in order that we might obtain full information on the subject. They gave us but little encouragement; and some of them represented the undertaking to be attended with such disagreeable and even dangerous circumstances, at this season of the year, as compelled them positively to decline engaging in it. Determined, however, to make the attempt, we prevailed on two of them to accompany us, one of whom was a regular descendant of the original inhabitants of the island, called the *Guanches*. He was a tall muscular figure, perfectly upright, active and vigorous, though more than sixty years of age, of a sallow complexion, with high cheek bones, nose rather flattened, lips somewhat thick, and long black hair. As a journey to the Peak is always considered to employ two full days, some provision must necessarily be made for passing the night on the mountain. A tent was not to be had in all Oratava, but the master of a brig then taking in wine furnished us with an old sail; and we mustered as many great coats, boat cloaks and blankets, as appeared to be necessary. Mr. Little procured for us fresh mules, and provided a most abundant supply of cold fowls, hams, mutton, wine, and other good things for our refreshment.

About 12 o'clock the following day we set off upon our expedition, to the great surprize of the inhabitants who bestowed on us very liberally the epithet of *mad Englishmen*.

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Our cavalcade consisted of nineteen mules and ponies, an equal number of drivers and two guides. Leaving the city of Oratava on the left, we began to ascend the mountains by a stoney path, winding along the upper edge of a deep ravine, which was choaked nearly with a forest of large chesnut trees. The mountains on each side were well clothed with underwood, which in some parts had been cleared away for the sake of firewood, and in others for the purpose of cultivation. The little cottages, interspersed in the coppice, served materially to enliven the scene. The summit of the first mountain was a plain of so considerable an extent that it took us an hour to cross, through an uninterrupted thicket, composed of tall and luxuriant evergreens, among which were a species of laurel, two of the *Rhamnus* or buck-thorn, a *Cactus*, *Euphorbia*, shrubby *hypericum*, two or three species of convolvulus, briony and other creeping plants; but the most common was a species of heath and the *vaccinium nigrum* or black whortleberry. This surface of perpetual verdure has obtained, not undeservedly, the name of the *Green* mountain.

The next part of the road was up a steep ascent of a very different aspect, chiefly composed of scattered fragments of lava, among which was little vegetation except the humble class of cryptogamous plants. Here we saw a number of wild goats, which we fired at without success. The shadow of the Peak, which threw a dark and lengthened gloom along the rugged ridge of hills stretching to the eastward, whilst the whole of the opposite coast from Oratava nearly to Santa Cruz, with its numerous villages, was strongly illumined by the rays of the western sun, afforded a landscape that was

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singularly beautiful and interesting. We continued to ascend by a sort of steps from rock to rock, and along the brink of frightful precipices, till 7 o'clock, when we perceived the cloud that enveloped the bosom of the peak rolling down the sides of the mountain with great velocity. The thermometer, at noon when we left Oratava, stood at 76°; and it was now down to 45°. The guides began to be alarmed, and said we should be overwhelmed by the storm that was brewing above, if we attempted to proceed much higher. We therefore concluded to halt for the night under the lee of a large rock, near which was growing a quantity of the *Cytisus foliosus*, and of the *Spartium nubigena*, the cloud-born broom; the former of which was no bad fuel, though green, and the latter served for our beds. The old sail was our general coverlid, but it soon became dripping wet, and Fahrenheit's thermometer sunk to 40°. Just below us there happened to be a verdant valley, choaked with shrubby plants, to which the muleteers set fire; and the crackling blaze in the midst of the storm and darkness produced a sublime and solemn scene, which was heightened to a more romantic pitch by the guides and muleteers singing in full chorus the midnight hymn to the Virgin.

The following morning brought with it but little hope of a favourable change in the weather. The guides still continued to shew a reluctance to proceed; and the greater part of our company, cold, wet, fatigued, and heartily sick of the expedition, seemed to encourage the unwillingness of the Spaniards. Four of us, however, determined not so readily

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to give up the point; and having prevailed on one of the guides and muleteers to accompany us, we proceeded up the mountain. As we advanced in height, the wind and the rain became more violent. We reached a plain, of which we could perceive no limit, whose surface was strewed over with huge unshapen masses of lava, which had probably been hurled from the crater on the summit of the peak. The muleteers, after having endeavoured in vain to induce us, first by persuasion and then by threats, to turn the heads of the mules down the hill, thought fit to desert us. The thermometer was now down to 36°; and the mules became as obstinate and refractory as their drivers, who had just left us. It blew indeed so very strong, that they were literally unable to proceed. Dr. Gillan and his mule were carried to the brink of a precipice, where the beast luckily fell, or both must inevitably have perished. We now dismounted and, tying our mules together, endeavoured to walk along the bottom of a valley that seemed to lead to the foot of the great cone; but the surface being entirely strewed over with pumice stones, we sunk to the ankle at every step; and the dust and sulphureous smell were equally obnoxious and intolerably suffocating. We now perceived that every hope must be abandoned of making farther progress. The thermometer was down to 30°. The storm continued to increase, and to such a degree of violence, as to oblige us to return to the spot where we had passed the night. Having here dried our clothes and taken some refreshment, we remounted and in the course of five hours, in the midst of the heaviest rain I ever experienced, reached Oratava where not a drop of

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rain had fallen. In the evening one of the English merchants entertained us with a ball, to console us in some degree for our recent disappointment.

The descent of the mercury in the barometer indicated the height of that part of the mountain where we passed the night to be 6030 feet, and the valley of pumice stone and ashes might perhaps be 2500 feet higher. The whole height of the peak from the plain of Oratava, according to the best observations, is from 13,000 to 14,000 feet. Though this elevation in the latitude of the peak is greater than what is required on continental situations, under the same parallel, to produce perpetual congelation, yet as it rises immediately from the plain and is closely surrounded by the sea, the snow remains on its summit only from November to April inclusive. At the base of the uppermost cone are large caverns, into which, at the spring of the year, the peasantry roll masses of ice and snow; and from hence the island is supplied with ice the whole summer.

We were not more successful in gratifying curiosity on another point, which was one of the objects of our journey, namely, that of visiting some of the caverns in which the original inhabitants of the island were accustomed to deposit their dead. Most of the English gentlemen assured us that they had seen such bodies, but we were not fortunate enough to meet with any who could point out the exact situation of the caverns; and all our inquiries of the natives ended only in a string of contradictions: not that they meant to deceive us, but the traveller who asks much of simple and uninformed

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men will be apt to conclude with the same remark that Dr. Johnson made with regard to the Highlanders, "that the "inquirer, by a kind of intellectual retrogradation, knows "less as he hears more." It is better, however, to be amused with the absurdities of simplicity than to be led astray by designing ingenuity. Denon could never be deceived by the old sheik, who, as he was taking a view of some massy ruins of Upper Egypt, asked him whether the English or the French had erected those gigantic monuments? The simplicity of a shepherd of Salisbury plain, with which I was once greatly amused on a visit to Stonehenge, was pretty much of the same cast with that of Denon's sheik. "This is "a very old building, friend," said I. "Aye, Master, it is "very old; I have known it these twenty years, and it looks "just the same for all the world as it did when first I came "into this part of the country."

The bodies of the Guanches that are found in caverns are said not to have undergone any preparation, but merely to have been wrapped round with goat skins. The dryness of the atmosphere on this island is such that, by a gradual and spontaneous evaporation of the juices, animal substances are reduced to a state of complete rigidity and desiccation. This seems to have been the common mode of interment. The number still remaining of this race of men is very few, perhaps not more than a dozen on the whole island. The imperfect and partial accounts that have been handed down by their conquerors all agree that they were a bold, generous, faithful, and good-humoured people; that they acknowledged one supreme Power, to whom they offered on high mountains the most

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valuable gift they had to bestow, the milk of their sheep and of their goats. They registered events by the changes of the moon. They were entirely ignorant of the use of iron, and had no other hostile weapons to oppose to the arms of their invaders than sticks and stones, which, however, they are said to have hurled with great force and dexterity. They lived in stone houses, neatly built without the assistance of lime, clay, or any other substitute for mortar. They had a systematic government and a gradation of rank in society; established laws and a regular administration of justice. They led a pastoral life, but were not wholly unacquainted with agriculture. Their flocks were composed of sheep and goats and they had also plenty of hogs. Their clothing consisted of the skins of goats, sown together with the tendons of the same animal divided into threads. The women wore caps made of these skins, ornamented with small univalve shells, and shoes of the same material. Like the Kaffers and the Hottentots they found great amusement in dancing in a ring on moonlight nights, singing and beating time by clapping their hands and stamping with their feet. Like these people, too, they kindled fire by twirling the point of a small stick upon another with great velocity. They had vessels of clay to contain their milk, in which also they roasted their grain, probably the maize or Guinea corn, though in most of the early voyages it is called barley. The roots of the polypody, dried in the sun and bruised between two stones, were made use of to thicken their milk; and they had plenty of honey, sweet potatoes and vetches. The stone pine on the brow of the hills, and the chesnut in the deep glens, furnished them with nuts; the wild olive, the buck-thorn, the whortleberry shrub,

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and the arbutus, with berries; whilst the native fig tree and prickly pear supplied them with cooling and agreeable fruits. So innocent and so unsuspecting of wrong were those happy natives of the *Fortunate Islands*, that they assisted their plunderers to land on their shores. And when the famous robber of those days, (for he deserves no better appellation,) *Jean de Betancour*, a Frenchman, formed the project of subduing the Canaries, for the charitable purpose of converting the infidels to Christianity, they laboured at those very fortifications which were the means of reducing them and their offspring to slavery and wretchedness, and finally effected their complete extermination as a people. The descendants of the few who might have blended with the invaders have lost all distinctive features of their origin; and it may be doubted if their mixture with another nation has tended to improve the race.

The condition of the great bulk of the islanders appears to be pretty much the same as those of the inhabitants of Madeira, which, notwithstanding the little encouragement held out by the proprietors of estates and cultivators of the land, ought to be considerably better, were they less averse to labour. It is true, the mere necessaries of life are neither so numerous nor so urgent as in regions of a colder temperature, where clothing and fuel are so indispensable as to be ranked among the articles of the first necessity. Here, a jacket of coarse woollen cloth and drawers of canvas, with a handkerchief bound round the head, or a coarse hat, constitute the usual dress of the majority of the peasantry. The ambition of most of the petty dealers and mechanics prompts them to add skirts to their coats, by which they are entitled to the

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honour of wearing a sword. The dress of the lower class of women is pretty nearly the same as that which is worn in Madeira. We saw little of those in the higher ranks, who indeed rarely stir abroad; and who at such times are generally veiled or, more correctly speaking, half-veiled, as they always take care to shew one of their pretty black eyes and, accidentally as it were, sometimes the whole of the countenance, especially if they perceive that they are observed by strangers. Their complexions by confinement become pale and sickly, but they have almost invariably fine dark eyes and good teeth. When full dressed for some particular occasion, they wear long flowing veils of thin white silk, and Spanish cloaks of scarlet cloth, richly embroidered and edged with gold lace. The undress consists of a short jacket and petticoat, when their long black hair bound with a fillet falls straight down behind. The hooded cloaks of the middle class are of fine English flannel dyed black, a very considerable manufacture of which is carried on in the city of Salisbury, and exported through Lisbon and Cadiz to the Portugueze and Spanish colonies. Numbers of females are condemned to pass their days in nunneries, with which every town and village in the island abounds; and the younger sons of the great land-holders are usually brought up for the church, in order that the family name and estate may be transmitted to posterity through the eldest son.

The influence of the clergy in Teneriffe is paramount. It extends to all the concerns of domestic life, and its authority is backed and confirmed by the terrors of the Holy Inquisition. The existence of this tribunal must, wherever its baneful influence extends, be incompatible with a free and unre-

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served communication of sentiments, even among the nearest friends. The life, indeed, which a Spanish colonist leads is nearly as secluded as that of a Turk. He seldom associates with his neighbours except at vespers, at matins, or at high mass. The greater part of the day is consumed in idleness at home. He reads little beyond his bible, his missal, and perhaps the miracles of our Lady of *Candelaria*, the protectress of the island, whose statue is placed in a chapel about ten miles to the southward of Santa Cruz, said to be ornamented with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. It is built over a cavern by the sea-shore, in which her Ladyship had placed herself to direct the Spaniards into the harbour with a lighted candle in her hand. To the help of this pious fraud they were indebted for their success in converting the simple natives to Christianity.

We inquired for books, but could find nothing in the shape of one for sale either in Santa Cruz, Laguna, or the two Oratavas. We were told, indeed, that not a book was suffered to be landed until it had been inspected by the proper officer of the Inquisition. Yet with every precaution taken by these pure and holy men, and under all the rigours of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the morals of the people were found to be extremely corrupt, and instances of unhallowed connections between the sexes so numerous, that it became necessary to pass a law, obliging every young couple to marry who could be proved at any time to have been alone together—a law which, it was shrewdly suspected, was a contrivance of the father confessors, with a view to answer their private accommodation. It is a common opinion among the

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inhabitants, that the ill effects arising from promiscuous love have become habitual to their constitution and hereditary, so that few families either are or can be free from their influence. There are equally few who are not troubled with the itch; the leprosy is not uncommon, and scorbutic affections almost universal. These cutaneous diseases are attributed by them to the copious use of fish; but the real cause may perhaps be more satisfactorily accounted for by supposing them, like the first, to be transmitted from father to son, and their action on the system kept alive by indolent habits, by want of exercise and, above all, by a total disregard to cleanliness. Under the idea, however, that the frequent and abundant use of fish may contribute to the continuance of these disorders, the good Bishop of the Canaries was induced to grant a dispensation with the strict observance of Lent and other fast days, so far at least as to commute the usual restrictions and privations for a certain number of *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias*, to be repeated publicly in the middle of the great square, by all such as were desirous of availing themselves of this indulgence. This worthy prelate, whose revenues are not much less than 10,000*l.* a year, and who usually resides at Palmas on Grand Canaria, is said to distribute a great part of them in acts of charity; for enabling him to do which, he is frequently under the necessity of applying to his domestics for temporary supplies of money till his rents become due.

The maintenance of a numerous body of ecclesiastics becomes a heavy charge on the colonists. In addition to the ordinary alms, individual donations, legacies, and extraordi-

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nary contributions, they are entitled to the tenth of the produce of the land, out of which, however, the Crown demands the royal thirds that were granted by the Pope. All exports and imports are also taxed for the benefit of the Crown; and the luxuries of snuff and tobacco are royal monopolies prohibited, on very heavy penalties, from being imported by individuals or cultivated on the island. A little weed that grows on the rocks, the *Lichen Rochella*, usually called Orchella, used as a purple dye for silks, is also a royal monopoly. As an extraordinary indulgence on the part of the Crown, the small quantity of silk produced in Teneriffe is allowed to be manufactured into gloves and stockings; and the growth of the sugar-cane is not absolutely prohibited, because the cultivation of this article is not attended with any profit to the planter; but the culture and the manufacture of all such articles, as the mother-country or her more favoured colonies can supply, are directly prohibited on this island. Yet with all these restrictions, the whole amount of the taxes, imposts and vexatious monopolies on the Seven Islands, is scarcely equal, after the expences are deducted, to the annual profits of a London brewer. And, with so many discouraging drawbacks on industry, it is hardly to be wondered that they should have no great abundance of surplus produce to dispose of except their wines. The quadrupeds on the island consist in a few horses, mules, asses, and horned cattle, besides sheep, goats, hogs, and rabbits; and we found all kinds of poultry dear and difficult to procure. The market is equally ill supplied with fruit and vegetables. Their bread is very indifferent. Such are the pernicious effects of a bad government on one of the finest islands probably on the surface of

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the globe—an island which, if inhabited by an industrious and intelligent race of men, and governed by just and salutary laws, would not only afford the means of subsistence for eighteen or twenty thousand families, which may be somewhere about its present population, but might be made to produce an abundant supply of valuable commodities for the markets of Europe; such as, for instance, in addition to its wines, silk, cotton, olive oil, and dried fruits. All the hilly country is said to be well adapted for the growth of almonds, and the deep ravines for that of chesnuts. Its fisheries on the opposite coast of Africa might be carried on to almost any extent, and a very considerable source of trade created by the article of salted fish alone. But although on commercial considerations the Canary Islands are capable of much improvement, and the condition of their inhabitants of being greatly meliorated and the population extended; and although they are situated in the direct track of all the outward-bound fleets for India and the Southern Whale Fishery, they do not appear of much importance to any power either in a naval or political point of view. Their situation is too near the coasts of Europe to break the length of an Indian voyage with any advantage; and there is neither a secure bay nor any harbour for large ships in the whole groupe. The soil, however, on most of them is good, and extremely well suited for the cultivation of the vine, and of various kinds of grain and pulse; and the climate is delightful beyond that perhaps of any other country on the surface of the globe. During our stay on the island, which was certainly but short, the thermometer of Fahrenheit never descended below 70°, nor rose beyond 76°, generally remaining about 72°; and we

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were told that on the hottest days it seldom exceeds 80°, and as seldom on the coldest falls below 66°, making thus the extremes of heat and cold to differ only 14 degrees in twelve months; whereas on our island we have sometimes near twice the variation in the course of twelve hours. The temperature, it is true, in the town of *Santa Cruz*, which is surrounded by bare volcanic rocks, is sometimes as high as 88°, owing entirely to its confined situation and the reflected rays of the sun. The moderate and steady temperature of the island in general, added to a dry and elastic atmosphere, might be expected to produce the most happy effects on the constitution, which no doubt would be the case were they not counteracted by the peculiar habits of the people. We observed, indeed, among the peasantry, several persons of an advanced age. The mortality was stated to be something less than three in the hundred; and as infectious diseases attended with great mortality are scarcely known on the Canary Islands, the population of course would rapidly increase, were it not kept down by a regular drain to the Spanish colonies in South America. The number of inhabitants on Teneriffe was considered to be about one hundred thousand. An instance of longevity was mentioned to us, which appeared to be the more astonishing on account of the intemperate life which the individual was accustomed to lead. James Meny, a native of Ireland, and British Consul for many years on Teneriffe, was stated to have lately left the island, in his 112th year, in a kind of pet, because he could no longer get a little good brandy for his own use. Like Falstaff complaining that they put lime into his sack, he swore "there was nothing but roguery "to be found in villainous man." This veteran son of Bacchus

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is said to have generally finished a bottle of his favourite liquor every evening before he went to bed.

Little as the ancients might have known of the real state and situation of the Canary Islands, they had no doubt sufficient information of their happy temperature before they bestowed on them the name of the *Fortunate Islands*. Conceiving them to be what they were represented, it is the less surprizing that the Roman General Sertorius should have expressed a strong desire to pass the remainder of his days in such a retreat, removed from the horrors and calamities of war, and placed beyond the tyrant's grasp. " Rain," says Plutarch, " seldom " falls on the *Fortunate Islands*, and when it does it falls " moderately; but they have soft breezes scattering such rich " dews, that the soil not only becomes fit for sowing and " planting, but spontaneously produces the most excellent " fruits in such abundance, that the inhabitants have only to " indulge themselves in the full enjoyment of ease. The air " is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy tem- " perature and their insensible transition into each other." And he concludes his account of them by observing, that " these are generally believed to be the Elysian Fields and " the seats of the blessed, which Homer has described in all " the charms of verse."

This description of Homer, to which Plutarch alludes, however beautiful in the original, has probably not suffered much by translation, in the hands of our English bard.

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" But oh, belov'd by heav'n ! reserv'd to thee
" A happier lot the smiling fates decree:
" Free from that law, beneath whose mortal sway
" Matter is chang'd and varying forms decay;
" Elysium shall be thine; the blissful plains
" Of utmost earth, where Radamanthus reigns.
" Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
" Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year;
" Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime;
" The fields are florid with unfading prime;
" From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
" Mould the round hail or flake the fleecy snow;
" But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
" The fragrant murmurs of the western gale."

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CHAP. III.

THE ISLAND OF ST. JAGO.

Critical Situation in an open Boat—The dying Dolphin—The Shark, the Bonetta, and the Albecor—The Swordfish, Instances of the Velocity and Strength of—The Flying Fish, Observation of a Missionary concerning it—Experiment of the Cork being forced into a Bottle sunk in the Sea—Reflections on the Ship of Captain Cooke being transformed into a Smuggler—The Attention shewn by Queen Elizabeth to Drake's Ship—Town and Bay of Praya—Appearance of the Inhabitants—Of the Surface of the Island—Neglect of the Mother Country—Produce of St. Jago—Situation of the Governor, and Condition of the Inhabitants.

THE storm which we encountered on the Peak of Teneriffe had extended with nearly the same degree of violence to Santa Cruz. Several of the small vessels lying in the bay were driven on shore, others blown out to sea, and the Hindostan, after breaking one anchor and losing another, had a narrow escape from being dashed in pieces among the rocks. This ship, on our return to Santa Cruz, was already under easy sail nearly out of the bay, waiting for her passengers; and as the weather was almost calm, we hired a fishing boat to take us on board. Those of our company which belonged to the Lion man of war embarked on board that vessel, still remaining at anchor in the bay. The commander of the Hindostan, having concluded that the whole party would for

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that night at least remain in the Lion, continued the ship under sail. Our Spaniards tugged away pretty lustily at the oars for about two hours; but, perceiving we were already out in the open sea, without appearing to advance in the least upon the ship, they at length began to talk of returning. By way of encouragement, some of us took a spell at the oar, while others chinked the dollars; and in this manner we kept jogging on for about an hour longer, when one of them, looking stedfastly at the moon, declared it was going to blow a hurricane, and that they must immediately make the best of their way to the shore. Nothing could be more embarrassing than our present situation. The Lion was now also under way, and fully as distant from us as the Hindostan. The portentous appearance of the moon seemed completely to have dissolved the charm which the music of the dollars for a time produced. It was now near midnight; the sky became murky, and the sea much agitated. Under such circumstances, we were just on the point of concluding with the Spaniards that it would not be very adviseable to encounter a storm in an open boat, in the middle of the night, at the distance of ten or twelve miles from the nearest shore, when the only thing happened that could possibly have relieved us from the awkward dilemma in which we were placed:—a dead calm ensued. Still we were at a considerable distance from the ship; but shaking the dollars had now its proper effect, and the exertions they procured brought us at length safely on board.

Within the limits of the trade winds, which on the northern side of the line extend sometimes to the 28th parallel of lati-

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tude, the smoothness of the sea places the passenger so much at his ease, that he now finds himself compelled to seek for some kind of employment to pass away the time. Among the few active pursuits of which the situation admits, that of fishing naturally presents itself. The motion communicated to the water by so huge a body as a ship never fails to bring around it a great number and variety of the inhabitants of the deep, who accompany it night and day with unwearied perseverance, sometimes far beyond their accustomed climate. The most beautiful fish that swims the ocean is the dolphin, (the *Coryphæna hippurus*,) of which we caught several in this part of the voyage, both with the hook and with the fork; not so much for the sake of feasting the appetite, for they are but indifferent food, as of indulging the eye in the cruel delight of observing the exquisitely beautiful but evanescent tints of colour that pass in succession over the surface of their bodies, in the agonies of dying. The golden hue of its back, when first drawn out of the water, which obtained it the name of *Dorado*, changing into all the colours of the rainbow, infinitely combined and varied, and seen differently from different points of view, may be reckoned among the first of those brilliant but fleeting appearances with which the economy of nature sometimes gratifies the eye, but which no pen can accurately describe, nor pencil delineate. The ravenous shark, the tyger of the ocean, is, like this beast of prey, generally observed prowling alone. He seldom refuses the bait, and is not therefore difficult to be taken; but as the stench from his body is so intolerable, his carcase is rarely hoisted upon deck. But the most common of the voracious fish, that in shoals accompany ships through this part of the ocean, are two

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species of mackerel (the *Scomber pelamis*, known to sailors by the Portugueze name of *Bonetta*, and the *Thynnus* or tunny, usually called *Albecor*). These are both considered as esculent, but they have a strong and disagreeable flavour, are very dry and black, and dangerous effects are sometimes said to have been produced from eating too freely of them. The tunny caught in the Mediterranean was commonly used at the feasts of the Romans; yet they entertained an idea that, under certain circumstances, it was poisonous. The velocity with which the bonetta and albecor dart across the bows of a ship, when sailing at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, is almost incredible; it is so rapid that the eye is no more able to follow them than it can trace a flash of lightning.

The astonishing velocity, which fishes are capable of exerting in so dense a medium as water, seems to be owing rather to their muscular power than to any assistance they derive from their fins, beyond that of directing their course. A strong instance of this fact may be remarked in the amazing height to which a salmon will leap through the midst of a water-fall, and which he accomplishes more by an effort of muscular strength, than by the action of his pectoral fins, the spreading of which indeed would tend to retard rather than accelerate his progress. But there are instances, still more extraordinary than the salmon-leap, of the astonishing power which the muscles of fishes are capable of exerting; so very extraordinary indeed, that were they not authenticated in such a manner as not to leave the possibility of a doubt, they would certainly be considered as the inventions of voyagers. Ships'

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sides of thick oak plank have been completely perforated by the snout of the sword-fish, not of the common species the *Xiphias gladius*, of which we struck one at the entrance of Porta Praya bay, but another or at least a variety, of greater dimensions, being sometimes from twenty to thirty feet in length, and distinguished by a large spotted back fin, and by the rounded extremity of the snout or boney process. *Van Schouten* of *Horne*, in his very entertaining voyage round the world, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, states that "a great fish or a sea monster, having a horn like a "common elephant's tooth, not hollow but full, struck the "ship with such great strength that it entered into three "planks of the ship, two of green and one of oaken wood, "and into a rib, where it turned upward to their great good "fortune." In the year 1801, a Danish ship came into the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of springing a leak off the Brazil coast. On examination it was found that she had been struck by a sword-fish, the snout of which had penetrated the bottom, where it still remained, having snapt close to the plank on the exterior side of the vessel. In the same year a small English ship came into Table bay, having received in the Southern Atlantic a stroke from a sword-fish, which buried part of the boney snout so deep in the stern-post as to impede the action of the rudder. These two facts consist with my own knowledge, which, together with the piece of plank from the bottom of an East Indiaman, now in the British Museum, transfixed by the sword of this fish, may satisfy the doubts of the most sceptical on a subject which was known to the ancients perhaps more than two thousand

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years ago, as it is mentioned by Pliny to be a fact indisputably established long before his time.

For wise and good purposes, and no doubt with a beneficial design, though not comprehended and on that account too often arraigned by weak presumptuous man, the same system of mutual destruction prevails among the animals of the deep as among those of the land. The dorado, the bonetta, and the albecor, are prey for the all-devouring shark; and these, in their turn, are the determined enemies of the flying fish; and though nature has bountifully supplied the latter with a pair of wing-like fins, which, by enabling it to spring into the air, sometimes assist its escape from its hungry pursuers, yet there are so many enemies among the feathered race ready to souse upon it in its new element, as the phaeton, the pelican, the procellaria, diomedea, and a number of others, that in taking this flight it may justly be said

"Incidit in Syllam cupiens vitare Charybdim."

The flying fish seems not to be endued with the discretionary power of altering the direction of its flight from that of a straight line, nor of continuing many seconds of time out of the water. Sometimes a whole shoal will fly against a ship, and many of them drop upon the deck; which led a pious missionary to observe, that Providence had created flying fish for the support of those of the holy brotherhood who might have occasion to cross the ocean during Lent

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The fine weather and smooth water in this part of the voyage gave us an opportunity of ascertaining a fact, which, though well known to philosophers and to most seamen and satisfactorily explained on natural principles, is not by any means in general belief. I allude to the experiment of sinking, to a certain depth, an empty bottle corked as tightly as possible; when the cork, on drawing up the bottle, will invariably be found to have been forced into the inside. We let down, to the depth of forty fathoms or 240 feet, a large earthen bottle firmly stopped with a tapering cork, so that the diameter of that part of it out of the bottle greatly exceeded the widest part of the neck; round this was laid a coating of melted pitch, and the whole covered with canvas. On drawing up the bottle the cork was in the inside. In tropical climates the diminution of temperature, at so considerable a depth below the surface, condensing the inclosed air, takes off all reaction against the weight of the superincumbent column of water pressing on the cork, and thus aids the experiment; but in high latitudes, where the air when corked up is probably at the freezing temperature, whilst that below the surface of the sea is warmer by eight, ten, or twelve degrees, the increased elasticity, acting against the cork within, must require the bottle to be sunk to a greater depth than in the former case, before the experiment can succeed.

We were followed into Praya bay on the island of St. Jago by four ships which had sailed from Dunkirk under French colours, and an American from Nantucket, all bound for the Southern Whale Fishery on the coasts of Lima and Peru; having also cargoes of clothing and other articles on board,

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for carrying on a contraband trade with the natives of this part of South America, whom the mother country is not only either unable or unwilling to supply but, like the dog in the manger, endeavours to prevent all other nations from doing it. The Dunkirk ships were chiefly manned with English seamen, and were strongly suspected to be fitted out on English capitals. One of them was the old *Resolution* of Captain Cooke, now transformed to a smuggling whaler under the French name of *La Liberté;* and, what was still worse, bearing the French republican flag. I am not ashamed to confess that my feelings were considerably hurt in witnessing this degradation of an object so intimately connected with that great man. Such a feeling, though excited by an inanimate object, is not, I trust, either uncommon or unnatural. "There is not," says Pope, when describing his sensations on revisiting the place of his birth, "an old post by the road-"side which does not awaken the recollection of some pleas-"ing scene in my childish days; and it gives me pain to see "even one of these old remembrancers destroyed." Few, I believe, will envy that man's feelings, who can see without emotion the house in which he was born, and in which he spent his happiest years, either wholly demolished or degraded to some unworthy purpose. The *Resolution* was the house of our immortal Cooke and, out of respect to his memory, I would have laid her up in a dock, till she had wasted away plank by plank. It was thus that Queen Elizabeth shewed her veneration for the object that carried her favourite Drake round the world. His ship was preserved with great care, for many years, in the dock-yard of Deptford; and when time had gradually reduced her to such a state of decay that she

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Drawn by W. Alexander

Engraved by T. Medland

Port Praya in the Island of St. Jago.

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could no longer be held together, a chair was constructed from some of the soundest parts and presented to the University of Oxford, as a relic that was still worthy of further preservation.

There is nothing inviting in the aspect of the island of St. Jago, when seen from Praya bay, as will readily be perceived from the annexed view; and it requires only to set foot on shore to be convinced that poverty, and sickness, and pining want, are the constant companions of the greater part of its wretched inhabitants. On an elevated plain at the head of the bay, which is accessible only by a winding path made among the rocks near the left angle, is situated the town, as it is unworthily called, of Praya. It consists of two rows of mean straggling cottages, one on each side of the plain, interspersed with still meaner hovels. On that end of the plain which overlooks the bay is placed the church, without a spire, or tower, or any kind of steeple or mark to indicate the use for which it is designed, or to distinguish it from the other buildings in the town, except a large wooden cross erected upon the roof. Here also is a kind of fort in ruins, with a few old guns so corroded as scarcely to be trusted for firing a salute with safety, some mounted on old crazy carriages, and others lying on the ground. The jail is behind the church, and by much the better building. The government house is a wooden hut, situated on the edge of the plain to the right, and overlooking a valley planted chiefly with cocoa nut trees. There was a sort of tavern kept by a military officer of colour. The only Europeans we saw were the Governor, his secretary,

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the commanding officer of the troops, a raw-boned Scotch serjeant, six feet high, who had served in the American army, and his wife, a slender diminutive Irish woman. All these wore an aspect so sickly and so wan, so full of misery and woe, that, with all the rank and importance which they held on the island, we could not help considering them as the most deplorable objects of compassion; as creatures that, as the poet observes,

> " Meagre and lank with fasting grown,
> " And nothing left but skin and bone,
> " They just keep life and soul together."

The clergy were people of colour, and some of them perfectly black. The officers of justice, of the customs, and other departments in the civil and military services, the troops, the peasantry, and the traders, were all blacks, or at least so very dark that they would scarcely be supposed to have any mixture of European blood in their veins. Yet most of them aspire to the honour of Portugueze extraction, and are proud of tracing their origin to a race of heroes who, disdaining the restraint of laws at home, contrived to get themselves transported abroad, where their free and ungovernable spirits could exert themselves without controul. The Cape de Verd islands were to Portugal what Botany Bay is to England, an asylum for convicted criminals.

Whether this cluster of eighteen or twenty islands, of which St. Jago is the principal, be the Gorgades, the Gorgones, or the Hesperides, of the ancients, or none of them (which is

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perhaps the most probable), is a point which I most willingly resign for the learned to settle. It is very certain, however, that they produced no *golden apples* until the trees had been transplanted thither by the Portugueze, unless, indeed, the *mala aurea* of the ancients were quinces instead of oranges, as some philosophers, and among others Linnæus, have endeavoured to prove; in which case they may have been the gardens of the Hesperides, as the quince, I imagine, is here a plant of native growth. They are supposed, by some writers, to have been totally uninhabited when they were first discovered; though others maintain that a race of negroes, similar to those on the continent, was thinly scattered over one or two of the largest. The names of *Ilhas Verdas* the Green Islands, and *Cabo Verde* the Green Cape, which is opposite to them, were not assigned on account of any peculiar verdure of luxuriant vegetation that enlivened their surface, but because the sea, near the coast of the latter, after a series of calm weather, was generally covered over with a vegetable substance like the *Conferva* which float on stagnant pools of fresh water. Every part of St. Jago, which we had an opportunity of visiting, wore so parched and sterile an appearance, that Churchill might have observed of this place with more truth than of Scotland,

"Earth clad in russet scorns the lively green."

In fact, a drought of three years continuance, and consequent famine for almost the same period, had nearly desolated the island. While we remained here, daily accounts were received

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by government of persons on this and all the other islands perishing for want of the common necessaries of life. On expressing my surprize to the secretary, that the mother country, so far from employing precautions, had taken no steps to procure succours, against a calamity so dreadful and of such long continuance, he observed that the Court of Lisbon considered these poor islands, and the few black subjects scattered over them, of too little importance to demand any part of its care or attention; that they produced very little revenue to the Crown, which arose chiefly from a monopoly of the slave trade on the coast, and from the sale of an exclusive privilege for supplying the Brazils with salt.

Deplorable as the state of the island certainly was, I suspect, however, that the inhabitants were not without design in representing it in the worst point of view. They endeavour to excite your pity, as the surest way to obtain your charity; for they are all beggars from the highest to the lowest. To the Governor, the commandant of the forces, and the priests, a pair of black silk stockings is an acceptable present; and all kinds of old clothing, as jackets, breeches, pantaloons, shirts, trowsers, drawers, hats, and in short every article of cotton and linen, they strive to procure with infinitely more avidity than money, which indeed is of little use where little or nothing is to be purchased with it. Bread, biscuit, or flour, were also anxiously sought after. One of the whalers, in the island of Buonavista, had exchanged one sack of wheat against fifteen of salt. Yet, notwithstanding the famine, there did not appear to be any deficiency of a considerable variety

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of delicious fruits. The finest oranges I ever tasted were those of St. Jago; citrons equally good; guavas, figs, bananas, cocoa nuts, and annonas or custard apples, all very fine and sufficiently abundant. We procured also some culinary roots and vegetables, but not in great plenty; and they consisted chiefly of sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and water melons. The trees and shrubs in the vallies seemed to have suffered little from the long drought. The stem of an *Adansonia* or monkey bread-fruit tree measured fifty-six feet in circumference and, with the branches, eighty feet in height. The tamarind trees were large and spreading. The cocoa nut and papaya trees were loaded with fruit; and the indigo and cotton shrubs, though of spontaneous growth, were larger and more luxuriant than I remember to have seen them elsewhere except in Rio de Janeiro. The asclepias gigantea was a common shrub that flourished with vigour; and another species produced, in its large cylindrical pods, a beautiful silky down used for stuffing mattresses and pillows. But we observed no kind of grain. Rice and Guinea corn used to be the common food of the people, but the surface of the ground was said to have long been impenetrable by the spade. In a temperature, indeed, in which the thermometer of Fahrenheit rarely descends below 80°, and frequently rises beyond 90°, it will readily be conceived that such must necessarily be the case, without frequent and copious showers of rain. The mercury stood generally at 84°, and once rose to 88°, during our stay.

In more favourable seasons, this island alone has been able to furnish refreshments for very considerable fleets of ship-

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ping. The mountains abounded with small bullocks and goats; the peasantry brought down poultry and Guinea fowls, pigeons and turtle doves without number; and the gardens near the hamlet afforded an overflow of fruits and vegetables. A species of mullet is the only tolerable fish that is usually caught in the bay; but a vast quantity of land crabs are found in the vallies, which are an excellent article of food. The fresh water is thick and full of animalcules; and there is but one well at the foot of the elevated plain, on which the town is situated, furnishing barely a supply of this indispensable article for the use of the inhabitants.

The Governor General of all the islands formerly resided at the town of St. Jago, which is about six miles from Port Praya, where he came occasionally whenever a fleet resorted to the bay for refreshments, out of the purchase money of which he reserved to himself a certain proportion. Each of the other islands has its black governor, who is solely dependent on the Governor General. The power and situation of the latter are little to be envied. Disease and want surround his habitation, and misery is for ever before his eyes; and he must either submit to pass the remainder of his days in a destructive climate, debarred from all society, and supporting a kind of penurious pomp by mean and unbecoming practices, or return to his own country as poor as when he left it. A traveller, among the vast variety of objects that pass in succession before his eyes, must not expect to find them all of an agreeable nature. Human life, in every society, is made up of a mixture of good and evil, and the

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latter will probably in most societies be found to predominate: but here evil seems to reign alone. In short, the whole place is so miserable that I shall forbear any further description, and hasten to another region to which nature, in the distribution of her favours, has been more liberal than to the Cape de Verde Islands.

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CHAP. IV.

RIO DE JANEIRO.

Singular Entrance into, and Description of, the magnificent Harbour of Rio de Janeiro—The City of St. Sebastian—The Aqueduct—The public Gardens—Streets and Shops of St. Sebastian—Jealous Conduct of the Portugueze—Climate and troublesome Insects—Indolence and improper Conduct of the Priesthood—Singular Custom of the Ladies of Rio—Of those of the Convent of Santa Clara—Of the Ladies of Liverpool—Dress and Character—Religious Ceremonies and Processions—Neglected State of the Country in the Neighbourhood of the Capital.

THE island of St. Jago, in the miserable state in which we found it in the year 1792, affording little else than a few fruits and a scanty supply of muddy water, held out no inducement for the prolonging of our stay beyond the time that was absolutely necessary to prepare for the continuance of the voyage. Accordingly we weighed anchor on the 7th of October and, stretching to the south-westward with a brisk trade wind, just skirted the southern limit of the *Mar do Sargasso* (or sea of sea-weeds) of the Portugueze, sometimes called the *Grassy Sea*. We now saw only a few scattered plants; but on the return voyage, by keeping farther to the westward, the surface of the sea for several days was literally covered with them. The extent of this surface varies accord-

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ing to the strength and direction of the prevailing winds and currents; but what may properly be called the *Grass sea* is comprehended between the 18th and 32d parallels of northern latitude, and between the 25th and 40th meridians of western longitude. The common opinion that the myriads of plants floating on this expanse are torn from the shores of the gulf of Mexico, and wafted by the stream which incessantly flows out of it to the northward, would seem to be one of those vulgar errors that has obtained general currency by gratuitous assent. If this species of *Fucus* be a native of the gulf, which I am not competent to decide, it would be found rather on the banks of Newfoundland and the coast of North America, towards which the stream flows, than on the sea of *Sargasso*, a situation to which it could not have been brought either by wind or current. In fact, the plant has neither roots nor fibrils of any kind to indicate that it ever was attached to rocks or shores, but its central stem buried in the midst of its leafy branches makes it sufficiently evident that it vegetates while floating on the surface of the fathomless deep. Some of the plants are many feet in diameter, others only a few inches; all appear in a growing state; the globose berries are in some plants green, in others red. If taken out of the water the plant becomes flaccid, and in the course of twenty-four hours turns brown or black.

In returning home, the curious passenger cannot fail to derive great amusement in examining the bushes of *fucus*, when crossing the sea of *Sargasso*. The naturalist in every plant will find a great variety of marine insects and worms, some naked, and others with testaceous coverings. A minute crab,

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very beautifully spotted, seems to be the ruler and the scourge of these little floating worlds, devouring and tearing in pieces with his claws the soft and gelatinous worms, even after the plant is drawn out of its element.

We were fortunate enough to pass the Line without experiencing any of those baffling calms and harassing squalls, which occur so frequently in this part of the globe, and on the 29th of the above-mentioned month we came in sight of that point of the coast of South America which is called Cape Frio; and having doubled this high promontory in the course of the night, we entered, on the following day, the magnificent harbour of Rio de Janeiro.

Although I shall endeavour to sketch a general outline of the features of this part of the Brazilian coast, yet I am fully aware that any description which I can employ will convey but an inadequate idea of the grandeur and beauty of the country to those who have not had an opportunity of seeing it. The first remarkable object that catches the attention, after passing Cape Frio, is a gap or rent in the verdant ridge of mountains which skirts the sea-coast. This chasm appears, from a distance, like a narrow portal between two cheeks of solid stone, which being perfectly naked are the more remarkable, as every other prominent part of the ridge of mountains is clothed with luxuriant vegetation. On approaching this chasm, which is in fact the entrance into the grand harbour of Rio de Janeiro, the cheek on the left or western side is discovered to be a single solid stone of a conical shape or, in nautical language, a sugar-loaf, entirely de-

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tached, not quite perpendicular, but leaning a little towards the entrance. We took an opportunity, during our stay at Rio, of ascertaining its height by means of a line measured on a little sandy beach which skirts its base on the side next to the harbour, and the angles which it extended from the extremities of this line. From the result of our operations it appeared that this solid mass of hard sparkling granite is 680 feet high above the surface out of which it rises. The eastern or opposite cheek of the chasm is a naked mountain, composed of the same material, but with this difference in point of form that it has an easy and regular slope from the water's edge to the summit, which is about the same height as that of the cone. The whole of this side is occupied by forts, lines, and batteries, for an account of which I must refer the reader to the two plates in the following chapter.

A little island strongly fortified, just within the entrance, contracts the passage to the width of about three-fourths of a mile. Having cleared this channel, one of the most magnificent scenes in nature bursts upon the enraptured eye. Let any one imagine to himself an immense sheet of water running back into the heart of a beautiful country, to the distance of about thirty miles, where it is bounded by a skreen of lofty mountains, always majestic, whether their rugged and shapeless summits are tinged with azure and purple, or buried in the clouds—Let him imagine this sheet of water gradually to expand, from the narrow portal through which it communicates with the sea, to the width of twelve or fourteen miles, to be every where studded with innumerable little

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islands, scattered over its surface in every diversity of shape, and exhibiting every variety of tint that an exuberant and incessant vegetation is capable of affording—Let him conceive the shores of these islands to be so fringed with fragrant and beautiful shrubs, not planted by man but scattered by the easy and liberal hand of nature, as completely to be concealed in their verdant covering—Let him figure to himself this beautiful sheet of water, with its numerous islands, to be encompassed on every side by hills of a moderate height, rising in gradual succession above each other, all profusely clad in lively green, and crowned with groupes of the noblest trees, while their shores are indented with numberless inlets, shooting their arms across the most delightful vallies, to meet the murmuring rills, and bear their waters into the vast and common reservoir of all—In short, let him imagine to himself a succession of Mount Edgecombes to be continued along the shores of a magnificent lake, not less in circuit than a hundred miles; and having placed these in a climate where spring for ever resides, in all the glow of youthful vigour, he will still possess only a very imperfect idea of the magnificent scenery displayed within the capacious harbour of Rio de Janeiro; which, as an harbour, whether it be considered in the light of affording security and convenience for shipping, for its locality of position, or fertility of the adjacent country, may justly be ranked among the first of naval stations.

If then the natural beauties of Rio de Janeiro are, in its present state, so very enchanting, how much more so must they have appeared at a time when this arm of the sea was a lake of pure transparent water? That such it once was,

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little doubt can be entertained. Its ancient barrier having given way to the pressure of the water within, the more solid parts of the fragments, in being forced into the sea, still remain as a bar before the entrance of the harbour, on which the depth of water does not exceed from seven to ten fathoms, whilst close to both the inner and the outer margin the depth is not less than eighteen fathoms. Part of the foundation, indeed, appears in pointed rocks above the surface of the sea, towards the western extremity of the bar.

If the Portugueze of Rio have done but little towards improving nature, they are entitled at least to the negative merit of not having much disfigured her. The point of situation for building the town is well chosen out of a great number of good ones that presented themselves. The principal buildings which have been erected, though not elegant, are free at least from extravagant whims, and are by no means ill suited to their respective situations. A fortress, however regular, is far from being an unpleasant object in a landscape; but when its lines are carried over the inequalities of a broken mount, whose sides are fringed with wood, it frequently unites to grandeur no inconsiderable share of picturesque beauty. Almost every eminence in the vicinity of the town of Rio is crowned with a castle or a fort, a church or a convent; and many of the islands on the expansive harbour are enlivened and ornamented by buildings of a similar nature. Not one of the numerous islets were disgraced by such ridiculous and uncouth edifices, the whimsies of a sickly taste, as distort and disfigure those once lovely spots on the beautiful lake of Keswick, and which are now a reproach to

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the grand and sublime scenery with which they are surrounded.

The town of Rio or, to speak with becoming dignity of the capital of the Brazils, the city of St. Sebastian is charmingly situated on a projecting quadrangular promontory of an irregular form, three of whose sides are opposed to the harbour, and the fourth sheltered from the prevailing westerly blasts by a skreen of high hills well covered with wood. The side of the town, which is next to that part of the harbour where the shipping usually lie at anchor, is nearly a mile and half in length; and the depth inwards about three-fourths of a mile. The northern angle of the promontory is a bold broken eminence, on one point of which there is a regular fortification, and on the other a convent of Benedictine monks, which, being also surrounded with lines of defence, is actually as well as metaphorically a church militant. These heights completely command the town and the anchorage; and they appear to command also, at least they are on a level with, the strongest work in the harbour, on which the defence of the place is thought principally to depend. This is the *Ilha dos Cobras*, or Snake Island, a rock about 80 feet high at the point on which the citadel stands, and slanting to eight at the opposite end; its length is 300 yards; and it is detached by a narrow but very deep channel from the eminence on which the Benedictine convent is situated. Round every side of this strongly fortified island, and close to its shores, ships of the greatest draught of water may lie in perfect security. Here also are a commodious dock-yard, an arsenal of naval stores, a sheer hulk, and a wharf for heaving down and careening shipping.

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The largest fleets, however, may anchor in this capacious harbour, entirely out of the reach of any of the guns that are mounted on the forts.

On landing from the harbour, the first object in the town that catches the attention is a handsome square, surrounded on three of its sides with buildings, and the fourth open to the water. Along this side is erected a noble stone quay, with flights of steps at each extremity and in the centre, the last of which is the common landing-place. When this line of masonry shall be extended the whole length of the town, which was intended to be done, it will serve not merely as an ornament and convenience, but as a considerable defence against the attempt of an enemy to land. Near the central flight of stairs is a quadrangular obelisk throwing, from each of its four fronts, a constant stream of pure limpid water for the use of the lower part of the town and of the shipping in the harbour. The upper side of the square, facing the harbour, is entirely occupied by the palace of the Viceroy, a long plain building, neither remarkable for elegance of design nor peculiarity of construction.

The palace, the obelisk, and the pier, are all built with hewn blocks of granite; and the surface of the square is a solid floor of the same material, sprinkled over with quartzose sand. The granite being of that kind which contains a large proportion of glistening mica is highly injurious to the eye, which is scarcely able to bear the dazzling rays of the sun playing throughout the whole day on one side or other of this

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open area—glaring emblem of the brilliant exploits of the Portugueze nation in earlier times!

In accomplishing a plan for affording a convenient and ample supply of water to every part of the town, an article of the first necessity in all situations, but more especially so in a warm climate, the government has shewn a laudable attention; and the name of *Vasconcellas*, the Viceroy under whose administration the works were constructed, is very properly recorded in an appropriate Latin inscription, engraven on one of the sides of the obelisk in the great square. All the fountains derive their supply of water from a large reservoir, which is constructed on the summit of a hill just above the town. This reservoir is fed by means of an aqueduct, raised on arches across a deep valley, on the opposite side of which the water is received into it from a succession of stone troughs, laid under an arched covering of brick-work to the spring-heads in the mountains. That part of this great work which crosses the valley, and communicates immediately with the reservoir, seems to be as unnecessary as it must have been expensive; it is supported on a double tier of lofty arches, consisting of more than forty in each row, and is no inconsiderable ornament to the city, as will readily be perceived by the annexed view. A series of pipes laid along or under the surface would unquestionably have answered the purpose of conducting the water equally well; but, as Sir George Staunton has justly observed, "shew and magnificence, "as well as utility, are sometimes the objects of public "works."

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Drawn by W. Alexander

Engraved by T. Medland

Arcos de Carioca, or Grand Aquaduct in Rio de Janeiro

Published June 1. 1805 by M.J. Godard & Davis, Newman St.

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Another object of utility, in which the health and the amusement of the public have been consulted, is the *Passeo Publico*, or garden for public promenade. This piece of ground is laid out in shrubberies, lawns, walks, and parterres. Bowers are erected here and there, round which the jasmine, the clematis, and the passion flower intertwine their creeping branches. We observed several native plants of great beauty; but a vehement desire seemed to prevail of cultivating, in preference, those of Europe, notwithstanding their sickly and diminutive appearance, contracted in a climate so unsuitable to their constitution. But the most contemptible object in the garden was a miserable representation of the papaya tree in copper, of its natural size and painted green, whilst the real plant, growing close beside it in all the exuberance of tropical vegetation, laughed to scorn its stiff and deformed mock brother. A broad terrace walk at the lower end of the garden, overlooking an arm of the harbour, commands a delightful view of its rising shores, which are every where fringed with coppice. At each end of the terrace is a neat square building, whose walls within are covered with paintings. As specimens of art, they are not entitled to much notice, but the subjects are far from being uninteresting. The views, in one of these buildings, are entirely confined to detached parts of the harbour; the ceiling is covered with devices in shell-work; and round the cornices are representations of fish, peculiar to the country, worked in small shells. The ceiling of the other building contains similar devices wrought in feathers; and figures of many of the native birds are arranged round the cornice, each clothed in its proper plumage. On the walls of the latter are eight paintings, de-

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scriptive of what were then considered as the eight most important productions of the Brazils. They consist of

1st. *A view of the diamond and gold mines,* which were first discovered about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the most productive of which are at *Villa Rica,* about 200 miles behind Rio de Janeiro.

2d. *View of a sugar plantation and mill for bruizing the canes;* an article which is not much cultivated in the neighbourhood of Rio, being considered as more suitable for those districts lying nearer to the equator. The few mills which we saw were of a rude construction, turned generally by a pair of small horses, and the canes passed between three wooden rollers; and such they appeared in the painting.

3d. *The culture and preparation of indigo.* Although this plant grows well and thrives without much attention, the preparation of the dye simple, and requiring no great expence of labour, yet the small quantity that is produced will scarcely entitle it to be considered as an important article of commerce.

4th. *A plantation of the Cactus Opuntia, with the mode of preparing cochinille from the insect.* There can be no question that this article, so valuable in the arts and manufactures, might be cultivated in the Brazils to as great an extent as in Mexico, whereas the quantity raised at present is exceedingly trifling.

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5th. *The different preparations of manhiot.* This plant is cultivated chiefly for the subsistence of the slaves. The cassava bread so common in the West India islands, and the substance which is sold in the shops of London under the name of tapioca, are the produce of its long tuberous roots; and they make from it a hair-powder as white as snow. It is propagated from cuttings, and the root is rasped into a powder by wheels that are covered with dentated metallic plates.

6th. *View of a coffee plantation.* The cultivation of this article seemed to be on the increase; and there can be no doubt that the loss of St. Domingo to France will contribute greatly to the encouragement of its propagation in the Brazils.

7th. *View of a rice plantation;* which, as the most productive of all grain, is abundantly cultivated in all the northern provinces.

8th. *View of a plantation of hemp, and its manufacture into cordage.* This article is chiefly cultivated in the southern districts near the island of St. Catharine, but hitherto has met with little encouragement.

Of other productions equally or more important I shall give a brief account in the next chapter.

There is another garden belonging to the Crown, which is chiefly intended for the cultivation of that species of cactus

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on which the cochinille insect feeds, and for the reception of curious or useful native plants; but we found it greatly neglected, and the collection very limited, containing but few native plants which have not already been cultivated in the hot-houses of England. The superintendant had not the least knowledge of botany. The common fruits of the country were sufficiently abundant, and to these were added a few other plants among which, as I find by my notes, were different species of *Yucca*, *Agave*, *Euphorbia*, and *Cactus*; the *Laurus Persea*, a *Mimosa*, a species of *Cassia*, and the *Theobroma Cacao* or chocolate tree; the *Jatropha Curcas* or physic nut, and the *Ricinus Palma Christi*; the common pepper, a species of *Capsicum* or Cayenne pepper, and a species of *Physalis* or winter cherry. Several very fine passion flowers and different species of convolvulus were among the creeping plants. The Queen of Portugal had sent out a collector of birds and insects; but he possessed only a very limited knowledge of natural history, being a mere *setter-up*. In this branch, however, he was tolerably perfect, and had procured a number of very beautiful and brilliant specimens.

Many of the houses in St. Sebastian are far from being contemptible; they are mostly two stories high, covered with tiles, and have wooden balconies extending in front of the upper stories; but the best of them wear that dull and gloomy appearance, which all buildings must necessarily have whose latticed windows supply the want of glass. The streets are in general tolerably straight, some of considerable width, though mostly narrow. The principal ones are paved on both sides with broad flag stones of granite. The refinement of a

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trottoir, so rarely met with out of England, was not expected to be found in a foreign settlement of Portugal. The shops are large and commodious, generally well stocked with the manufactures of Europe, chiefly those of Great Britain, which after being exhibited in the windows of the capital and the principal cities and towns of the empire, till their fashion is out of date, are shipped off to the trading nations on the continent, and from thence to their foreign settlements. In the catalogue of wares exhibited in the shops of Rio de Janeiro, English quack medicines and caricature prints were not the least esteemed nor the least abundant.

The city of Rio is in its extent so considerable, that it is said to contain at least sixty thousand souls, including slaves; yet there is neither inn, nor hotel, nor any kind of lodging or accommodation for the reception of strangers. There was, indeed, a sort of tavern, on the right of the great square, kept by a Frenchman, a Monsieur Phillipe, who, on the arrival of foreign ships, attends at the main landing-stairs to offer his services as agent, broker, interpreter, quack doctor, traiteur or, in short, in any other capacity which strangers may be disposed to employ him; and in the nature of the service they may wish to engage him there is no necessity to be apprehensive of offending his delicacy, for he is a true Frenchman. A house of accommodation is, however, scarcely necessary, as this weak and therefore perhaps jealous government is so inhospitable as not to allow any stranger to remain on shore after sunset; and so suspicious as not even to suffer him to walk the streets in the daytime, without a soldier at his heels. In this respect their caution seems to be fully as

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needless, and quite as inconvenient, as that of the Chinese. Previous to the landing of the Ambassador, Dr. G. and myself went on shore, and on stepping out of the boat we were accosted by the officer on guard, who requested we would follow him to the palace. "Pray, gentlemen, what is the "object of your landing?" was the first question that was put to us. We replied, "To catch butterflies;" which was really the case. To convince them, however, that we were in earnest, and to avoid the appearance of levity or impertinence, we unfolded our gauze nets, forcipes, and chip-boxes, with the rest of the apparatus necessary for fly-catching. Comprehending the nature of this occupation better than the transit of Venus, which we are told by Captain Cooke the Viceroy conceived to be the passing of the north star through the south pole, they seemed to be satisfied in this respect, and next inquired as to the situations we held in the embassy, which having also ascertained to their satisfaction, an officer was immediately appointed to accompany us. We proceeded to the skirts of the town, where myriads of beautiful insects were fluttering in the air. Such swarms of butterflies, particularly one species marked with black and yellow bars, were hovering about the tops of the trees and the tall shrubbery, that in certain places they filled the air like the flights of locusts in Southern Africa. Our pursuit continued so long, that the officer, having no relish for the chace, took an opportunity of slipping away and, to our great satisfaction, leaving us at full liberty to follow our amusement. It was pretended that the only reason for placing a guard on every stranger was to protect him from being robbed or insulted by the blacks or vagrants that might be

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lurking about the skirts of the town; but on its being signified, after the suite of the Ambassador had landed, that we should very willingly dispense with such protection, we had the pleasure to find that the spies on our conduct were withdrawn.

The house provided for the Ambassador was sufficiently large, but not very clean; and although it was represented as being completely furnished, there was, in reality, little in it beside some clumsy old fashioned chairs of heavy wood, a few tables, and wooden frames with cane bottoms, intended for bedsteads, but without either posts or curtains. Fortunately we took on shore our own bedding, by doing which we soon discovered that we had lost nothing in point of comfort, the Portugueze not being over nice in this respect. Behind our dwelling-house was a long strip of ground, which had formerly been a garden, but which was now in a state of total neglect, and entirely overrun with weeds. To most of the better sort of houses in St. Sebastian are annexed pieces of ground, planted with fruits, flowers, and fragrant shrubs.

We had little reason to complain of the climate of Rio during our stay. Though the sun was just on the southern tropic, and consequently nearly vertical, during our residence here, yet we seldom suffered any inconvenience from heat, or were prevented from taking our usual quantity of exercise. The general temperature of the air in the day was from 76° to 84° of Fahrenheit. The nights were by far the most disagreeable. If we attempted to walk in the open air, the bats or the fire flies (*Lampyrus*) were every moment threaten-

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ing to dart against our faces; if we remained in the house, scorpions, and centipedes, and scolopendras were constantly crawling over the floor; and a disagreeable, disgusting, but perfectly harmless insect, a species of cricket (*Gryllus Gryllotalpa*), as constantly skipped about the plates and into the glasses during supper. But of all the torments I ever experienced, in any part of the world, none in my opinion can be put in comparison with those produced by the stings of the musquitoes of Rio de Janeiro. I have felt the venom of their little pointed beaks in many parts of the world, but never suffered from its virulence any thing like the degree of pain which their puncture occasioned at this place; nor could the exquisite torment which we suffered be owing to any extraordinary degree of irritability in the habit of body at the time, because the whole party, without a single exception, laboured under the same severity of pain. The eyes, the lips, the forehead, and the cheeks of every individual who slept on shore were inflamed and swollen in such a manner as completely to disfigure the face. Those who had taken the precaution to furnish themselves with curtains of net-work, though they might not suffer in an equal degree with the rest, were not, however, entirely protected. If a single musquito, by any accident, found itself within the net, the perpetual humming noise with which it assailed the face, and the constant expectation of feeling its sting, were nearly as teasing and as preventive of sleep to those who lay enclosed in net-work as to those who were exposed to their open attack.

The swarms of these insects and other kinds of vermin may be attributed rather to the extreme filthiness of the people

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than to the heat of the climate. The ground floors of the houses are rarely swept: they serve as repositories for firewood, for lumber, and for the lodgings of their numerous slaves. The same want of cleanliness is visible in their dress and in their persons. Few, if any, are free from a certain cutaneous disorder, which is supposed in our country to be the joint effect of poverty of food and filth; many have confirmed leprosy; and the elephantiasis is by no means uncommon. A great part of their diet consists of fish, fruit, and vegetables, with the never-failing dish of *farinha de pao*, or flour of the maniota root; all their substantial food, whatever it may be, is first dipped in oil or grease, and then rolled in this flour and made up into little balls in the palm of the hand. Milk, butter and cheese are rarely used. With the utmost difficulty we procured a little of the first for our tea, and it was miserably bad. Their beef is lean and very indifferent, and mutton is scarcely to be had at any rate. Fowls and turkies are abundant, and tolerably good; and the market is well supplied with a great variety of very excellent fish. The bread which is made of wheaten flour, the produce of the southern provinces, is exceedingly good. The fruits in general are not excelled in any part of the world.

One of the first objects of inquiry to an inquisitive traveller, on his entering a city or large town, is a bookseller's shop. An Englishman in particular is so accustomed to the convenience of a printed *guide*, wherever he moves about in his own country, that he is very apt to run into the mistake of expecting to be accommodated with a similar fund of information abroad. After a long search, and many inquiries, we

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at last discovered that there were two booksellers' shops in St. Sebastian; but it required less time to find out that they contained nothing that was likely to be useful or interesting to us. Many old volumes on medicine and alchemy, still more on church history and theological disputations, and some few on the exploits of the house of Bragança, swelled their catalogues; nothing that related to the country was to be found. This portion of South America, one of the most fertile regions of the globe, had scarcely supplied from the pen of the Portugueze a single page of natural history, economics or statics, beyond what appears in the general accounts of the conquest of the Brazils. A Franciscan friar informed us that he had long been amassing materials for a *Flora fluminensis*, as he meant to call it in allusion to the name of Rio, which he hoped soon to publish; but I have not heard that it has yet made its appearance. A small work has lately been published on the importance of the commerce of Portugal and its colonies, by *Coutinho* Bishop of *Fernambuco;* but the little it contains with regard to the Brazils is of a very general nature, and not at all descriptive. It is pretended indeed, that both in this town and at St. Salvador the government is in possession of very voluminous manuscripts, which were compiled by the Jesuit missionaries. If the fact be so, it is more than probable they contain little more than journals of their transactions, and copies of their correspondence with their superiors in Europe. If the greater part of the time of the priests and monks of Rio, where they are very numerous, was not employed in luxury and indolence, or in meddling with the private concerns and domestic arrangements of every family, and in bearing about from one

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house to another the little tales of scandal that may be afloat, what an excellent opportunity would these men have of favouring the world with a descriptive account of a country so very interesting, and yet so little known!

The curiosity of these sacred characters to discover the nature and the scope of the embassy to China was sufficiently excited not to require much formality of introduction on their part. A constant intercourse was kept up between the convents and our hotel. Whenever their curiosity was satisfied, as far as regarded our own concerns, the chief topics of their conversation turned on the obstinate character of the native Indians, whom they abused most profusely for not embracing Christianity, (to which, by the way, they had used little endeavours to convert them,) on reports of large diamonds being found at the mines of such and such a weight, the roguish tricks of the slaves and, what in them was the most reprehensible, on the disposition to gallantry of the ladies of St. Sebastian. The lady abbess of a convent, not far from our lodgings, was complaining one day to Dr. G. of being subject to violent headaches, for which he promised to give her a few pills. In the hurry of embarkation he entrusted the box to a jolly fat friar of the order of St. Benedict, requesting he would take an early opportunity of delivering it to the abbess. The curiosity of this son of the church, getting the better of good manners, impelled him to open the box; and, applying it to his nose, he observed to the Doctor, with a significant leer, "*Aha, Domine, mercurialia! ista sunt mercurialia!*" The Doctor expressing a degree of displeasure, mixed with astonishment, that he should suppose the lady abbess to have

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any occasion to use a medicine for such a purpose as he meant to insinuate, "The lady abbess," he exclaimed with a loud laugh, "the lady abbess and all the ladies of Rio "*pronæ sunt omnes ac deditæ Veneri;*" and he concluded by observing, in unequivocal terms, that most of them were labouring under the ill effects arising from a free and unconstrained indulgence of a licentious and promiscuous intercourse with strangers. On the men he passed a still more severe censure. Whether these sarcastical observations of the reverend gentleman were or were not true, they were not the less indecorous and unbecoming in the character of the person by whom they were uttered. If not an impious it is at least an unmanly proceeding first to extort, under the sacred garb of religion, a confession of the failings and faults of those whom we, mighty lords of the creation! are pleased to call the weaker sex, and then to expose them to the ridicule, the obloquy, and detraction of the world.

The familiarity which the ladies of Rio are apt to use to strangers may not perhaps be quite consistent with our notions of female modesty, but I am far from being convinced of its implying that degree of criminality which has been imputed to it in the most valuable voyages of Captain Cooke. It is herein stated to be a common trick of the ladies of Rio to make assignations with strangers, by tossing flowers to them as they pass along the streets. That the throwing or exchanging of flowers by the ladies of Rio is a very common practice cannot be denied; but I am inclined to believe, what, however, I will not take upon me positively to assert, that it arises more from a custom which they imbibe at the

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seminaries in early life, than from any immoral motive; and that this custom is continued afterwards, not only from long habit, but also from a desire of appearing friendly and sociable. At the grate of the convent of Santa Clara, which some of our party visited daily, the custom of presenting flowers was so common, even with children of eight or ten years that, after a few of the first visits, nobody thought of calling there without being provided with a nosegay; and there was generally a struggle among the young girls which of them should first get to the grate and exchange her flower, always taking care previously to apply it to her lips; and having kissed the flower she received in return, she then retired to make room for another. So innocent did this custom appear to us, on the part of the young ladies, and so unsuspecting of any thing criminal was the abbess, that the latter openly encouraged it, apparently without any other view than that of its contributing to the few pleasures of which the strict confinement of a nunnery admits. And as most of the ladies of Rio have acquired their education in some of the convents, it may easily be imagined that a favourite amusement of their early years, in a country where so few amusements are to be found, would naturally be remembered with pleasure in a different but not much more enlarged sphere of life. Women who, I am inclined to believe, are in all countries much more disposed to be sociable than the other sex, and whose dispositions are infinitely more benevolent, have also, in their demeanor, a much more difficult task to perform. If they are shy and reserved, they incur the censure of affectation; if open and ingenuous, they are liable to a censure of another kind.

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With regard to those of Rio de Janeiro I own that, however strongly prejudice might operate against them, I never could perceive in their conduct any thing that could warrant the opinion of their being more licentious, or more immorally inclined, than females are in other countries. Nor do I believe that their good humour, signified by smiling, nodding, and throwing flowers from their balconies to passing strangers, after having repeatedly seen the same thing done when the fathers or the husbands were standing by their side, could justly or candidly be construed into any assignation, to convey any particular meaning, or bear any other explanation than that of its being a mere local custom, practised without design; much less could it afford sufficient grounds for the very heavy censure that has been passed upon them. It is scarcely fair to decide on the disposition and moral character of a whole nation from the occasional occurrences and observations of a few hours in the day, during a week's residence; and where the character of the fair sex is at stake, we ought at least to incline to the favourable side, especially as, in every country, the female part of society owes, in a great degree, its good and bad qualities, and more particularly the latter, to the conduct of the men.

The manners are so different in different countries, and local customs sometimes so extraordinary, that ocular observation alone may easily be deceived. In France it was the common custom for the gentlemen to kiss every lady they might meet in the streets on new year's day; and he who should omit this ceremony would have been considered as a

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rude and ill-bred man. I remember once, in passing the streets of Liverpool, in the middle of the day, to have met half a dozen very smart looking girls, who stopped me, and from their manner seemed to be inclined to handle me rather roughly. I soon discovered that an ancient custom was still observed in this town, which granted a privilege to the ladies of seizing any gentleman they might chuse to encounter in the streets on Easter Tuesday, to lift him into the air and, if he should refuse to make such concessions as were demanded, to drop him into the kennel; and this day is significantly called *the lifting day*. Now if the commander of a Portugueze ship should happen to be walking the streets of Liverpool, for the first time on Easter Tuesday, and be treated in the manner here described, and be sent on board his ship immediately after, as the Portugueze of Rio send all strangers on board their respective ships at sunset, it may readily be conceived what kind of character he would be apt to give of the women of Liverpool, which nevertheless might, and certainly would, be no less erroneous than unjust.

That the ladies of Rio have a great deal of vivacity and little reserve I am free to admit, which indeed is not greatly to be wondered at. The whole day is spent at home in gloomy confinement; and they rarely see a human creature beside their own family, except in the evenings, when they appear in their balconies or go to vespers. At these moments they may be compared to birds that have escaped from the confinement of the cage. At the same time, I have not the smallest doubt that this city has its full proportion of ladies,

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whose virtue sits lightly enough upon them. And indeed if there are a few who, passing for virtuous characters, are yet so indiscreet as to make unbecoming advances to strangers, I am afraid they have but too good an excuse to plead in the abominable conduct of some of the men, of which the accusation of the friars seems to be but too well corroborated.

Most of the women of Rio, from constant confinement and inactivity, are inclined to become corpulent at an early period of life. Their countenances are in general pale and rather sallow, but they have almost invariably dark expressive eyes and fine teeth. Their long black hair is generally tied in tresses with white or coloured ribbands, and adorned with chaplets of flowers, chiefly such as give out a powerful and agreeable odour, as the *Plumeria*, the *Polianthes* or tuberose, and the jasmine.

The elderly dames, however, and such as would be thought to imitate the fashions of Europe, load their black locks with a profusion of oil and farinha. Their dress in the house consists of a thin muslin or calico jacket trimmed with lace, and a flounced petticoat; sometimes with but more frequently without stockings. They seldom walk in the streets, but are carried about in sedan chairs open at the two sides, borne by slaves in the same manner as the Chinese carry theirs by poles on the shoulders. The men who can afford it usually ride in a clumsey kind of cabriolet, drawn by two horses. Their dress is the same as in Europe. They rarely go abroad without their swords and cocked hats, and a pair of enormous

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gold or silver buckles in their shoes and at the knees, set with diamonds or Brazilian topazes; and they are generally muffled up in a great cloak in the hottest weather.

We had few opportunities of judging what was the state of society in St. Sebastian, but one may form a tolerable conjecture from what it is in their other settlements. The inhabitants are said to go sometimes in small parties to the *Passeo Publico*, where they sup and walk and enjoy themselves with music and fireworks to a late hour of the night; but during our stay we saw nothing of the kind. Balls and concerts are said also to be given occasionally at the government house; but the Viceroy was considered as a close penurious man, who had no other aim than that of amassing a princely fortune. There is likewise an opera house, but it had been shut up for some time on account of the indisposition of the Queen of Portugal. We were, therefore, unlucky enough not to see any of their assemblies, or amusements, or convivial meetings. They are very indolent, very jealous of each other, and very superstitious. The day is divided between sleep and ceremony, and mutual distrust is but ill suited for the pleasures of social intercourse. In fact, the minds of the mass of the people are not sufficiently cultivated to feel any relish for them; for it is a certain truth, as a great moralist has observed, that "without intelligence man is not "social, he is only gregarious."

As the avowed object, in conquering the Brazils, was the conversion of the native Indians to the Christian faith, all the

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churches and convents are amply endowed; but whatever the zeal of the clergy might once have been to accomplish this object, it has long given way to the more preferable ease and luxury of a monastic life; and though these holy men may find it prudent to keep up a shew of devotion, by a more than ordinary observance of ceremonies that are calculated to strike the senses, they are loose in their own morals and conversation, and not much disposed to throw any restraint on those of the laity. Their influence, however, is very great, but they are less the objects of fear, as no office of the Holy Inquisition has been established in the Brazils. The perpetual tolling of bells for matins, for vespers, for high mass, or for announcing the performance of a solemn requiem to some departed soul who may have left a liberal legacy to the church, and the frequent firing of rockets and crackers, keep up such a constant din that, as the French satyrist has observed,

"Pour honorer les morts, font mourir les vivans."

Not a day scarcely passed in which we did not see some funeral procession, accompanied by priests bearing flambeaux, and chaunting their solemn dirges in passing along the streets; and scarcely an evening occurred without some Saint in the calendar, or the holy Virgin, whose image is stuck in a wooden box at the corner of every street, being marched about the town, with the parade of soldiers and priests and musicians. The ragged finery in which this lady in particular is usually clothed, her powdered locks, and the tinsel and tawdry with which she is bedaubed, really put one in mind

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of the chimney sweepers' girls, or rather boys dressed in girls' clothes, on the first of May; and few of the saints carried about in their processions have a much more respectable appearance than Guy Fawkes, on the fifth of November. Yet these wretched figures, thus borne about in procession, are sometimes loaded with real diamonds, topazes, and other precious stones, beside gold and silver lace and tassels, furnished in some instances by the church to which they belong, and borrowed in others for the occasion from the wealthier inhabitants, few of whom are so wanting in piety as to refuse her ladyship the loan of their jewels, whenever she may condescend to make her appearance in public. Little as such objects may appear, to rational beings, to be calculated for inspiring that veneration which they are intended to produce, they serve at least as so many contrivances to divert the mind from any train of thinking. Indeed the long continued habit of daily witnessing such scenes does not seem to have in the least diminished the attention. When the bell tolls every person in the street takes off his hat, and he observes the same ceremony when he passes one of the cages in which is contained the image of the holy Virgin; and when the rockets, squibs, and crackers are let off, the eye naturally turns towards the eminences on which the churches and convents are generally situated. The effect produced on the mind by these noisy appendages of religion may be the same as that which, if my recollection serves me rightly, Dr. Johnson ascribed to music, namely, "that it takes away the "ideas we have, and gives us no new ones."

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It will not be expected that I should be able to give any account of the state of the country, as to the mode and the extent of its cultivation, or the condition of its inhabitants. Our short excursion to the vale of *Tejeuca*, about twenty miles to the south-westward of St. Sebastian, furnished us, however, with an opportunity of observing how wretchedly neglected was this most beautiful and fertile country, even in the vicinity of its most populous city. From the outlets of the town, none of the roads, admitting of wheel carriages, are carried beyond ten miles; in our present excursion we were obliged to alight at the end of about six, where horses were prepared for the further prosecution of our journey. We presently entered a large forest, in passing through which we were frequently obliged to dismount, in order to scramble over huge trunks of trees that had fallen across the path, where they were suffered to lie and rot without molestation. We had no objection to loiter under the cool shade which the venerable evergreens of some centuries' growth afforded, and to listen to the wild notes of birds that were totally new and unknown to any of us; yet the frequent obstructions we met with from trees, and rocks, and bogs, were tedious and tiresome. From our quitting the town till we came to the verge of the forest little cultivation had appeared; beyond it, still less. The lower part of the hills were skirted with forests, the glens were choaked up with trees of a majestic size, and the tops of the hills and knolls were covered with coppice. Not an inch of the surface appeared to be naked.

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Ascending the heights to the westward we passed a most magnificent cascade, which, from the number of names that were cut on the sides of a cavern, and a long table within it that was hewn out of the solid rock, seemed to have once been the resort of numerous visitors. The stream of water fell into a rich and romantic valley, through which it flowed into a small arm of the sea. We observed only two plantations in the whole valley, at the dwelling house of one of which we took up our lodging for the night. It had little or no furniture, was exceedingly dirty, and we had to endure almost insufferable torments from the swarms of mosquitoes, that attacked us as we lay exposed on wooden frames with cane bottoms, without bedding, mattras, or curtains. The plantations were worked entirely by slaves, and abounded with cotton, coffee, cocoa, sugar, fruits and other valuable productions. The proprietor had a hundred slaves on his plantation, was a considerable merchant in Rio, and esteemed to be a very rich man; but his manner of living, as far as we were capable of judging, was destitute of every kind of comfort. Surrounded with the greatest abundance of the necessaries and even luxuries of life, he was a total stranger to any of its conveniencies. He complained most grievously of the oppression which the inhabitants of South America suffered from the mother country; that the monopolies, the prohibitions, and the taxes, had checked commerce, impeded agriculture, and destroyed the spirit of enterprise: and he represented the dissatisfaction to have become so general at the burdens imposed on them, and the restrictions they were obliged to submit to, that he should not be surprized, he

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said, if they were driven at last, like their brethren in the northern part of the same continent, to shake off the yoke of Portugal, and assert their independence.—But a general view of the system followed by Portugal with regard to the Brazils I shall reserve for another chapter.

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CHAP. V.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE BRAZILS.

Discovery of the Brazils—Mode of colonizing the Country—Failure in the Attempt to convert the Natives to Christianity, and to Slavery—Negroes imported from the Coast of Africa—A Frenchman's Humanity to a Cargo of Slaves—Treatment and Condition of Slaves in the Brazils—Advantages of this Country over the West India Islands—Reflexions on Slavery—Discouraging System of the Portugueze with regard to the Brazils—Valuable Productions of—Treaty of Commerce between England and Portugal—Deplorable State of the Spanish Colonies—Dangerous Doctrine of revolutionizing South America—Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and St. Catharine's, three important Points on the Coast of Brazil—Strength of Rio, and military Force.

THE discovery of the American islands seems to have been the result of a preconcerted enterprise, but that of the coast of Brazil was merely accidental. The Portugueze Admiral Cabral, when conducting an expedition round the Cape of Good Hope, resolved, in consequence of the calms and baffling winds which his predecessors had invariably experienced near the coast of Africa, to try a different though circuitous route, by crossing the equinoctial line many degrees to the westward of that part of it where hitherto it had been customary. Having accomplished this point, and keeping his sails full with a brisk south-east trade to the southward of the

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line, he unexpectedly fell in with the coast of South America, about the sixteenth parallel of latitude, where, after experiencing much squally weather, he discovered a tolerably good bay, on which, finding a safe anchorage for his ships, he conferred the name of *Porto Seguro;* and, conformably to the custom of those days, he called this part of the newly discovered continent *Santa Cruz*, or the Holy Cross. But his government afterwards changed it to that of Brazil, on account of the valuable wood so called which, for a considerable time after the discovery, was the only important article of produce exported from thence to Europe.

In those days, indeed, the accession of territory, merely as such, was held to be only a secondary consideration; the conversion of the natives to Christianity was the grand and ostensible object: and all conquests were avowedly undertaken under this sacred banner. How far the Portugueze were sincere in their views of enlarging, by the addition of Brazil, the dominion of Christendom, may partly be inferred from the description of people which they selected to be the settlers of this newly acquired country. All persons convicted of crimes not immediately punishable with death, all such as were accused of witchcraft and heresy, all kinds of vagrants who had no ostensible means of gaining their subsistence, all persons who were in any way obnoxious to the church, but particularly such of the Jewish and Mahomedan persuasions as were not in circumstances to pay for protection against persecution; in short all those, whom at any time it was deemed expedient to get rid of, were banished to the

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Brazils. The Jews, against whom a pretext was seldom wanting when the object was to get at their property, and who, on all occasions, were the devoted victims of the Holy Inquisition, had not much reason to regret the adoption of a measure which was to remove them out of the reach of a systematic persecution, and to confer on them the exercise of their liberty in a new country, where industry and skill could not fail to raise them to prosperity. Banishment was to them a sanctuary from injustice and rapacity. Immediately on their landing, they began to consider of the most likely means of ingratiating themselves with the natives. These unsuspecting creatures, on finding themselves kindly treated, made no objection to the strangers occupying lands wherever they might chuse to fix. They even diverted themselves at the folly of the white men, who could leave their own country and their friends for the purpose of digging the ground in a strange land, and of rearing a few sickly plants, whose seeds they had brought with them for the purpose, when the native forests of the Brazils yielded spontaneously an inexhaustible supply of delicious fruits.

All these people, however, who had been considered at home in no other light than as the dregs of society, found their condition in their new country infinitely improved. They had taken the precaution of carrying with them a few cuttings of the sugar-cane from the island of Madeira, to which place the Portugueze had already transplanted it from the Mediterranean; and this valuable plant was cultivated in the Brazils with so much success that, from an article of medicine, it became, in the course of a few years, an object

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of luxury. It seems indeed that the increased demand for this valuable product, in the markets of Europe, first convinced the Court of Lisbon of a truth to which it had hitherto paid little attention, namely, that a colony might become useful to the mother country, though it had neither gold, silver, nor diamonds in the soil.

So much, indeed, had the importance of the Brazils increased in the eyes of government that, in about fifty years after the discovery, it was considered to be worthy of the superintending care of a Governor-General. This great man had scarcely set foot in the country before he contrived to quarrel with the native Indians. From his own observations of the gentle and tractable disposition of these savages, which were corroborated by the accounts he received from the colonists, he conceived, as he thought, the laudable design of reducing some of them to the condition of slavery, and of compelling others to cultivate the ground on such terms as he should prescribe. The Governor no doubt acted in conformity to the spirit of his instructions; for, it may be observed that, in all the discoveries and conquests of Spain and Portugal, the population of a country was never considered as any criterion of its wealth. To reduce their numbers, by making them slaves, and to search for gold dust, were the first objects of their consideration. By the partial successes of the Portugueze on the coast of Africa they were no doubt encouraged to pursue a similar plan in South America; but the Brazilians, taking the alarm at such an unexpected outrage, determined to repel injustice by force. Their numbers and their courage were greater than was necessary to crush

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at once this infant colony; and this would inevitably have happened, had not the interference of some Jesuit missionaries, who by their persuasive and winning conduct had gained the esteem of the natives, warded off the blow. These enterprising men prevailed on that part of the insulted natives, which inhabited the sea coast, to accede to terms of reconciliation with the colonists; but many retired into the interior, and, notwithstanding all the exertions of these holy men, could never be induced to put further confidence in their European intruders.

It is a reproach but too well founded that, wherever Europeans have extended their conquests in foreign countries, the numbers of the natives have gradually diminished, new and destructive diseases have been introduced, their physical powers have been diminished by the copious use of poisonous spirits, their minds corrupted by theft and lying, their primitive simplicity destroyed, their means of subsistence rendered more precarious and difficult, whilst they have rarely made a single step in the progress towards civil polity, or the least advancement in arts, manufactures, or morality. If the human mind, in every variety of the species, was not known to be capable of progressive improvement, the fault might be supposed to rest with the rough and stubborn temper of the unpolished natives; but it demands only a slight inquiry into the modes of treatment, which in some colonists are cruel and outrageous, and in others zealous and intolerant, fully to account for this melancholy truth. As an instance of the former mode of proceeding I have had occasion to represent the conduct of the Dutch boors towards the Hottentots; and

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the Portugueze in the Brazils afford but too striking an example of the latter. For although the Jesuits, in their government of Paraguay, united such a degree of prudence, skill, and perseverance, to the most consummate knowledge of human nature, as would no doubt have completed the civilization of South America; yet, other missionaries of different orders, by an intemperate zeal in the same cause, destroyed the fair prospect of fruit by blighting the tree in its blossom. It was an invariable principle of the Jesuits to give way to the prevailing superstitions of the natives, to study and to encourage their most rooted prejudices, so as to be able, by meeting them on their own ground when proper occasions occurred, to employ the few they might have converted, as active instruments for bringing about a general turn in favour of the grand object of their mission. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Benedictines aimed, on the contrary, to overturn at once every sacred superstition in the religious creed of the natives, and to force upon them an unconditional compliance with the novel doctrines of their own:—doctrines which in their purest and most simple dress could not possibly be understood, because they did not apply to the condition of savage life; much less so, when involved in mystery and disguised in ceremony. That man who thinks to convert a savage to Christianity, by preaching the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, and by endeavouring to convince him that all his time, and attention, and faith, must be employed to secure the salvation of his soul in another world, whilst his body is pining and perishing for want in this, betrays a most woful ignorance of the human mind, and is not likely to be of much use in forwarding the

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cause he is sent to promote. To commence a discourse with a savage on the bliss of his soul, of which he has no conscious existence, whilst hunger, disease, and pain torment his body, would be absurd and preposterous. Those have the better cause in hand who endeavour to render pleasure and profit compatible with religion, and to give the savage a taste of happiness in this world, as the surest means of awakening in him the desire of extending it to the next. To direct his mind to objects of which he can comprehend the utility; to convince him, by example, that his quantity of happiness is capable of being extended; to give him notions of property, and the comforts it is capable of procuring;—these are the more effectual means

> "To make man mild and sociable to man,
> "To cultivate the wild licentious savage
> "With wisdom, discipline, and liberal arts;"

than by compelling his assent to doctrines, of which he can neither comprehend the reasoning, nor feel the benefit. This is beginning entirely at the wrong end; and the obstinate adherence to such a system, by the more rigid orders of Catholics in the Brazils, obliged them, after the destruction of the Jesuits, to abandon the cause altogether. The consequence of which was, that the greater part of the natives are at this moment as uncivilized as, and perhaps more so than, when the country was first discovered.

The antipathy of the Brazilians to the Portugueze is so great, that the Viceroy is not able, without some difficulty, to keep up an establishment of twelve rowers of the state

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barge. These were the only real natives we had an opportunity of seeing during our stay of three weeks. Their features were not much different from those of the Malays, Tartars and Chinese. Their stature was short. They appeared to be of a grave and serious disposition, seldom speaking to each other, and indicating an aversion to communicate with strangers. They had long black hair, and the beard was visible only on the upper lip and under the chin. Those who engage in this service are said to be so much detested by their countrymen, as to prevent them from ever returning to their horde, apprehensive that if once in their possession they would certainly be put to death.

When the Portugueze were sufficiently convinced of the inefficacy of the attempt to reduce the Brazilians to slavery, or to compel them to submit to the labours of agriculture, their next recourse was to the settlements they had already acquired on the coast of Africa for a supply of negroes. Whole cargoes of these ill-fated people were annually transported from their native country and their connections, cut off from every hope of returning, and doomed to toil for the remainder of their days in the foreign fields of South America. The number which at present is said to be annually imported amounts, on an average, to twenty thousand; and as this demand is constant, whilst the quantity of produce is supposed to be little if at all increased for several years past, there are strong grounds to suspect that at least an equal number to those imported must be destroyed every year. Yet these people make a boast of treating their slaves better than any other nation. The French and the Dutch do the

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same; and they all unite in asserting that the English are the most cruel to their slaves. People, however, are apt to differ in their notions of humanity, as well as on less important points; and, where the whole system is bad, the degrees of atrocity may perhaps be the less discernible. Bad as our countrymen are, I am still inclined to hope that few are to be found among them who would act, on a similar occasion, in the same manner as I am about to relate. An officer in the French army, having discovered that dealing in slaves was a more lucrative profession than fighting, was transporting a cargo, consisting of about three hundred, from Mosambique to the Isle of France. They had scarcely put to sea when the small-pox broke out among them. On three or four the pustules appeared in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to the nature of the disease; and about a dozen of the rest were considered to be infected. As it was pretty evident that none of the cargo had gone through the disease, and equally so that they could not escape infection; and as the chances were, in this event, that the mortality would greatly exceed *seven per cent.*, the slave merchant resolved to throw the fifteen or sixteen infected persons immediately overboard. This man afterwards wrote an account of his voyage to the East Indies, in which he talks a great deal about humanity, but carefully avoids the mention of this transaction. At the Cape of Good Hope, however, he made no secret of, but assumed a degree of merit in, what he had done. He knew well enough that the good people of this settlement had proper notions on the value of blacks. By the French part of the inhabitants he was applauded for his

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great humanity, in sacrificing a few for the safety of the whole; and the Dutch admired the prudent step he had taken to secure the greater part of so valuable a property. Every body applauded the conduct of the Frenchman, but none seemed to pity the fate of the poor blacks.

Whatever the pretensions of other nations may be, in regard to the good treatment of their slaves, I am inclined to think that the method pursued by the Portugueze planters of the Brazils is far from being the worst. The master expects from the slave a certain quantity of labour in the week, which is calculated to be sufficient to employ four days of moderate application: the other two are for himself; but out of the proceeds of the labour of these two days he must clothe and feed himself for the whole week. By such a system the lash of the whip is unnecessary; the master is at no expence beyond the first cost, which is about twenty pounds; and the slave, by the surplus produce of the labour bestowed on his own account, is frequently enabled to lay by a sufficient sum to purchase his freedom. Those who are doomed to work at the mines experience worse treatment than such as are employed in domestic purposes, or in agriculture. The temptation to secrete small diamonds has sometimes induced the slaves to swallow them. Whenever the labour of the day has not been usually productive, or any other cause of suspicion arises that such may have been the case, they are put for a certain time in close confinement, and a strong dose of ipecacuanha is administered. If this should not produce the desired effect, the next step is to ply them, like the pearl

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fishers of Ceylon, with powerful cathartics, till the poor creatures are nearly exhausted; and this happens very often when they are perfectly innocent.

The condition of the field slaves in the Brazils is preferable even to those employed for domestic purposes in the towns; the latter being ill fed, having one holiday only in the week, and not capable of earning much by his labour. But I am far from thinking, with all the advantages of a fine climate and a productive soil, that the condition even of the field slaves is equally comfortable to that of the labouring peasantry of Europe, which some of the advocates for the continuance of slavery boldly assert to be the case in the West India islands. The mind of a labouring free man goes with his work, and directs him both as to the quantity expedient to be done, and the manner of doing it; if he should be controuled in these respects, he is at liberty to leave his employer, and engage with another. But the West India slave is not only compelled as to the quantity of labour to be done, but as to the mode also in which he must do it. Every action and every moment of his life put him in mind of his unfortunate condition; he must work, move, speak, eat, sleep, and exert, in short, every action and energy, both of body and soul, to the will and caprice of his owner. So, say the anti-abolitionists, must an English apprentice. This is not a fair comparison. The apprentice nine times out of ten makes his choice of, and voluntarily enters into, some trade or profession, under a consciousness of the advantages which in all probability he will hereafter derive from it. He looks forward to the termination of his servitude with sensations of pleasure, exulting perhaps in the idea that the day is

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not far distant when he may become the comfort and support of his aged parents. But what is the prospect of the unfortunate African? Eternal separation from his dearest friends; endless slavery; severe labour; treatment more cruel, and neglect more pointed, as age and infirmities shall have made him less valuable to his owner.

The slave of the Brazils has many advantages over the slave of the West India islands. The climate of the former is infinitely superior to that of the latter, and the seasons of planting and of reaping are of longer duration. The owner of a sugar plantation in the West Indies has but a short period allowed him during the rains to get his canes into the ground. Equally short is the season of reaping them. If the canes are not cut down when fully ripe, the juice evaporates and they turn to wood; if they are cut down and not immediately pressed, the juice begins to ferment, and is fit only to be converted by distillation into rum. At these seasons, therefore, and particularly in the latter, every hand that can work, however feebly, is of importance to the planter; and the urgent demand for labour sometimes makes him wholly insensible to acts of inhumanity, which, perhaps, at other times, might appear to him in their true light, and as odious and atrocious in the extreme. This is not the case in the Brazils. The season of planting, on account of the longer continuance of rain, is at least two months longer here than in the West Indies; and the gradual ripening of the plants protracted in the same proportion. It is not therefore found to be necessary here, as is the case in our colonies, to drive the slaves to work with the crack or the lash of the

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whip, or to regulate the stroke of the bill or the hoe by the measure of a forced song.

The number, however, of African negroes that are annually imported into the Brazils affords a presumptive proof that here, as well as in the West Indies, it suits the interest of the planter to purchase new slaves in preference to the rearing of young ones, by allowing that degree of parental attention on the part of the mother, which a state of helpless infancy necessarily requires. It is in vain to tell us that the condition of the African negro is meliorated in the colonies, when a constant importation is required to keep up their numbers. But even admitting that their situation was improved by a passage across the Atlantic, by what rule of right do we assume to ourselves the power of compelling people to be happy contrary to their wishes? The advocates for the continuance of the trade, that is to say, the slave merchants and the planters, being driven from all their former grounds of argument, have ingeniously called in the negroes themselves to answer the question, and to oppose the abolition.—Our master's estate, say the negroes, must produce so much sugar, for which purpose so many new negroes are annually purchased; but if the trade be put an end to, and the same quantity of canes must be planted, the old negroes will be obliged to do the whole work themselves: if, therefore, you do not continue to import, we shall use our endeavour not to continue any longer your slaves.—It required some ingenuity to invent any new argument in favour of the continuance of the trade, when the question had been so long and so ably discussed. Its advocates, however, seem to be driven to the

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wall, when they find it necessary to call in the aid of slaves to support the cause of slavery ; but drowning men will catch at straws.

It has frequently been contended that the mind of the negro is neither as susceptible nor as retentive of impressions as that of Europeans; and that we ought not, therefore, to measure their feelings by our own. The validity of such an opinion may very fairly be called in question, and the point considered as yet undecided whether, among the different varieties of the human species, where organization is equally perfect and circumstances similar, the mental faculties in each of them may not be capable of exerting an equal degree of energy? The sudden emancipation of near half a million in St. Domingo forms a new æra in the history of man, which, in the course of a few years, will throw more light on the true character of the blacks than as many centuries have hitherto done. The enormities committed by Dessalines are not to be considered as a criterion by which that character is to be estimated. If that Black power which, after suffering every horrid calamity that perfidy and brutality could inflict, wrested at length one of the most fertile countries in the world out of the hands of its inhuman oppressors, and broke the chains of Gallic tyranny, should have been able to command its temper and act with moderation, which, had the virtuous Toussaint escaped the fangs of Buonaparte, would probably have been the case;—if, in the progress of its glorious struggle for liberty, it should have been fortunate enough to avoid those horrors which stained the French subversion, (I will not call it by the respectable name of revolution,)

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how much superior would they have risen in wisdom and humanity to their late masters, whom they have certainly not exceeded either in atrocity or in folly! Such a conduct, however, could hardly be expected. The first burst of enthusiasm, from chains and dark ignorance to the all-cheering ray of liberty, is a trying moment; it is a change pregnant with infinite danger. The civilized French have no excuse for the many horrid enormities committed by them in the most wanton and unprovoked manner. The savage blacks, not insensible of the horrors which have attended their emancipation, proclaim to all the world the reasons which compelled them to acts of cruelty. "If," says Dessalines, "any innocent persons have perished, their blood will fall on his "(Buonaparte's) head; because, had his barbarous brother-"in-law, Le Clerc, never landed in this island, all the white "inhabitants would yet have been alive, 60,000 black "citizens fewer murdered, and 30,000 of his armed slaves "would not have breathed their last in this climate. It was "his avarice, ambition, atrocity, and treachery, that aroused "our greatly oppressed and injured children, and separated "us for ever from the mother country."

The new character, which the blacks have lately assumed in St. Domingo, cannot fail of being contemplated with a lively interest by their brethren in the West India islands, and of greatly influencing their future conduct. What the event of it may turn out is at present beyond all human calculation. The danger, however, which threatens to disturb the peace of our colonies is not less certain, whether they as-

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sume a regular government, or fall into a state of general anarchy. In the former case, they will use every endeavour to set the rest of their brethren free; and, in the latter, the thirst of plunder, and aversion for labour, will drive them to predatory excursions on the neighbouring islands, where the slaves will be but too ready to join them. Whatever the line of conduct may be which they eventually shall adopt, to bring them back to slavery would be a task that all the legions of Buonaparte can never accomplish. The secret spell, that caused the negro to tremble at the presence of the white man, is in a great degree dissolved; the supposed superiority, by which a hundred of the former were kept in awe and submission by one of the latter, is no longer acknowledged; the mind has broken its fetters with those of the body, and freedom of thought has produced energy of action.

If it should unfortunately happen that our colonies in the West Indies may ultimately be involved in the fate of St. Domingo, a considerable mass of property will no doubt be lost to this country; but, at the same time, it cannot well be denied that this loss would be productive of a most important saving to the state, by the number of British subjects who, in their removal to a better climate, would escape a premature death. The most valuable productions of the West India islands were originally transplanted from the East, where the labour of slaves is not required, nor any extraordinary waste of Europeans occasioned. To this source we may again recur, and India and China may eventually prove the great sheet anchors of our commercial prosperity.

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The ruin of the West India islands, it is to be feared, would equally affect the tranquillity of those colonies on the continent of South America, in the possession of the English and the Dutch, which would tend in a very material degree to enhance the value of the possessions of Spain and Portugal on the same continent. But the restrictions, the exactions, and the monopolies, under which the settlements of these two powers are oppressed, and the total want of energy in the inhabitants, which necessarily results from such a system, are so many invincible barriers against any improvement which favourable circumstances might otherwise suggest. Few countries afford so great a number or so great a variety of valuable productions as the Brazils. Beside the articles described in the eight paintings, which I took notice of in a former chapter, the country produces an inexhaustible supply of the finest timber, suitable for all the purposes of civil and naval architecture; but the cutting and disposing of it is a monopoly of the Crown. The first object of every man, who obtains a grant of woodland, is to destroy the best trees as fast as he can; because he is not only forbidden to send them to market, but may have the additional mortification of being obliged to entertain the King's surveyor, whenever he thinks fit to pay him a visit, with a numerous retinue, for the purpose of felling the timber, which he as owner of the estate has not the power to prevent. Yet, notwithstanding this discouraging monopoly, together with the difficulty of transport, on account of the badness of the roads, and the scarcity of shipwrights, very fine vessels, equal in size to an English 74 gun ship, have been constructed at Bahia or St. Salvador, and sent afloat, at the expence of about fifteen or sixteen pounds a ton, which

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in England would have cost from twenty-four to thirty-four pounds a ton.

Wheat, barley, Guinea corn, millet and all the European and tropical grains are produced in the greatest abundance; and all species of provisions and supplies for victualling and storing ships, and fitting them out for actual service at sea, are procurable at moderate rates in almost all the ports of the Brazils. At Rio de Janeiro alone a navy might be built, equipped, and fitted with every necessary for a sea voyage, sufficient to command the navigation of the Southern Atlantic; and the fisheries, by proper encouragement, would create a never-failing supply of seamen. Both the black whale and the spermaceti are plentiful on every part of the coast.

In addition to the timber for naval purposes, which every where abounds, the forests of the Brazils supply a number of valuable woods for dyeing, as the *Cæsalpinea Braziliensis* or Brasilletta, the *Hæmatoxylum Campechianum* or logwood, and the *Morus tinctoria* or fustic wood, all of which, however, are royal monopolies. Of medicinal plants they have the bark, the jalap, the ipecacuanha root, the palma Christi, and many others too numerous to mention, with a great variety of odoriferous plants, and trees that yield turpentine, gums, and resins. Tobacco and pepper may be cultivated to any extent, and the fields and the forests afford an inexhaustible supply of wax and honey. The tropical fruits of every description, whether of the eastern or western hemisphere, are good in quality and abundantly plentiful. The oranges, pine apples, and mangoes are exquisite. All kinds

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of vegetables, but especially sweet potatoes, yams, melons, brinjals, and cucumbers, are plentiful and cheap, as indeed are provisions of every description. There is also an excellent fish market, well supplied every morning with a great variety of fish that are caught in the harbour.

The fertile and extensive plains of South America abound with innumerable herds of horses and horned cattle; but the richness of the soil, and its total want of culture, produce only such grasses as are too coarse, and their juices too acrid, for the sustenance of sheep. Oxen even do not thrive upon them, without the occasional use of salt; and as the exclusive privilege of importing this article, essential for the preservation both of man and beast, from the islands of Sal and Mayo, is farmed out as a monopoly of the Crown, it is necessarily sold at an extravagant price, and is frequently not to be purchased on any terms. The salt that would be required to preserve the carcase of an ox costs in general about thrice as much as the whole animal. Yet there is no want of salt on the coast of Brazil, if the inhabitants were permitted to manufacture it. Wherever it is made with facility, or deposited by spontaneous evaporation, it is immediately claimed as the exclusive right of the Crown, which, however, has condescended to bestow a remarkable indulgence to the inhabitants of certain parts of the sea-coast, by allowing them to collect, for their own use, what nature has spontaneously thrown in their way; but they are forbidden, in the most positive terms, to carry a single grain of it either to St. Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, or any of the principal governments of the Brazils. The monopoly of salt is estimated to produce to the Crown of Portugal about 15,000*l.* a year. Thus, for the sake of realizing so

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pitiful a sum, thousands of cattle are suffered to perish, the carcases of such as are slaughtered, for the sake of the hides only, to be thrown away, the fisheries on the coast are checked, and in a great degree rendered useless, and one great source of commerce and navigation entirely dried up. At Rio the price of a moderate sized ox is not more than twenty shillings, and in the interior only from five to ten shillings. In fact, the hide is considered as the only valuable part, and the carcase is left to the tyger or the panther, the eagle, the condor, and such other birds and beasts of prey as abound in the country. The condition of the graziers in the Brazils appears to be pretty much the same as that of the Dutch boors at the Cape of Good Hope. Rich in the possession of thousands of cattle, they are deficient in every comfort of life; without society, without clothing, and without decent habitations. They are even worse than the Dutch boors, for these can move about in their covered waggons over their barren heaths, but in the fertile and well-wooded regions of South America there are yet no roads that will admit the convenience of a wheel carriage.

In all the measures adopted by the Portugueze government, with regard to its colonies, there seems to be a system of discouragement which cannot be explained on any principle of policy, except that which is founded on an apprehension lest, by too much prosperity, they might feel disposed to make an attempt at independence, which sooner or later will certainly be the case with the Brazilians. The Court of Lisbon, for instance, no sooner discovered that sugars could be raised in any quantity, and afforded in the

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markets of Europe at reasonable prices, than it thought proper to impose on them an export duty of 20 *per cent.*, which operated as an immediate check on the growth of this article. When the cultivation of the Indigo plant had been considerably extended, and the preparation sufficiently understood, so as to enable the colonists to meet their competitors in the markets of Europe, this article was assumed as a royal monopoly. Among the valuable plants, whose cultivation if not much encouraged was at least allowed, is the cotton shrub. Large cargoes of raw cotton wool, consigned to the merchants of Lisbon, found their way into the manufacturing markets of Europe. Unluckily for the colonists, the warehouses of Lisbon were filled with this article at the very moment when Portugal submitted to negociate with France for the price of its neutrality. Not having money to offer, the rapacious agent of France proposed to take merchandize. The cotton from the Brazils was pointed out for this purpose; and the Portugueze government directed it to be delivered to the order of the French, without any stipulation as to the price or time of payment. The growers in the Brazils were of course disgusted with such a proceeding, and will be cautious in future how they consign any more of this article to the merchants of Lisbon. The exclusive privilege of collecting gold dust and diamonds is farmed out as a monopoly of the Crown, which gains, however, quite as little by this assumed right as the colonists lose by the restriction.

The same spirit of discouragement which refuses them the free use of salt, though a spontaneous product of nature, has positively forbidden them to make any wine even for their

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own consumption. It has indeed been pretended by some, and believed by many, that the grapes which are produced in North or South America are totally unfit for the making of wine; but the people of Rio de Janeiro are sufficiently convinced of the contrary, and consider the prohibition as not one of the least grievances under which they labour. The grapes here are remarkably large and juicy, and it is too absurd to suppose for a moment that good grapes will not make good wine. A much better reason may be assigned for the cause of this restriction. The Portugal Company, as it is usually called, pays to the Crown an annual sum for the privilege of the monopoly; and the consequence of this is that a bottle of good port wine costs in the sea-port towns of the Brazils a dollar, and in the interior not less than two dollars. That the fat soils of America are too heavy for a succulent plant, which will vegetate freely in dry sand or rubbish, may be easily conceived; but that the vine should not grow as well in America as in the barren soils of the island of Madeira or the Cape of Good Hope, if planted in proper situations, is too absurd to be mentioned. I shall be told, perhaps, on high authority, that not only plants but men and brute animals have been found to degenerate, on being transplanted to America. If the fact were true, which may fairly be questioned, even this will admit of an explanation on very simple and natural principles. The most unhealthy countries are those where cultivation has been least extended, and where the exuberant products of a fertile soil and a warm climate have been left to a spontaneous decomposition on the surface by the putrefactive fermentation. The mephitic vapour, or hydro-carbonous gas, perpetually

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forming under such circumstances, is not only noxious to animal life, but in many instances destructive of it. The myriads of insects that are engendered in the woods and marshes of a warm climate are a constant torment. In fact, the life of man, in such situations, is so much occupied in providing against annoyances, that he has little time or inclination to exert his faculties. If then energy of mind may be allowed to have any relation to ease of body, and the connection will hardly be disputed, it is not a matter of surprize that men of genius have hitherto rarely appeared in America. I have no notion, for my own part, ridiculous as it may appear to those who have never travelled beyond the temperate regions of Europe, how any man can think to the purpose, even while a little mosquito, insignificant as it is, shall be humming in his ear.

Neither man nor quadrupeds can be said to thrive well, or to enjoy an apparent vigour of health, in the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro. During the season of rains, and for a month or six weeks afterwards, dysenteries and intermittent fevers are almost universal. All the hills behind the town, the numerous islands in the harbour, and every part of its shores, are covered with forests, interspersed with uncultivated plains and tracts of marshy ground, where a constant process of decay, and the reproduction of rank grass and sedges, furnish the materials of a constant fermentation.

Notwithstanding the vexations, restrictions, and monopolies, which the Portugueze government has imposed on the trade and productions of its colonies in South America, so

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considerable has of late years been the value of their exports, and so niggardly are the European supplies furnished by the mother country, that they draw an annual balance in hard specie of at least half a million sterling, by means of a clandestine trade with English whalers, Americans, and the ships of other nations, which find it convenient to take off their hands their surplus produce. This money is mostly sunk in the purchase of slaves, twenty thousand of whom, as I have already stated, are annually imported, of which, at the moderate rate of twenty pounds a-head, the cost is 400,000 *l.*

Most of the woollen, linen, and cotton cloths, consumed in the Brazils, are of British manufacture; and the greater part of coarse Indian goods used by them have also been supplied from London, through Lisbon, except such as are thrown in direct from the former by clandestine means. For all these supplies, however, they have valuable products to give in return, if their government would only allow them the benefit of a free trade. In many of the Spanish dominions on the same continent this is not the case. On the western coast they have little produce to part with except specie, which they liberally exchange with our adventurers in return for the necessaries of life. In this manner a small portion of the silver dug out of the mines of Potosi finds its way direct to the Thames. And in addition to the balance which the Portugueze settlements in the Brazils draw in specie from Europe and North America, they receive perhaps an equal sum from supplying the Spanish settlements, through Rio de la Plata, not only with various articles of their own production, but a considerable quantity of European manufactures, all of which

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are conveyed by smugglers from Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and St. Catharine's to Monte Video. It is not easy to calculate what the price, to the real consumer, would be of English broad cloth, sent from London to Lisbon, from Lisbon to the Brazils, and thence to the Spanish colonies; but high as it must necessarily be, the inhabitants of these colonies would be exceedingly glad to obtain ten times the quantity at the same rate.

Few of the Brazilian colonists entertain the idea of ever returning to Portugal. Their condition in South America is very different from that of our countrymen in foreign settlements. These exert their utmost energy to amass a fortune, in the hope of enjoying it at home; while those see as little prospect of returning to Europe with the means of a comfortable subsistence as a convict can expect to return with a fortune from Botany Bay. Even the military officers, whose turn of duty requires their being sent to the Brazils, seldom if ever return. Being kept beyond their time of service, they are induced to marry, beget a progeny, and settle in the country; thus losing sight in a great degree of the mother country, and naturally becoming less indisposed to separate from it. Some of the leading men spoke very freely on this subject when we were there, and I should conclude that circumstances have not changed much in favour of the government since that time. There is little doubt that a man of skill, of spirit and reputation, might at this moment easily spur them on to declare their independence. Still, however, I am inclined to believe that one of their own countrymen from Europe would be more acceptable as a chief than either

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a colonist or a foreigner. The bulk of the people are attached to the name of their country, their religion, and their language; and I am persuaded that if the Court of Portugal had sufficient energy and activity to transplant itself to the Brazils, as was once intended when the Spaniards invaded them, a mighty and brilliant empire might speedily be created in South America, to counterpoise the growing power of the United States in the northern part of that continent. The former possesses many advantages over the latter; in fertility of soil, in the value of its productions, in climate, and in geographical position, eminently favourable for communication and commerce with every nation of the civilized world.

A change in the government of the Brazils, whether effected by themselves or by a foreign power, necessarily implies a change in the present condition of Portugal, against which, indeed, she has little security, whenever it may suit the caprice or the convenience of that despotic power which has so long been suffered to overawe the petty states of Europe. Such an event, it cannot be denied, would be attended with a temporary check to certain branches of the commerce and manufactures of England, but not perhaps with that serious injury which mercantile men seem to apprehend. There is a prejudice in favour of the trade with Portugal. The treaty between this country and England has stood the test of several reigns, and is so far entitled to respect; but, in these days of superior knowledge and improvement, I have heard its wisdom and its policy strongly called in question. By the terms of the treaty we are to admit the wines of Portugal to an entry in our ports at two-thirds of the duties levied on the

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importation of other wines, in consideration of Portugal admitting our woollen cloths, not as we do their wines at a reduced duty, but just on the same terms as woollen cloths are admitted by them from any other country. It is contended, therefore, that by this treaty we have conceded to Portugal a decided advantage, without receiving the least consideration in return; and that too in taking off her hands an article which no nation on earth would consent to take except England, whilst our manufactures are saleable in, and acceptable to, all nations. Viewing it in this light it would certainly appear that, notwithstanding the boasted wisdom of our ancestors, the Portugueze had the advantage in the framing of this treaty.

The trade, however, though every way against us, is nevertheless of great importance to England, on account of its demand for our manufactures and produce, of the number of shipping it employs, and of the very considerable sum which it brings in aid of the revenue. The following sketch is not offered as an accurate statement, but it may be considered as pretty nearly the truth.

The quantity of wine shipped at Oporto for Great Britain and her colonies is estimated at 60,000 pipes, which at 25*l.* average price amounts to	£. 1,500,000
From Lisbon and other ports, 12,000 at 12*l.*	144,000
From Madeira, 12,000 at 30*l.* per pipe -	360,000
Fruit, preserves, &c. - - -	46,000
Amount	£. 2,050,000

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Amount brought forward	£. 2,050,000
Woollens, linens, India and Scotch muslins, iron ware, and other articles, the growth and manufacture of Great Britain and her colonies, exported to Portugal - - - -	1,550,000
Balance against England	£. 500,000

And if we suppose that of the 84,000 pipes of wine exported from Portugal and Madeira 60,000 only pay duties and excise in Great Britain, which is making an ample allowance for the colonies, the sum raised as revenue at 50*l.* per pipe, which is less than it actually is, will amount to 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

Admitting then that Portugal may eventually share the same fate as Spain, this source of commerce will necessarily be dried up; and it may be asked, in what new channels will it then flow? Would the whole Brazils, if even in our possession, take in manufactures and produce an equivalent for what we should lose by the loss of our trade with Portugal, and afford us return cargoes of equal value, and which would contribute an equal sum to the revenue of the state? In their present condition, I have no hesitation in saying, they certainly would not; but, at the same time, I have little doubt that by removing the obstacles that have impeded cultivation, abolishing monopolies, reducing the impolitic duties on exports, and opening a communication by good roads between the principal ports and the interior settlements, they would not only in a few years consume more than Portugal

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now takes from us, but would be able to meet the value of supplies sent out to them in the important articles of coffee, cocoa, cotton, indigo, sugar, drugs, timber, and other commodities, which by proper encouragement might be produced to any extent. Nor would the revenue be any great sufferer. The deficit in duties would be more than made up by the wines of Portugal, which, like those of France, would still find their way into England, and the more readily since no other nation would take them off her hands on any terms. Commerce, like water, will always find its own level. The stream may flow in different channels with different degrees of rapidity, and may be diverted by various obstacles from a direct course, but it will ultimately succeed in working out a passage, and find its way to the great reservoir which is destined to receive it. That nation which commands the ocean can at all times direct the commerce of the world.

If any material change should be effected in the government of the Portugueze possessions in South America, the Spanish colonies would soon be induced to follow the example. These, in fact, are still more oppressed than the other, or at least more effectually debarred from the means of procuring the comforts of life, in the midst of all their gold and silver. It may be true, what I have heard asserted, that eight hundred London built carriages roll the streets of Mexico, but it is also true that eight millions of people, which is the least calculation the Spanish colonies are supposed to contain, may almost be literally said to go naked for want of clothing. Our South Sea whalers are well aware of the value of this article, and few of them, which are intended to double

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Cape Horn, leave this country without taking on board a supply of Monmouth-Street clothing, on which the least profit they calculate is 800 *per cent.* In fact, as I before observed, they have little or nothing but money, and as the government of Spain will neither supply them itself with the conveniencies of life, nor suffer other powers to do it, they must either pay extravagantly for what they can obtain clandestinely, or quietly submit to the scanty provision which a country without agriculture and without manufactures is capable of affording. If the gold and silver mines of South America have contributed so little to the comfort and happiness of the colonist, there is but too good reason for believing they have been equally detrimental to the Court of Spain, and injurious to the Spanish character. The advice which the Latin poet has put into the mouth of Juno, with regard to Rome, is but too applicable to Spain and its colonies in South America.

" Aurum irrepertum, et sic melius situm,
" Quum terra celat, spernere fortior,
" Quàm cogere humanos in usus
" Omne sacrum rapiente dextrà."

" Let her the golden mine despise;
" For deep in earth it better lies,
" Than when by hands profane, from nature's store,
" To human use compell'd, flames forth the sacred ore."

Whatever step the Court of Portugal may be compelled to take in the present critical juncture, it will behove England to keep a watchful eye on its colonies, and especially those of the Brazils. Were the French once suffered to get posses-

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sion of Rio de Janeiro, the natural strength of the country is so commanding, and the advantages it possesses so important, that it would be no easy matter to drive them out of it by force, or prevail on them to quit it by treaty. I am not sure also that, next to one of the royal family of Portugal, French interest might not preponderate in the interior of the country, where the descendants of the French Jesuits are not unmindful of their origin, and with whom the restoration of the order would be attended with no small degree of influence. And although in the sea-port towns the trading part of the nation might feel it their interest to throw themselves under the protection of the English flag, thinking by such a change to acquire a free and unrestrained commerce; yet such is the sway which the priesthood possesses over the laity, that the difficulties are immense which a Protestant government would have to encounter. It is probable also that the present imbecile government of Portugal may be compelled to court an alliance with France, though the result must inevitably be ruinous to her present declining trade and to her colonies.

It has been a sort of popular speculation, that the present war would be the means of revolutionizing South America. Those whose expectations are sanguine on this point have not perhaps sufficiently examined the situation of the colonists. Revolutions in states, where each individual has some interest in their welfare, are not effected without the most serious calamities; what then must the consequences be in a country where the number of slaves exceeds the proprietors of the soil in at least a tenfold proportion, the former of whom would desire nothing more earnestly than an opportunity of getting rid of

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their masters? The horrors attending such a revolution would most infalliby nòt be less enormous than those which disgraced the revolution of St. Domingo. In promoting such revolutions I trust England will never be concerned, being fully convinced that however much South America might gain by a quiet change of masters, she would very soon be thrown back into a state of barbarism by revolutions.

For the security and convenience of the Indian trade the situation of Rio de Janeiro is eminently advantageous, and the harbour is well suited for every naval purpose; and though it seems to be capable of an easy defence, yet it scarcely can be considered as perfectly secure, unless the same power has possession also of the windward port of Bahia or St. Salvador to the northward. This port is said to afford superior advantages for a naval arsenal and dock-yards even to those of Rio. The island of St. Catharine to the southward is likewise an important station, so situated that Rio de la Plata will always be entirely at the mercy of that power who is in the possession of it. We know little more of this island than what the elegant writer of Anson's voyage has said of it. "The soil of the island is truly luxuriant, producing fruits of most kinds spontaneously; and the ground is covered over with one continued forest of trees of a perpetual verdure, which, from the exuberance of the soil, are so entangled with briars, thorns, and underwood, as to form a thicket absolutely impenetrable, except by some narrow footpaths which the inhabitants have made for their own convenience. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and shrubs with

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" which they abound; and the fruits and vegetables of all " climates thrive here almost without culture, and are to be " procured in great plenty." The water he represents as excellent, both on the island and the opposite continent. It has a good harbour; and the province of Rio Grande, which is fertile in products of grain and fruit, and abundant in cattle, has a direct and immediate communication with it.

Rio de Janeiro must, however, be considered as the grand central point on the coast of the Brazils, from which every other part of it may at any time be overawed. And as little seems to have been published of its military strength and defences, and every piece of intelligence, however scanty, may in the course of the present contest be found of some use, I have annexed to this chapter a military sketch of that part of the harbour which is fortified, with references to a corresponding plate of views of the coast and town, with the various forts, lines, and works by which they are defended. The exact strength of these we had not the means of ascertaining accurately; but we observed that, on the anniversary of the Queen of Portugal's birth-day, seven different forts, between the passage into the harbour and the town, fired each a royal salute from very heavy metal. Captain Parish was informed by some of the officers of the garrison that the regular force consisted of two squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of artillery, six regiments of infantry, two battalions of disciplined militia, and two hundred disciplined free negroes, making, in the whole, a body exceeding ten thousand men, I have no doubt, however, of this account being greatly ex-

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aggerated; for, in the course of a three weeks' residence, in which we visited every quarter of the town and its neighbourhood, we saw nothing that could warrant any such conclusion; and I should rather be inclined to think that the whole force of the Brazils, from one extremity to the other, did not amount in regular troops to more than ten thousand men.

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CHAP. VI.

THE ISLANDS OF TRISTAN DA CUNHA AND AMSTERDAM.

Advantageous Situation of Tristan da Cunha—Description and Dimensions of the Island of Amsterdam—Crater—Other volcanic Appearances—Thermal Springs—Boiling Fish in them—Sharks—Observations on the digestive Powers of the Stomachs of Animals—Birds taken on the Island—Plants—Proofs of its being a new Island—Examples of new Creations—Theories of the Earth—Seal-Catchers found on the Island.

As the three uninhabited islands of *Tristan da Cunha* are situated nearly in the track of ships on their outward-bound passage to the Indian Ocean, we steered directly for them; and on the 31st of December we anchored on the north side of the principal island, in 32 fathoms, at the distance of about half a mile only from the shore. As it was late in the day when the ships anchored, little communication was had with the shore; but the evening was spent in laying our plan for accomplishing a complete tour of the island, by setting out from the ship at an early hour the following morning. This plan was, however, frustrated by a sudden gust of wind driving the Lion from her anchorage, so that I can give only a very general idea of the nature and extent of this island. Its situation is in latitude 37° 7′ south, and longitude, according to our chronometers, 12° 10′ west. It does not appear to be more than ten or twelve miles in circuit. In the centre of

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the island is a high pointed cone, resembling the peak of Teneriffe in miniature, from the base of which the land seems to slope gradually to the sea, where being abruptly broken off, a steep precipice of solid rock and of considerable height marks the line of the coast on every part except that which is opposite to the place where we came to anchor. Here a plain, covered with soft verdure, rises a few feet only above a sandy beach, upon which a copious stream of pure water falls from the perpendicular side of the former in a sort of cascade. Beyond the plain we could perceive several swells and vallies covered with thickets, the latter of which seemed to close in deep gullies as they receded towards the centre of the island. Every other part of the coast, as far as we could perceive, rises out of the sea almost perpendicularly, like an old gigantic wall, whose height I should suppose cannot be less than 1000 feet. This abrupt and columnar appearance of the coast, together with the cone-shaped mountain in the centre, seem to indicate that the whole mass has been thrown up by the agency of subterraneous fire.

The officer who went on shore reported that the water was a mountain-rill of excellent quality, and that it fell so conveniently on the beach as to be brought with great ease into casks, without removing them out of the boats. It is by no means unimportant for the officers of our navy to be acquainted with this circumstance. The largest ships of war are capable of taking on board a supply of every article necessary for the longest voyage except that of water, which is no less indispensable for the health and comfort of the people than other species of provisions. Should we, therefore, at any

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future time be so unfortunate as to be excluded from the Brazils and the Cape of Good Hope, this half-way island to India would be found to possess many conveniencies. Even those who may contend that our colonial territories are already sufficiently extended must at least agree that we can never have too many points of security and accommodation for our ships of war and of commerce. It was indeed once proposed, by a set of adventurers, to form an establishment on this island, in order to carry on a convenient smuggling trade with the settlements of South America, particularly those of Spain, by furnishing the natives with light Manchester and coarse Indian goods in exchange for specie, and employing, at the same time, their shipping in the Southern Whale Fishery, in order to procure oil and bone as a return cargo for Europe. If, under the immediate eye of government, such a settlement were made, it might answer the same purpose for the East India Company's ships on the outward-bound voyage as St. Helena does on the homeward; and a work of defence on a very limited scale, with a few men, would render it impregnable, a circumstance which not a little enhances its value.

Continuing our voyage from Tristan da Cunha we doubled the Cape of Good Hope between the parallels of 39° and 40°, where, though now in the middle of summer, the air was extremely cold, loaded with rain and sleet; and we experienced frequent and heavy gales of wind from the south-east quarter which caused a constant deep rolling sea, whose appearance, however tremendous to those who are not accustomed to it, is little regarded by those who are. The run of the ship by the log in this rolling sea, a little to the east-

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ward of the Cape, was 245 miles in 24 hours, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ nearly in each hour. The prevailing southerly winds in these latitudes, during the summer months, are no doubt occasioned by a strong current of condensed air rushing from regions of ice towards the more rarefied atmosphere of Southern Africa; where the vapour with which it is loaded, by a change of temperature, and by concussion against the high mountainous promontory of the Cape, is discharged; and subsides in that singular fleecy cloud which envelopes the summit of the Table mountain, continuing for several days together whenever the south-easterly wind prevails.

On the 1st of February we discovered the two islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, and on the evening of the same day anchored on the eastern side of the latter, at the distance of about a mile from the shore. The volumes of smoke which we had perceived at a distance to ascend from the island, and the flames which, when dark, were seen distinctly to issue from it, excited in us a strong desire to get on shore; and accordingly before it was well light the next morning we quitted the vessel, elate with the hope of gratifying curiosity by some novel spectacle. Of the result of our observations the following is a brief sketch. The island of Amsterdam, which lies in latitude 38° 42′ south, and longitude 76° 51′ east, is, in its greatest extent, about four miles and a quarter from north to south, and two and a quarter from east to west, containing seven or eight square miles of surface, exclusive of a large volcanic crater, into which the sea has forced a passage on the eastern side, by the incessant action of its waves rolling with an uninterrupted current from

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that quarter. The whole width of this breach is about a thousand feet, but the channel, or that part of it through which the tide ebbs and flows, does not exceed two hundred feet. From the margins of this channel two rising banks, composed of volcanic fragments, are connected with the two cheeks of the breach, whose height, by a rough trigonometrical measurement, we found to be somewhere about seven hundred feet, which may be considered as the general height of the surrounding sides of the crater above the surface of the water within it. The original form, as distinctly appears by looking down from the upper edge, was that of an ellipsis; but the materials of the side, where the breach was made, by being forced inwards by the sea, have caused on that side of the crater a considerable compression or concavity. The longest diameter across the surface of the water is somewhat more than 1000 yards, and the shortest about 850; the circumference a mile and three quarters nearly; and as the sides rise in an angle with the horizon of about 65 degrees, the circuit of the upper edge or brim of the bason, supposing it complete and that no breach had been made, would have been rather more than two miles. We sounded about the centre of the crater, and found the depth of water 174 feet, which being added to the mean height of the sides above water, gives 874 feet for the whole depth of the crater.

Every other part of the coast rises abruptly out of the sea, like the wall-sided island of Tristan da Cunha, exhibiting the successive strata of lava that have flowed down from the upper ridge of the great crater; and the rugged and blistered appearance sufficiently indicates the severe conflict that the

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two discordant elements must have sustained, when the liquid lava encountered the waves of the ocean. The effects of such a struggle are still more distinctly seen on an extraordinary insulated rock of a pyramidal form, which rises out of the sea a little to the right of the entrance into the crater. The height of this rock is from two to three hundred feet, and it is composed of forty or fifty horizontal layers piled very regularly on each other; and these are again cracked and divided by a number of perpendicular fissures, the whole exhibiting a huge mass of basaltic columns. The marks of fusion are evident on every part of its surface, which has the appearance of scoria from an iron furnace. Many of the perpendicular fissures were filled with veins of obsidian or volcanic glass, which we could perceive to be extended several feet below the surface of the sea. In other clefts we found some curious specimens of zeolite, but looked for this substance in vain in the fragments of solid lava. We were the more desirous of establishing this fact, as it is one of the contested points between the Plutonists and the Neptunists. Zeolite being frequently found in the midst of basalt, and being well known to contain a considerable quantity of water, has furnished one of the strongest arguments in favour of the Neptunists; in so far at least as it militates against the doctrine of basaltic columns being produced by the agency of subterranean heat. Zeolite and volcanic glasses, such as obsidian and pumice stone, we found abundantly on every part of the coast of the island.

On the two causeways in the breach made by the sea into the crater, and in many places on its slanting sides, we found

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several thermal springs, some running freely, and others oozing out in a mere paste or mud. In some of these springs Fahrenheit's thermometer ascended from 62°, in the open air, to 196°; in some to 204°; and in others to 212°, or the boiling point. The spots where they are to be found are easily discoverable, before sunrise or after sunset, by a thin vapour which may be seen distinctly on applying the eye to the ground. In several places we observed patches of soft verdure, composed of a fine delicate moss, blended with a species of Lycopodium and another of Marchantia. These green patches were found to be floating on a hot paste, whose temperature, at eight or ten inches below the surface, upon which the roots of the plants spread, was 186°. This was the more remarkable, as the same species of Lycopodium or club-moss, for such it was thought to be, grows with great luxuriance, even in the winter season, on the bleak heaths of North Britain. On every part of the sloping surface of the island we met with swamps and stagnant pools of hot water, varying in temperature from 80° to 130°. The soil is of a spongy porous texture, and the ground feels tremulous under the feet. Wherever the ear is applied to the surface, a bubbling noise may be heard like the boiling of water. Most of the springs are rather brackish, but one in particular on the side of the great crater is strongly chalybeate, and the temperature only 112°. From the perusal of a paper in the 20th volume of the Philosophical Transactions, we were prepared to meet with springs of boiling water; and on the strength of the information contained in the said paper, "that the fish caught in the cold "water might instantly be boiled in the hot," we took care to provide ourselves with plenty of fishing-tackle. We caught

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great numbers of a red coloured perch, from six inches to a foot in length, of most excellent flavour, which, with true Epicurean want of feeling, we had the cruelty to drop living off the hook into the boiling springs, where it required just fifteen minutes to cook them in perfection. Whether it was owing to the novelty of the mode of preparation, or to long abstinence from good fish, or to the real intrinsic excellence of this species of perch, I am not able to decide, but the repast was universally pronounced to be delicious. We caught here also another species of perch in great abundance, which in my opinion was still superior to the red one. It measured from three to four feet in length, the back fin undivided, and the body marked with three brown and three white alternate longitudinal stripes. The quantity of cray-fish that were crawling on the bar of the entrance into the crater, at low water, is incredible; and their voracity for dead carcases was so great, that if a seal, plenty of which were lying on the causeways, was thrown in, they swarmed to it in such multitudes that a boat load might be picked up by the hand in a very short space of time. Nor were these marine insects less plentiful in the open sea where the ships were lying at anchor. Baskets let down into the sea, with morsels of bacon within them, or pieces of shark's flesh, were immediately drawn up again full of cray-fish. These and the large perch, rock-cod, and bream, were caught in such abundance that, I believe, a provision of fish for six days was laid in for the two ships' companies, consisting nearly of six hundred men. A whole shark, near eleven feet in length, was cut up as bait for cray-fish. Four young sharks were found alive in the stomach of this voracious animal; but whether they had been devoured

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by the old one, or had voluntarily fled thither for protection, was a contested point among our medical gentlemen. One declared that he had more than once seen their own young egorged from the stomach of the old ones when taken; and that once in particular he had observed a dozen Saw fish (a species of shark, the *Squalus Pristis*) springing alive out of the mother's mouth, after it had been hoisted out of the sea upon the deck of the ship. Doctor Moseley, who has written on the subject and ought to be considered as good authority, has observed that the young sharks always retreat into the stomach of the old ones in time of danger; an observation, indeed, that was made two centuries before his time. Sir Richard Hawkins, who sailed on a voyage to South America in the year 1593, expressly says that he has frequently seen the young sharks go into, and out of, the mouth of the dam, and that he has found them in the stomach; so that Linnæus is probably mistaken in supposing that this fish devours its own young. John Hunter decidedly proved that the living principle, in particular classes of land animals, is endued with the power of resisting the action of the gastric juice; but the difficulty of making experiments on the digestive faculties of the stomachs of fishes leaves it undetermined whether the same principle is capable of exerting a greater or less degree of power in this class of animals. The nature indeed of digestion, with all the experiments of Hunter and Spallanzani, seems to be yet but imperfectly understood; but facts have sufficiently proved that it is exceedingly different in different animals. The shark gulps indiscriminately into its voracious maw the bones and shells of animals, large iron hooks, tarred ropes, and the clothing of such human creatures as unfortunately

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become its victims. Sticks and stones and pieces of iron are digested by the ostrich. The secretary bird (the *Falco Serpentarius*) will take into his stomach whole living snakes of the most venomous kind, toads, and scorpions, without suffering from such an assemblage the least inconvenience. That such is the fact, with regard to the food of this bird, I can speak with confidence. I have seen their young in the nest surrounded with wounded but living snakes: and the following circumstance puts the matter beyond all doubt.—An English gentleman who held an official situation at the Cape of Good Hope, being out on a shooting party, killed one of these birds, which he carried home with the intention of having an accurate drawing made from it. He threw it on the floor of the balcony before the house, where, after it had remained some time and been examined and tossed about, one of the company observed the head of a large snake pushing open the bill, out of which it speedily crawled, in perfect vigour, and free from any injury. On the supposition that others might still be in the stomach, the bird was suspended by the legs, and presently a second snake made its appearance, as large and as lively as the first. The bird was afterwards opened, when the stomach was found to contain several dead snakes, with a half digested mass of lizards and scorpions, scolopendras, centipedes, and beetles.

Except on the coast of Spitsbergen, I never saw so vast an assemblage of whales, grampusses, porpoises, sea-lions, and seals, as were constantly either playing their gambols, or fighting and devouring each other, between the ships' anchorage and the entrance of the crater. A fish, apparently

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a species of *delphinus* or porpoise, probably that which is usually called the Thrasher, was observed to attack the whale with great violence, whenever the latter ventured to heave his huge back out of the surface of the sea, lashing it with its tail and fins, the strokes of which the great monster seemed to have no means of repelling but by rolling round in the water. It was dangerous even for the boats to row among these large animals, which it would seem were still more numerous on the first discovery of the island, as in the paper above alluded to it is observed, "That the people "of *Van Vlaming*'s ship found the sea so full of seals and sea-"lions, that they were obliged to kill them to get a passage "through, when they steered for the shore; there was also "an astonishing number of fish." Not only the sea but the whole coast, in the mornings and evenings, swarmed with seals and sea-lions.

The number of birds was likewise astonishing, and the two causeways were strewed with their eggs. During our short stay on shore we obtained the following birds:

Diomedea Demersa,	The White and the Brown Albatross.
——— *Exulans*,	
Aptenodyta Chrysocome,	Crested Penguin.
Procellaria Equinoctialis,	Black Petrel.
——— *Puffinus*,	Puffin.
——— *Grisea*,	Grey Petrel.
——— *Pelagica*,	Stormy Petrel.
——— *Forsteri*,	Blue Petrel.

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Sterna Hirundo	Silver Bird, or Sea Swallow.
Anas,	A small brown Duck, not much larger than a thrush, and apparently not described by naturalists.

Not a single land bird, nor a quadruped of any sort, nor even an insect, except flies, was met with on the island.

The number of plants was very limited as to genus and species, though there was no want of verdure. They consisted chiefly of mosses and other genera of the cryptogamous class, and a few species of grasses; but we did not observe a frutescent plant on the whole island. The following were the only specimens we brought on board, but we had collected several others which were unfortunately left behind:

Sonchus Oleracea,
Apium Petroselinum,
Marchantia Polymorpha,
Sagina Procumbens,
Polypodium,
Arundo Arenaria,
Arundo Altera,
Asplenium,
Blechnum,
Lycopodium.

Beside several species of the marine plants, Ulvæ, Fuci, &c.

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It was curious enough to observe that the greater part of the plants found on this new island were products of Europe; and the question was equally difficult of solution, how any plants, European or Indian, should first have been brought upon two little specks of land, situated in the middle of the ocean, half way between the coasts of New Holland and Madagascar, at the distance of two thousand English miles from the nearest shore. Were they borne on the wind, wafted by the waves, or carried by the fowls of the air; or were their rudiments, after lying for ages dormant in the bowels of the earth, thrown up, by the agency of subterranean fire, into a situation favourable for vegetable life to burst forth? The mind of man, ever active in its inquiries, may be prompted to ask such questions, though without the hope of ever being furnished with a satisfactory solution. The natural historian, in contemplating facts like these, cannot fail, however, to be most forcibly impressed with the wise and benevolent designs of the great Author of the universe, which to him are so apparent in all the works of the creation, and in none more so than in the providential means he has thought fit to employ for the wide dissemination of plants. Some he will perceive to be supplied with such multitudes of seeds, others so completely protected against injuries, some so amply provided with hooks to hold with, and others with feathers to bear them through the air, that, by the assistance of the wind, rain, rivers, birds and insects, a single pair of plants of every species, according to the opinion of Linnæus, growing on the first little island that may be supposed to have peeped out of the universe of waters, will be deemed sufficient, without human aid, to stock the whole surface of the globe. This great naturalist tells us that a single seed of poppy will in one year yield 32,000 seeds;

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and that 40,000 plants of tobacco have been produced from one individual. And as an instance of the actual dispersion of vegetables, this accurate observer asserts that an American plant, of the genus *Erigeron*, which was first brought into Europe scarcely a century ago, and cultivated in the botanical garden at Paris, had, in his time, spontaneously spread itself over all France, Italy, Sicily, Flanders, and Germany.

The neighbouring island of St. Paul is wholly covered with an impenetrable thicket of coppice wood. Like Amsterdam it is also of volcanic origin, and the shore is said to be surrounded with pumice stone. It may, therefore, be reasonably conjectured that of the two islands St. Paul is considerably the earlier creation.

It is observed by Valentyn that, when William de Vlaming visited this island in 1696, the pond (meaning the crater) was separated by a ridge of rocks from the sea about twenty paces, over which the seals clambered; that it was shaped like a half moon, and about a pistol-shot in length. From the description which I have just given it will readily be perceived that a very material change has been effected in the course of one hundred years, probably by some fresh eruption having taken place. The same writer mentions likewise a reef of rocks near the crater that jutted into the sea to the distance of about a gun-shot, which at that time were observed to be in a burning state. These were no doubt the same as that of which the basaltic rock I have described forms a part. This is still perfectly naked; and Vlaming found only on the great island a few reeds, and here and

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there among the rocks a very few plants that were not unlike parsley. The whole island, indeed, wears every indication of having been a very recent production of subterraneous fire, which is still burning at no great distance from the surface. Such at least appears to have been the case. But geological science is yet in its infancy. With all the various systems that have been written to explain the structure, the constitution, and the external appearances of the earth, and with all the aid which modern chemistry has lent to such investigations, our real knowledge extends only to a very shallow depth below the surface. One melts the globe by fire, and throws its most prominent features out of the ocean by the expansive force of steam; another supposes that the regular and uniform strata, observed in what has been called secondary countries, could only have been effected by the agency of water. Both may perhaps be right: and I dare say if Dr. Hutton and Mr. Kirwan could examine the island of Amsterdam, they would each of them produce it as an admirable elucidation, one of the Plutonic and the other of the Neptunian theory; for the materials have evidently undergone complete fusion, and they are laid in regular and horizontal strata.

Whether, indeed, it be admitted that stratified mountains have been melted by heat or deposited by water, many of them bear the most unequivocal proofs of having once been immersed under the ocean; and the grand question seems to be reduced to this single point, whether the sea has retired from them, or they have been raised out of the sea? If, laying hypothesis aside, we are satisfied to rest on the analogy

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of facts, we shall perhaps conclude in favour of the latter opinion. The expansive force of steam, under certain circumstances, is beyond calculation; and steam is unquestionably formed in all volcanic explosions, as the presence of a vast body of water seems to be indispensably necessary in these operations of nature: for the greater part of, if not all, real volcanoes are either islands, or are situated so near the sea as to have received a supply of water from it. It is well known that a torrent of boiling water rolled down the sides of mount Etna about the middle of last century, and the same circumstance has happened more than once in Vesuvius. It is also now understood that the earth contains a variety of substances, and those in large quantities; which, in contact with water, will cause ignition, and others that will support it without the presence of air. If then, by means of a rent or chasm in the bottom of the sea, a sufficient quantity of water be brought to act on a proportionate mass of materials capable of supporting ignition, the steam generated in consequence must heave up the superincumbent earth, and probably, on some occasions, without disturbing the arrangement of its parts as they existed at the bottom of the sea previous to the eruption, except immediately in those places where the explosion burst out. Thus we see in many islands of volcanic origin, as Teneriffe and Madeira, large portions of the surface where the action of fire is not in the least discernible. That new islands are produced from time to time, and probably in this manner, history affords us various instances. One of the most considerable of the Lipari islands, called *Vulcano*, was created in the time of the Roman republic. Since the seventh century of the Christian æra three distinct

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islands have been thrown up in the Archipelago. In 1638, an island about the size of Amsterdam was thrown up among the Azores or Western Islands; and in 1757, in the same cluster near that called St. George, eighteen small islands appeared above the surface of the sea, after a tremendous and destructive earthquake which continued eight days; but they gradually subsided, and at last altogether disappeared; that part of the sea where they rose being, however, very materially decreased in the depth of water.

Since then it admits of proof that islands and mountains do spring up from time to time, and no grounds can be produced to shew that the smallest hill has been left uncovered by the retreat of the ocean, an ingenious theorist might employ this argument with success to prove that the sea, in the lapse of ages, may totally disappear within the crust of the earth, which would thus revert to the egg of the ancient philosophers; whose shell again bursting might cause a new deluge and a new creation. What changes may happen in eternity of duration and infinity of space, equally incomprehensible to the mind of man, are hidden, no doubt for wise and good purposes, from finite beings; but reason and observation, independent of sacred or profane history, clearly point out that the earth we inhabit has undergone, and is continually undergoing, a great variety of changes; but when or in what manner the most important of them have been brought about, we must either be content with what the sacred writings have communicated on the subject, attributing them to an omnipotent and preternatural cause, or continue to amuse ourselves with vague conjectures; for neither the theory of the Neptunists

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nor of the Plutonists, though both may serve to explain many of the inferior phenomena, will by any means solve the most difficult and important that present themselves to the researches of the natural philosopher. Thus, difficult as it may seem to account for the traces of the sea on secondary mountains, it is not less so to explain from whence proceeded the multitude of bones of elephants, rhinosceroses, buffalos, and the huge mammoth, with others not existing in any part of the creation at the present day, which occur in Siberia, and even on islands in the midst of the icy sea, where, according to modern travellers, the soil is almost wholly composed of them. These and many other organic remains of the old world, found in climates where they could not possibly have supported life, give some colour of argument in favour of the ingenious and well-told theory of Mr. Bailly, contained in his letters on the Atlantic island of Plato, where he supposes that these northern regions, now condemned to everlasting frost and snows, were not always

"Dark Cimmerian deserts;"

but that they might once have enjoyed a happy temperature of climate, a productive soil furnishing a supply of food for those animals whose remains are found in such abundance buried in the earth, their form remaining but their nature totally changed. A different inclination of the earth's axis to its orbit, being quite sufficient to explain the phenomenon, has generally been resorted to for this purpose; but I am rather surprized that, among the various causes which have been assigned for altering the position of the axis with regard to the plane of the earth's orbit, the reactive force of volcanic eruptions has

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never been called in aid (at least I do not recollect it has) of such an hypothesis. The power that was required to heave up Heckla and the volcanic mountains near Kamskatka, and which can hurl rocks some thousand feet into the air, may be supposed to produce, by its reactive force, a very considerable impression on the globe of the earth, especially when exerted near the poles, and if it can be supposed to act in a direction, not to the centre, but perpendicular to its axis.—But I am rambling into the wilds of theory, whilst my business at present is only with facts.

If the smoke and the fires of Amsterdam had excited our curiosity, the discovery of two or three human beings running along the shore, as our ships approached it, on so miserable a spot, and so distant from any other land except the little neighbouring island of St. Paul, caused a still greater degree of astonishment. On landing we found five men, very ill dressed and squalid in their appearance, three of whom were French, and two English. Their chief was a Frenchman, of the name of Perron, who informed us that they had been landed, about five months before, from a small vessel fitted out of the Isle of France, for the purpose of preparing a cargo of seal-skins for the China market; that the weather when they landed was bad, and continued incessantly so very boisterous for forty days as to prevent all communication with their vessel, which at the end of that time put to sea and continued her voyage to Nootka Sound; and that they did not expect her back for twelve months to come. That, by her being thus so unexpectedly driven away, they were left destitute of every kind of provision, except a little hard bis-

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cuit and rice; but that, luckily for them, they had hitherto found an abundant supply in the different kinds of fish, birds, and eggs, which they dressed with the fresh oil of seals instead of butter. They all lived in one small miserable hut, as dirty and offensive as that of an Hottentot; and it was surrounded on every side by the dead carcases of seals and sea-lions. The birds, they observed, had a strong fishy taste, to which, however, long habit had reconciled them: those that were the least so were the blue petrel and the little brown duck. They laboured under constant apprehensions of the scurvy making its appearance, for want of some vegetable food to correct the humours which they supposed a fishy and oily diet must necessarily occasion; and, indeed, it seems to furnish no weak proof of the healthiness of the climate, that five men, living together for five months under such circumstances, should have escaped every kind of disease. They had prepared already about eight thousand skins, and expected before the return of the vessel to procure about twenty thousand more; and as each person had a considerable interest in the adventure, they expressed no desire to leave the island till the accomplishment of their undertaking. We left them a little vinegar and a few potatoes; and our gardeners planted some of the latter in those spots where there was the greatest depth of soil.

These poor adventurers, as we have since been informed, met with a hard return for the great sacrifices they had been induced to make in the hope of gain. While we were in the northern parts of China, the Lion, in her passage to Canton, fell in with their little vessel; and the report of hostilities be-

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tween England and France having reached Canton, she was captured as French property, and sold upon the spot. Twelve months after the time fixed on for her return to Amsterdam, the poor fellows, hearing nothing of their vessel, concluded she must have been lost, and therefore resolved to embark on the first ship that should call at the island. It happened to be an American, the master of which took them and their cargo of skins on board, in consideration of his sharing a certain proportion of the money they should sell for. The ship steered for New Holland, where the men were landed, after which she set sail for the China market with her cargo of skins, leaving the proprietors behind to shift for themselves. Such, at least, is the story we were told at the Cape of Good Hope.

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CHAP. VII.

THE STRAIT OF SUNDA AND ISLAND OF JAVA.

Comparison between the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro and the Strait of Sunda—Swallows' Nests—Anjerie Point—Number of Sharks—Tomb of Colonel Cathcart—The Thousand Islands—The Fabrics of marine Worms—Coral Islands more favourable for Plants than those of volcanic Origin—Bay of Batavia—Site of Batavia—Bad Taste of the Dutch—Description of Batavia—Population—Great Mortality—Temperature—Diseases—Productions of Java in the mineral and vegetable Kingdoms—Cocoa, Mangostan, Mango, Rambootan, Poolosang, &c.—Curious, useful, or beautiful Plants—The Nepenthes, or Pitcher Plant—The Upas—Effect of poisonous Substances—Hydrophobia, curious Case of—Animals.

We took our departure from the burning island of Amsterdam on the 2d of February, and on the 26th of the same month entered the strait of Sunda; the passage of which to the usual anchorage of the East India Company's ships, near North Island, (so called from its position in the northern mouth of the strait,) occupied three days. The features of the two grand islands of Sumatra and Java, between which this strait is formed, and indeed of all the smaller ones which are interspersed around them, are distinguished in a very peculiar manner by the luxuriance, softness, and amenity of their native tints of verdure. In sailing up the magnificent harbour of Rio de Janeiro, the varied hues of rude and un-

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cultivated nature, mingled with the still more varied shades produced by human industry, and heightened and rendered more prominent by the contrast of rugged and naked mountains, imparted to the surrounding prospect an infinite diversity, which the eye could not behold, nor the mind contemplate, without experiencing that succession of new delight which variety seldom fails to communicate; but here, in the strait of Sunda, and particularly on the island of Sumatra, which forms its left or western boundary, all is vegetation and verdure—all repose, and yet not a single marked point for the eye to rest on. The colour of the picture is one mass of soft and luxuriant green, which, though the most agreeable and delightful of tints, is particularly heavy unless relieved by variety. The eye of the painter, whether it wanders in search of scenery whose character is softness, or rudeness, or picturesqueness, still requires variety; like the taste of the epicure, it is seldom contented to feast on simple food, or to sit down to a single dish, however richly it may be seasoned. To a moral philosopher the appearance of an unbounded and unbroken forest, like that on Sumatra, is productive of few consoling reflections, being the sure indication of a paucity of human inhabitants, and of the little progress made by those few in the arts of civilization. On the opposite shore of Java the forests are considerably broken, and the intermediate patches of cleared ground exhibit evident marks of cultivation.

Of the many little islands scattered over the surface of the strait we visited only two, that are situated at no great distance from the shore of Java. They are known to seamen

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by the names of the *Cap* and the *Button*. In a deep cavern, washed by the sea into the side of the former, we disturbed such a multitude of bats and swallows, that we were literally driven back by the successive vollies in which they assailed us. The bats in particular were excessively troublesome, by flying entirely at random, owing to their imperfect vision on encountering the light at the mouth of the cave. The swallows were of that species which, in the *Systema Naturæ*, is called *Esculenta*, from the abundant use made of their nests in Chinese cookery. We found some thousands of these nests attached to the sides of the cavern, some containing young birds, and others eggs. The nests were of an oval shape, slightly joined to each other at the extremities of the longest diameter, and placed in regular and continued rows. Their external coating appeared to be the filaments of some species of sea-weed, cemented together by a viscous substance, which was collected probably on the sea-shore: stripped of this coating they were about an eighth of an inch in thickness, had much the appearance of a piece of hard glue, semi-transparent, and evidently composed of the same kind of gelatinous matter which kept together the exterior fibres, and with which the stones and marine plants on the shores of the island were covered. On the *Button* island we shot an *iguana*, which measured four feet in length, and the flesh of which, when roasted, was as white and delicate as that of a chicken.

Half way up the strait, on the Java shore, there is a considerable village called *Anjerie*, where ships may conveniently be supplied with water, and every kind of refreshment which the island affords in great abundance, and on terms

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sufficiently reasonable. For instance, we purchased from fifteen to twenty common fowls for a dollar, five fine capons for the same sum, and the price of a moderate sized buffalo was not more than ten or twelve dollars. The natives usually come off in their canoes, to ships which may anchor here, with plentiful supplies of the fruits peculiar to the island, and other vegetables that may be in season. The air is dry and pleasant; and a cool refreshing breeze descends from the high lands of Java, spreading its fragrance to a distance much beyond the anchorage of the ships. Yet because this side of the strait is occasionally subject to calms, which may sometimes have caused the delay of two or three days at the utmost, few of the outward-bound China ships touch at *Anjerie*, preferring to take in a fresh supply of wood and water at North Island, or rather on the Sumatra shore opposite to this island, where only wood and water are procurable, and where numbers of seamen yearly fall a sacrifice either to Malay treachery, from the plunderers who are always lurking among the forests on this part of the coast, or to the unhealthiness of the place, occasioned by the heavy nightly fogs that hang over this low swampy shore, and the noxious vapours arising from the putrefactive fermentation of vegetable matter; an operation which, in this region of the world, is incessantly carrying on. We had full experience of the conveniencies of the one place and the disadvantages of the other, both on the outward-bound passage and on our return, to induce us on every consideration to give a decided preference to *Anjerie* point: and surely the delay of a few days, or even a week, in a voyage of such long duration, is

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an object of small importance, when compared with the health, the safety, and the comfort, of a ship's company.

In no other part of the world do I recollect to have observed such shoals of sharks as are constantly prowling near the shore at *Anjerie*, attracted no doubt by the offals that float down the river or are thrown upon the beach. When on board the Hindostan, at this anchorage, I hooked one of these voracious animals from the stern gallery, in doing which, however, I had a very narrow escape from being dragged by it into the sea. No sooner did the fish feel the hook in its jaw than, plunging towards the bottom, he drew the line to its full stretch, which, being entangled in the railing of the gallery, swept away at once a great part of the balustrade. In the rapidity with which the rope ran out, a coil of it got round my arm, but just as I was forced among the wreck, the shark, by darting back to the surface, slackened the rope sufficiently to enable me to disengage my arm and to get clear. Greatly as I was alarmed at this accident, a poor Javanese appeared to be still more so, who happened at that moment to be astern of the ship, paddling his canoe with a load of fruit and vegetables. His apprehension lest the wounded shark, in rolling and plunging and lashing the water with its fins and tail, should overturn his little skiff, which was not much larger than the animal itself, his exertions to get out of its reach, and the marks of terror that were visible on his countenance, struck our fellow traveller, Alexander, so forcibly that, though of momentary duration, he caught with his pencil a spirited sketch; which, having

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Drawn by W. Alexander

Engraved by T. Medland

Savages and wounded Shark.

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the merit at least of being a true representation of a Javanese canoe, with its paddle and bamboo outrigger, was considered as not unworthy of being put into the engraver's hands. The shark being killed with a harpoon, was then hoisted upon deck and opened. The contents of its stomach formed a mass of such magnitude and variety as can scarcely be conceived. It consisted, among other articles, of the complete head of a female buffalo, a whole calf, a quantity of entrails and of bones, and large fragments of the upper and under shells of a considerable sized turtle. The length of the shark was ten feet eight inches.

The Dutch have established a small fort at *Anjerie* point, consisting of a low earthen embankment, surrounded with a palisade of bamboo, and mounted with half a dozen four-pounder guns, some of them without carriages, but others preserved apparently with so much care from the weather as to be surrounded with a roof of thatch. The whole garrison was composed of a serjeant, a corporal, and six privates; and was intended as a protection to the village against Malay pirates, and, at the same time, as a post to receive and convey dispatches or intelligence to and from Batavia across the country, when any of their own ships or those of an enemy might make their appearance in the strait. This little fort, however insignificant in itself, was nevertheless not wholly uninteresting to us, from the circumstance of its containing, within the palisade, the remains of the late Colonel Cathcart, who died in the strait of Banca, when on his mission as Ambassador from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. The companions of his voyage erected in this fort a

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wooden monument to his memory bearing a suitable inscription, of which, being a perishable material, the friends and relatives of the deceased may not be displeased to see an accurate representation.

On entering the strait we fell in with an homeward-bound Indiaman, which had left at Batavia a dispatch from China, addressed to Lord Macartney. This circumstance, added to other considerations, made it expedient for the squadron to proceed thither as soon as we should have completed the necessary supply of wood, water, and refreshments. Nothing could possibly be more delightful than the short passage between North Island and Batavia, along the northern coast of Java. The distance is about ninety miles; the sea is rarely ruffled with a gust of wind, but is smooth as the serpentine river in Hyde Park; and the crowd of little islands rising out of its surface is so immensely great, that even the indefatigable Dutch, who are accustomed to deal in detail, despairing in this instance of being able to assign to each a distinct name, have given to the whole groupe the general appellation of the *Thousand Islands*. Every one of these numerous islets is completely clothed with an unvarying tint of the more lively verdure; and though their surfaces are flat and little elevated above that of the sea, yet the tall trees which grow on most of them appear, from a distance, just like so many fleets of ships. Some of them are skirted by smooth sandy beaches, where turtles in abundance resort; but on the greater part, the branches and the roots of the trees strike into the salt water.

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Drawn by W. Alexander

Engraved by T. Medland

Tomb of Hon.ble Cathcart in the Fort of St. Jago.

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The whole groupe of the *Thousand Islands*, and indeed the greater part of all those whose surfaces are flat in the neighbourhood of the equator, owe their origin to the labours of that order of marine worms which Linnæus has arranged under the name of Zoophyta. These little animals, in a most surprizing manner, construct their calcareous habitations under an infinite variety of forms, yet with that order and regularity, each after its own manner, which, to the minute inquirer, is so discernible in every part of the creation. But although the eye may be convinced of the fact, it is difficult for the human mind to conceive the possibility of insects so small being endued with the power, much less of being furnished in their own bodies with the materials, of constructing the immense fabrics which, in almost every part of the Eastern and Pacific oceans lying between the tropics, are met with in the shape of detached rocks, or reefs of great extent just even with the surface, or islands already clothed with plants, whose bases are fixed at the bottom of the sea several hundred feet in depth, where light and heat, so very essential to animal life, if not excluded, are sparingly received and feebly felt. Thousands of such rocks and reefs and islands are known to exist in the Eastern ocean, within, and even beyond, the limits of the tropics. The eastern coast of New Holland is almost wholly girt with reefs and islands of coral rock, rising perpendicularly from the bottom of the abyss. Captain Kent of the Buffalo, speaking of a coral reef of many miles in extent, on the south-west coast of New Caledonia, observes that " it is level with the water's " edge, and, towards the sea, as *steep to* as the wall of a " house; that he sounded frequently within twice the ship's

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" length of it with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms, " or nine hundred feet, without being able to reach the " bottom." How wonderful, how inconceivable, that such stupendous fabrics should rise into existence from the silent, but incessant and almost imperceptible, labours of such insignificant worms!

From the soft and leather-like consistence of the tubulated surfaces of the coral fabrics, it would appear that as the old animals die and their calcareous cells become rigid, succeeding generations continue their operations on the upper and lateral surfaces, each according to the particular form which nature has prescribed; for the texture and construction of the rocks are very different in different parts of them; and though they have received the general denomination of coral, few of them are of that description which, from their ramifications resembling the roots and branches of trees, led the ancient naturalists to conclude that they might form an intermediate class of organized beings, partaking of the double nature of plants and animals. It is true, the fragile branches of corals and corallines being easily broken, their materials may, by some process, be cemented together, and contribute to the formation of the amorphous bases of coral islands; but the great masses of rock appear to be composed chiefly of madrepores, cellipores, and tubipores. In order to ascertain whether the central part, as well as the shore, of North Island consisted of these substances, we removed the soil, and at the depth of about three feet found large blocks of madrepores, and various cellular masses of calcareous formation; and, among other articles, we dug up a very large shell

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of the *Chama gigas*, supposed to be the largest species of shell-fish that exists in the universe. One of the old Dutch navigators observes, that thirty of his people made a very comfortable supper of a single cockle, for the relation of which it may readily be supposed he obtained very little credit. The gigantic *Chama*, which was the Dutchman's cockle, is, however, sufficiently large for the purpose; near the shores of the island we found several of these shells, some of which could not be of less weight than four hundred pounds the pair.

It is sufficiently remarkable that, although different kinds of what are usually called corals or corallines are found on the shores of the West India islands, no huge masses of rock, nor reefs, nor islands wholly composed of this material, have been discovered. A process of creation, carried on by such minute and imperceptible gradation, may probably require a *pacific* ocean, and be liable to too much interruption from the hurricanes of the Atlantic, or from the stream which, sweeping round the Cape of Good Hope, sets with rapidity through the gulf of Mexico and beyond the banks of Newfoundland. When we reflect, however, that a very large proportion of the multitude of islands which are found between the tropics, in the opposite hemisphere, have been created by the meanest and most insignificant of animated beings, so very insignificant indeed that many of the species have not yet been discovered by man, "it is impossible," as Sir George Staunton has well observed, "not to be struck with the diversified "operations of nature for obtaining the same end, whether "employed in originally fixing the granite foundation of the

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" Brazils; or in throwing up, by some sudden and subse-
" quent convulsion, the island of Amsterdam; or in con-
" tinuing to this hour, through the means of animated beings,
" the formation of new islands in the strait of Sunda."

The number and the magnitude of those wonderful fabrics, dispersed over the Eastern ocean, and daily increasing in bulk and extent, furnish no weak support to that theory which supposes all marbles, limestones, and every species of calcareous rock, to have been the production of animated beings; a theory that is rendered still more plausible from the myriads of minute shells found in many of them, and of which some of the most beautiful of the marbles are almost wholly composed.

It cannot escape observation that no sooner have the points of the coral rocks reached the surface, so as to form a barrier for the accretion of adventitious matter floating on the waves, and by its accumulation rise into an islet, than the seeds of the vegetable world burst into life: for all the islands of coral formation, perhaps without a single exception, are covered with plants. If then it really be the fact that new islands are thus continually forming, we shall be borne out in the conclusion that a combination of animal and calcareous matter is more favourable to the production and growth of vegetables than the materials of such newly created islands as owe their origin to subterraneous fires. It would be inconsistent to suppose that, where new surfaces are continually arising and yet no nakedness appears, the same slow progress had gradually taken place from the humble and almost un-

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organized lichen to the tall tree of the forest, which is considered to be the ordinary and gradual process of vegetation in volcanic countries.

In no port nor harbour, since our departure from Portsmouth, had we met with so great a number of shipping as were collected in the bay of Batavia. Large Dutch Indiamen, mostly dismantled for want of men; English trading vessels from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; immense Chinese junks, whose singular forms seemed to bespeak an antiquity as remote as that of Noah's ark; Malay proas, and Javanese canoes; with three or four French ships carrying into the Eastern world, in addition to the natural products of their country, the monstrous doctrines of the Rights of Man, were promiscuously riding at anchor in the road of Batavia. The practical part of these novel doctrines was grievously complained of by the officers of one of the French ships. The crew, it seems, had one day taken it into their heads that, by virtue of the sacred and inalienable principle of all men being equal, they had a right to enjoy as good a dinner as their officers, no matter who should pay for it; and accordingly, having followed the dishes into the cabin, they seated themselves at table, inviting, in the most obliging manner, the Captain and other officers to partake of their own dinner with them. These gentlemen, however, finding their authority and their property at stake, thought it prudent to make application to the government of Batavia for a few German troops to instruct their crew in the rights of discipline, and in the duties of obedience and subordination.

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The bay of Batavia is circumscribed on the south by the coast of Java, and by fifteen or sixteen small islands interspersed in every direction from the east round by the north to the west. Its capacity is perhaps sufficiently great to contain the whole navy of England; it is perfectly secure at all seasons, and the water is rarely disturbed in any violent degree by the winds. The principal islands that surround it are those which bear the names of *Onrust*, *Purmerent*, *Kuiper*, and *Edam*. On the first is the naval arsenal, store-houses, saw-mills, and work-shops of the artificers. It is encompassed with batteries, *à fleur d'eau*, which, however, afford only a feeble protection to the island, and none to the shipping in the bay, nor indeed to any of the passages leading into it. On *Purmerent*, which appears to be a very pleasant island, is situated an extensive naval hospital.

The coast of Java, on this side of the island, is so very flat, and so thickly covered with tamarind, cocoa nut, canary, and a variety of other trees, that no part of the city of Batavia, except the cupola of the great church, is visible from the ships in the bay, although the distance is little more than an English mile. The great plain on which this city stands seems indeed to be of alluvious production, and appears to be extending in such rapid progression that, with the assistance of the coral-making insects, it may not require the lapse of many centuries before the whole bay, together with the sweep of islands that encompass it, will become united with the Java continent. The mouth of the river, which empties its waters into the bay, has obviously travelled downwards more than a hun-

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dred yards in the short space of time which the Dutch have held the settlement. To prevent inundations, and to keep open a free communication with the bay, they found it necessary to run out two stone piers five hundred yards in length; and the land has now advanced nearly to their extreme points; so that it may again be expedient, before the expiration of half a century to come, to extend the work still farther into the bay. The *Water Castle* with its four bastions, so called from its being once insulated, has long been left on the western bank of the river, in seamen's language, *high and dry;* where, however, it still appears to be no less useful than before, as a work of defence to the entrance of the river.

In making choice of the present site of the city of Batavia, the predilection of the Dutch for a low swampy situation evidently got the better of their prudence; and the fatal consequences that have invariably attended this choice, from its first establishment to the present period, irrefragably demonstrated by the many thousands who have fallen a sacrifice to it, have nevertheless been hitherto unavailing to induce the government either altogether to abandon the spot for another more healthy, or to remove the local and immediate causes of a more than ordinary mortality. Never were national prejudices and national taste so injudiciously misapplied, as in the attempt to assimilate those of Holland to the climate and the soil of Batavia. Yet such has been the aim of the settlers, which they have endeavoured to accomplish with indefatigable industry. An extended plain of rich alluvious land,

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with a copious river serpentizing through it, in a stream of so easy and gentle a current that the water with great facility was capable of being conducted at pleasure; a tract of country holding out such easy means of being intersected by canals and ditches, and embellished with fish ponds; of being converted into gardens and villas, where draw-bridges for ornament and *trek-schuyts* for pleasure and convenience could be adopted, presented temptations too strong for Dutch taste to resist. Nothing, however, can possibly be more gratifying to the eye than the general appearance of the country which surrounds Batavia. Here no aridity, no sterility, no nakedness even partially intervene between the plantations of coffee, sugar, pepper, rice, and other valuable products, which are enclosed and divided by trees of the choicest fruits. In the immediate vicinity of the city, the extensive gardens of the Dutch, embellished with villas in the Oriental style, furnished with every convenience that a luxurious and voluptuous taste can suggest, are charming to behold from a little distance, but do not improve by a nearer acquaintance. The vitiated taste of Holland, delighting in straight avenues, trimmed hedges, myrtles and other evergreens cut into the *walls of Troy*, and flower-beds laid out in circles, squares, and polygons, are no less offensive to the eye than the numerous ditches and fish-ponds, from their stench and exhalations, are injurious to the health, besides being the nurseries of an innumerable host of frogs and mosquitoes.

In carrying into execution the plan of their new city, the first operation of the Dutch was to divide the river into two

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branches, in such manner as to insulate a quadrangular space of ground; and just within these new channels, which served as a wet ditch, to erect a wall of the height of about twenty feet, chiefly of coral rock. This wall they flanked with twenty redoubts or irregular projections, some of them mounting three guns, some two, and others none. Four great gates, with as many draw-bridges, communicated with the four suburbs. The citadel or the castle stands on the north side, or that next to the bay, without the walls of the city, being surrounded with its own wall from twenty-five to thirty feet high; and its four bastions, to denote the wealth and magnificence of the settlement, bear the splendid names of the Diamond, the Pearl, the Sapphire, and the Ruby: their materials, however, like those of the city wall, are chiefly composed of calcareous coral rock. The government house, a neat chapel, and nearly all the public offices, are within the enclosure of the castle. The different canals that surround and intersect the town, uniting just below the citadel, form a wide navigable river that flows in a gentle current into the bay. Across this river is thrown a wooden boom, a little below the castle, and opposite to the custom-house; and at a short distance farther down, on the west side, is the *Loo* fort, mounting seven or eight guns, all pointing down the river. On the opposite or eastern side there is also a battery as well as an extensive line, flanked with several redoubts, intended to cover the various magazines and stores, the gunpowder mills, saw-mills, timber-yard, foundery for casting cannon, with all the work-shops of the different artificers belonging to this once splendid establishment.

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All these works have evidently been planned with the view rather of keeping the natives in awe, than as adequate defences against the attack of European troops. The best defence, indeed, which may be reckoned upon against such an enemy, is that which the ravages of this destructive climate would almost immediately occasion among unseasoned troops; and it is to be hoped that this consideration will always operate with the British government as a sufficient reason for not attempting to wrest it out of the hands of the Dutch. For as the shipping may at any time be taken out of the bay by a superior naval force, their possession of the town and garrison cannot be of material injury to the interests of Great Britain, provided we have a strong and active squadron in the Indian seas.

Batavia, though not of an extraordinary size, nor embellished with buildings that are worthy of particular notice for elegance of design or magnificence of dimensions, may nevertheless be considered to rank among the neatest and the handsomest cities in the world. The ground plan is in the shape of a parallelogram, whose length from north to south is 4200 feet, and breadth 3000 feet. The streets are laid out in straight lines, and cross each other at right angles. Each street has its canal in the middle, cased with stone walls, which rise into a low parapet on the two margins. At the distance of six feet from this parapet wall is a row of evergreen trees, under the shade of which, on this intermediate space, are erected little open pavilions of wood, surrounded with seats, where the Dutch part of the inhabitants smoke their

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pipes and drink their beer in the cool of the evening. Beyond the trees is a gravelled road from thirty to sixty feet in width, terminated also on the opposite side by a second row of evergreens. This road is appropriated for the use of carriages, horses, cattle, and, as particularly pointed out by proclamation, for all *slaves*, who are strictly prohibited from walking on the flagged causeway in front of the houses, as they are also from wearing stockings and shoes, in order that their naked feet may be the means of making their condition notorious. This *trottoir* or footway is at least six feet wide; and as the breadth of the canals is generally the same as that of the carriage road, the whole width of the Batavian streets may be considered to run from 114 to 204 feet; and the city is said to contain twenty of such streets, with canals in the middle, over which they reckon about thirty stone bridges. The trees that embellish the streets are of different kinds, but the most common are two species of *Callophyllum*, called by botanists the *Inophyllum*, and the *Calaba*, the *Canarium Commune*, or canary-nut tree, the *Guettarda Speciosa*, with its odoriferous flowers, and the free, elegant, and spreading tamarind tree.

In the style and architecture of the public buildings there is little to praise and much to condemn. The Dutch, both at home and abroad, have hitherto resisted, with an obstinacy which indeed on most occasions influences the conduct of this nation, the introduction of the Greek and Roman models of architecture. The large octagon church is considered by the inhabitants as a master-piece of elegance in its design,

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and of neatness in the execution; and is carefully pointed out to the notice of visitors. The annexed engraving will enable the reader, in some measure, to form a judgment how far its merits are correspondent to the high notions they bestow on it. The inside, however, is fitted up with great neatness, and a magnificent and fine-toned organ occupies completely a side of the octagon. The pulpit of teak wood is a laborious piece of workmanship, which is executed in a good style of carving. The expence of finishing this church is calculated to have amounted to eighty thousand pounds. The other public buildings consist in a Lutheran and a Portugueze church, a Mahomedan mosque and a Chinese temple; the stadt-house, the spin-house, the infirmary, the chamber of orphans, and some other institutions of inferior note; beside a very convenient and extensive market for butchers' meat, poultry, fish, grain and vegetables. The private houses of the inhabitants, and particularly of those in the service of the East India Company, are generally of great dimensions; the rooms are lofty, the doors and windows large. Most of the wood work and the furniture within are painted of a light chocolate brown, and all the mouldings are gilt. The ground floors are flagged with smooth blue stones or square brown tiles which, being frequently washed in the course of the day, communicate a refreshing and an agreeable coolness to the lower apartments.

From a register that is kept of the taxable dwelling houses in the city and suburbs of Batavia, it appears that there are

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A Colonists Church at Batavia

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	Houses.
Within the walls	1993
In the south suburbs	508
In the suburbs near the Rotterdam gate	732
In the suburbs near the Utrecht gate, chiefly inhabited by Javanese and free Malays	760
In the Chinese town on the western side	1277
Making in the whole	5270

Which, together with the villages and villas within a circuit of ten miles round Batavia, contain a population of about 116,000 souls, consisting of

East India Company's servants of every description 800, and with their families	3,300
Burghers or free citizens 1138, and with their families	5,660
Javanese and free Malays	68,000
Chinese	22,000
Slaves	17,000
Total	115,960

But the total population within the extent of the government of Batavia is reckoned at 150,000 souls; that of all the other Dutch settlements on Java collectively at 230,000; and of the whole island, which, however, is little better than a guess, at 2,000,000.

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The mortality of Europeans in Batavia is far beyond what is known in any other settlement, exceeding, in the best of times, that in the most fatal of the West India islands. Of persons newly arrived the usual calculation is that three in five will die the first year; and, of the remaining survivors, the mortality is never considered to be less than from nine to twelve in the hundred, which is the usual proportion of seasoned Europeans, exclusive of infants. Among these, likewise, are not included either troops or seamen. The havock which this pernicious climate, added to their debaucheries and irregular conduct, occasion among these thoughtless people, is truly deplorable. The register of deaths in the military hospital in 62 years amounted to 78,000 persons, or 1258 every year; and as the establishment of European troops seldom exceeded 1500, and was generally less than half that number, it may fairly be concluded that every soldier who has been sent out to Batavia has perished there, which is I believe literally the fact. In 1791 a detachment of troops, hired by the Dutch from the Duke of Wirtemberg, was sent from the Cape of Good Hope to this place, contrary to the express terms on which they agreed to enter. It consisted of six officers and 270 men. The following year five of the officers and 150 privates had fallen a sacrifice to the climate. The condition of a German soldier, thus lent out by his mercenary master to fight the battles of a foreign power in the most destructive of all climates, is equally deplorable with that of a negro slave; and the petty princes who raise a revenue, for the support of their splendour, by such unwarrantable and inhuman means, deserve to be considered, in this respect, in a point of view not more favourable than the common traffickers in negro slaves.

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But the great mortality of Europeans in Batavia is by no means confined to the troops and the seamen. An extraordinary instance of the fatal effects of the climate, even among the seasoned Europeans, is related by Mr. Thunberg. Towards the end of the year 1775, he dined at the table of his friend Dr. Hoffman, in company with thirteen persons, all of whom, on his return from Japan in the month of January 1777, had paid the debt of nature, except the doctor and himself. I heard a young lady say that, in the course of ten months after their arrival, out of eleven persons of which her family consisted, her father, brother, and six sisters had fallen a sacrifice to the noxious air of Batavia We had indeed, in our own instance, a fatal proof of the malignancy of this climate. Notwithstanding every precaution that was taken for preserving the health of the crew, a dysentery accompanied with typhous fever was here brought on board, which continued with more or less severity during the remaining part of the voyage. We had not lost a man on our arrival at this place, but from hence to the end of the voyage there died not fewer than fifty men.

Of the 115,960 inhabitants of Batavia and its neighbourhood the mortality is rarely less than 4000 souls. The account is probably not kept with much accuracy, but the following numbers of the several classes of inhabitants may be considered as pretty nearly the truth.

	Deaths.		
Dutch, half-cast and families -	796	being	9 *per cent.*
Chinese - - -	769	——	$3\frac{1}{5}$
Natives and Malays - -	1485	——	$2_{\frac{1}{5}}$
Slaves - - -	1326	——	$7\frac{4}{5}$
Deaths in one year	4376	in	115,960

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Exclusive of the military, seamen, and slave children who are not registered. So that the effects of the climate, or, perhaps more strictly speaking, the circumstances under which the different descriptions of people live in this climate, are most destructive to the European settlers and their families, and to their slaves—to those who are most intemperate in their living, and to those who are at the complete mercy of the intemperate. The degree of heat is not, indeed, by any means so high as might be expected in a large tract of land so little removed from under the equinoctial line, and in a portion of it at a considerable distance from mountains or high grounds. The usual temperature, in the middle of the day, is from 84° to 86°; but it fluctuates from 76° to 96°. During night the thermometer seldom sinks below 72°, or rises higher than 76°. It is not, therefore, the great heat to which must be ascribed the destructive effects to the human race, so much as other circumstances connected with the local situation and the imprudent manner of living. Batavia is built on the midst of a swampy plain, out of which is constantly engendered a foul and contaminated atmosphere, stagnating over it in calm weather, and circulating through it from whatever quarter the wind may happen to blow. On that side of the city which is inland the industrious Chinese carry on their various manufactures, such as tanning leather, burning shells into lime, baking earthen ware, boiling sugar, and distilling arrack. Their rice grounds, their sugar plantations, and their gardens well stocked with all kinds of vegetables, surround the city. In these gardens, as in their own country, they sink large tubs or earthen vessels, into which are collected all sorts of animal and vegetable matter, to be converted by putrefactive fer-

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mentation into manure. Nor do the sea breezes, which in most of the tropical situations are cool and refreshing, afford any relief to Batavia. It is true they set in pretty regularly about ten in the morning, and continue till four or five in the afternoon; and the land breeze comes from the mountains towards nine or ten in the evening, continuing at intervals till day-break: but, as I have already observed, both the one and the other, in passing over the intermediate marshy ground, are equally impregnated with contagious vapours. The ditches within the city are many of them stagnant, and highly offensive; and the Dutch have the imprudent custom of burying their dead not only within the city walls but also in the churches. It is not, therefore, in the least surprizing that diseases of a fatal nature should prevail in such a country. The most common of these are dysenteries and putrid and inflammatory fevers, which in the course of a very few days, and sometimes in a few hours, prove fatal; or they terminate in a regular intermittent, which, settling in a quotidian or tertian ague, is afterwards with difficulty got rid of. The predisposition of the body for disease is such, that very slight wounds are frequently attended with gangrene or lock-jaw. Very few survive the age which is considered in Europe as the middle point of life.

The usual way of dividing the year, as in most tropical climates, is into the rainy and the dry seasons, the first setting in about November and continuing through April; but the Dutch, absurdly enough, both in speaking and writing, give names to the months as having some reference to their productions, or other circumstances which distinguish them, in

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Europe: thus, they have their *Hay month*, their *Wine month*, their *Flower month;* and, unluckily for their nomenclature, as used in this place, their *Winter month* happens when the sun is nearly vertical. Who would have suspected that the *Brumaire*, the *Germinal*, the *Floreal*, and almost the whole of the French republican calendar, were stolen from their Dutch friends, who have been in the constant use of it for centuries past? It is doubtful if the French will retain it so long, and whether, in their thirst for novelty, they may not propose to compliment the present august family on the throne by a transfer of their names to the calendar months, or, which would be more convenient for themselves and the rest of Europe, revert to the old ones which have stood the test of so many ages.

It has been observed that metals and other valuable productions of the mineral kingdom are usually found in the greatest abundance under poor and barren soils. Admitting the converse of this observation to be true, the surface of the island of Java, covered with a fertile soil and clothed with a redundant vegetation, holds out little encouragement for the researches of the mineralogist. There are, it is true, high and naked mountains in the central parts of the island, whose summits are occasionally wrapt in snow, and sometimes involved in the smoke of volcanic fires; but little is known of their structure and materials. Various eruptions are said to have happened since the Dutch first settled on the island, and slight shocks of earthquakes have frequently been felt; and in several places near the feet of the mountains are thermal springs, whose waters are impregnated with

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iron. Beyond these facts little if any thing is known to the Dutch. The soil of the island may generally be considered as pure vegetable mould, resting on clay, or argillaceous iron stone, or coarse lime-stone of a loose and porous texture, the remains, perhaps, of coral rocks crumbled into amorphous masses by the all-destroying hand of time. The northern coast is almost wholly girt by coral fabrics.

There are not, probably, many spots on the globe which, on the same space, can boast of so rich and varied a fund of vegetable productions as are to be found on the island of Java; of trees so remarkable for the grandeur and elegance of their appearance, the beauty and fragrance of their flowers, and the richness and variety of their fruits. To enumerate the valuable articles it produces towards supplying the necessities, the conveniencies, and the luxuries of mankind is a task for which I am not prepared, nor, if I were, would it be consistent with the plan of the present work, which professes only general description and observation; I shall mention, therefore, such only as are most remakable for their beauty, utility, or some peculiar quality, in the neighbourhood of Batavia.

Among the grand and numerous tribe of palms, the cocoa claims the first distinction. This tall and majestic tree, so abundantly spread over the low coasts of most of the Oriental islands, appears to be in Java of more luxuriant growth than I remember to have seen it elsewhere, towering sometimes to the astonishing height of 150 feet. The nut, when young, contains a milky fluid, of which the natives are excessively

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fond, and which they collect into pots suspended at the extremity of the branches. To fix these vessels is an operation which appears to be attended with no small degree of danger: rather than to take the trouble of ascending the high stem of each individual tree, the usual method is to lay poles horizontally from one to the other, and to crawl along these poles. The liquid that exudes through the footstalk of the young nut, or rather the germ out of which the nut is produced, is called by the Dutch, after passing the first stage of fermentation, palm wine; but it is seldom used by them, having a strong and disagreeable flavour. In the second stage, it becomes a pleasant vinegar. The uses, indeed, to which this liquid is applied are very various: it is a material ingredient in the distillation of arrack; if slowly evaporated over the fire, or in the open air, the residue is a coarse brown sugar. The pulpy substance of the nut, when ripe, is sweet and nutritive, the liquid it then contains agreeable and refreshing, and an oil of very extensive use is expressed from the kernel. This tree is, in fact, to the natives of Java what the bamboo is to those of China. Their humble dwellings are almost entirely constructed from the materials which it supplies. The principal posts or standards, the poles of the roof, the rafters and the laths, are hewn out of its stem; and its leaves are used for thatch. It furnishes them with various implements, utensils, and domestic furniture. The shell of the nut is converted into cups, whose surfaces are carved with great skill and neatness into a variety of figures and devices, exhibiting curious specimens of what may very properly be called "the laborious effects of idleness." The fibres of the husk, which covers the nut, are manufactured

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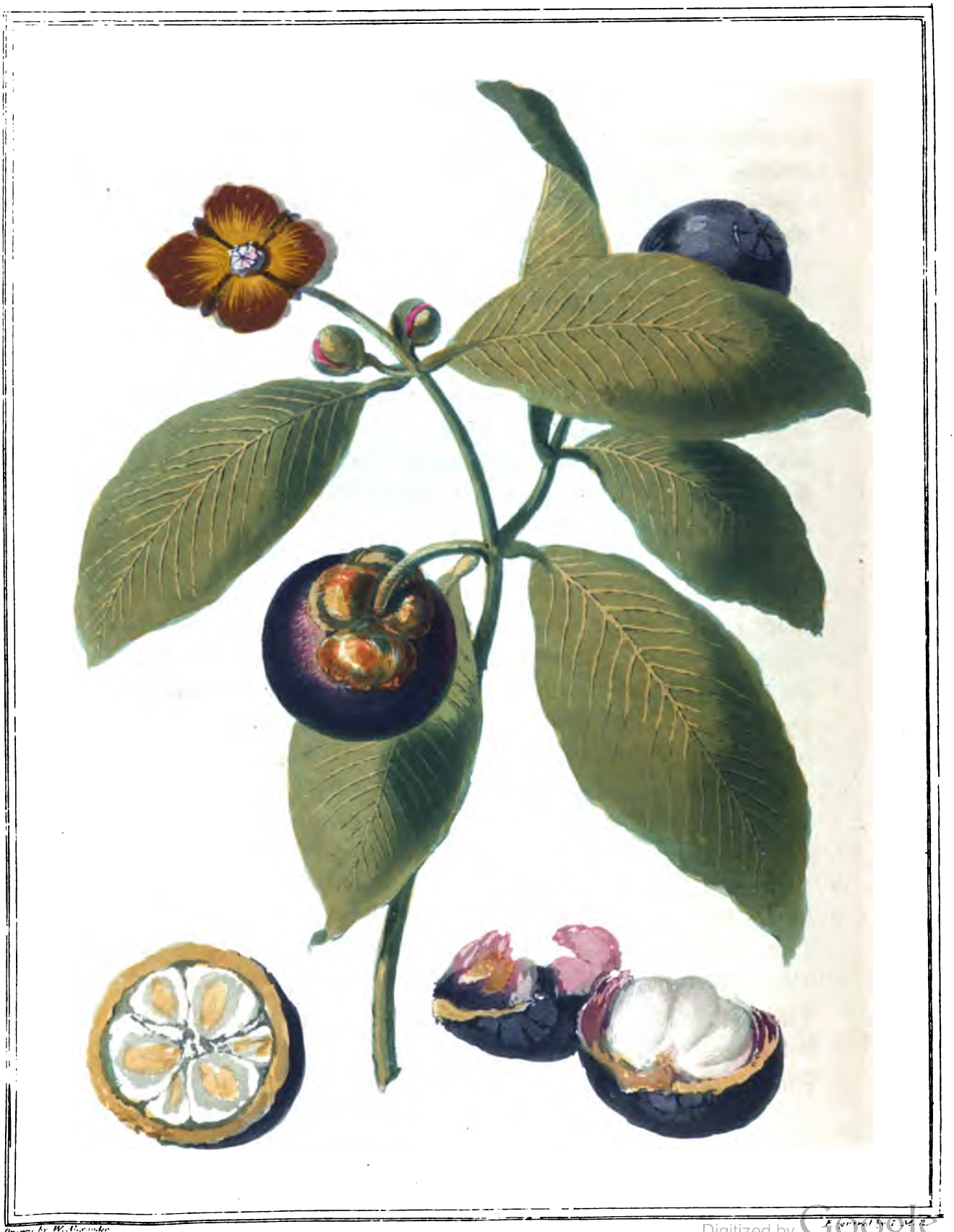

The Mangostan

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into mats, into a coarse kind of cloth, ropes, and small cordage. Among the many just observations which mark the authenticity of the accounts of two Mahomedan travellers, who visited China in the ninth century, that of the variety of uses to which the cocoa tree is applied is not the least curious. "The people of Oman," says one of these travellers, "go to "the Cocoa islands, and, having felled the tree, with the "bark spin a yarn, with which they sew the planks together, "and so build a ship; of the same wood they cut and round "away a mast; of the leaves they weave the sails, and the "bark they convert into cordage: having thus completed "their vessel, they load her with cocoa nuts, which they "carry back to sell at Oman."

Of all the delicious fruits that are produced in the East, perhaps I may venture to say in the whole world, the mangoostan may fairly set up its claim to the preference. The tree on which it grows, though not magnificent, is extremely beautiful, bearing, like the orange, both fruit and flowers at the same time on the extremities of the branches. This fruit is no less fascinating to the eye than it is gratifying to the taste. Its form is round, generally a perfect sphere; the colour a bright or dark purple, according to the degree of its ripeness; it rests in a permanent green calyx, and the upper part is surmounted by a corona, which is generally divided into as many rays as the fruit within consists of lobes, which are of a delicate white pulpy substance, covering each a small nut. The husk or shell contains a brown astringent juice, which, with oxyd of iron, makes a clear shining ink of a deep purple. The annexed plate will convey a tolerably correct

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idea of the leaves, flower, and fruit of the mangoostan. The mango is another fruit of exquisite flavour, when of a good sort, but of that peculiar taste which is not relished by every palate. It grows on a large spreading tree, not unlike the walnut. The *Rambootan* or hairy fruit (the *Nephelium Echinatum*) and the *Poolasang* (a larger species of the same genus) are cool and agreeable fruits, of a delicate subacid flavour, highly refreshing in a warm climate. The trees on which they grow are shewy, free, and elegant. The annexed is a branch of the rambootan: the leaves of the poolosang are much narrower; the fruit is larger and wants those hairy spines which cover the former. Oranges, lemons, citrons, and shaddocks, are plentiful in the gardens about Batavia; so also is the *Eugenia* or rose apple, of which there are two species; the *Averhoa*, consisting likewise of two species (the *Carambola* which is used for tarts, and the *Belimbing* as a pickle), guavas, annonas, dates, and bananas. The *Atrocarpus* or Jack fruit grows wild in great plenty, as does also a large fruit called the *Doorian*, whose smell is extremely disgusting, and flavour somewhat like what one might suppose the taste to be of a custard seasoned with garlic; but both the taste and the smell are said not only to lose their offensive qualities by frequent use, but to become extremely fascinating. The fragments, however, of this fruit are strictly prohibited from being thrown into the streets; nor are they suffered to remain about the stalls in the market, on account of the fetid smell, which, when in a state of putrefaction, is supposed to taint the air and render it highly injurious to health. A fruit called the *Boa Lansa* is in great estimation among the several classes of inhabitants. It grows in clusters like grapes, upon

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Fig. 1. Pomderton
a Fruit of the Pohuang.

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a tree of moderate size. Each individual fruit bears a resemblance to the famous *Li-tchi* of China, being a pulpy substance of a delicate subacid taste, comprehended within a thin crustaceous covering. Pine apples are produced in such abundance that they are sent into the city, like turnips to Covent Garden, piled up in carts. As a fruit they are not much esteemed, except for preserving in sugar. Their acid juices are employed for removing rust from sword blades, knives, and other articles of polished iron. Most of the fruits of Europe have been transplanted hither, but, as might be expected, they dwindle and degenerate in an equinoctial climate.

Among the trees that are remarkable for singularity or beauty may be noticed the *Casuarina Equisetifolia*, so named from the general resemblance of its small pendent branches to the hair of the casuary and the plant *Equisetum* or *Horse-tail*; the *Mitchelia Tchampaca*, one variety bearing white, and the other yellow, flowers of exquisite fragrance, yielding by distillation a spirit more powerful, but not less delicate, than the perfume which is extracted from roses; the *Terminalia Catappa*, a grand and beautiful tree, which bears a nut usually known by the name of the Indian almond; and which, with the *Bombax* and the *Erythrina Corallodendrum*, are perhaps the only instances in this country of trees whose leaves are deciduous. The *Bombax* bears a long pod, which contains a silky substance like the pod of the *Asclepias*; but its short staple renders it unfit for other purposes than the stuffing of cushions or mattresses. Thousands of variegated *loories*

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visit the coral trees, when they push forth their large clusters of scarlet flowers, in the same manner as the little paroquets frequent the same species of tree in Southern Africa. The *Lyriodendrum Tulipiferum*, the *Magnolia*, the *Melia*, and *Bignonia*, are all of them shewy and elegant trees.

The trees, the shrubs, and the herbaceous plants, that are cultivated in the gardens of Batavia for their beauty or their fragrance, are very numerous. Among them we observed the *Gardenia Florida*, and another species called *Catjepering*, the *Caryophyllum* or clove, the *Laurus Cinnamoma* or cinnamon tree, the *Myristica* or nutmeg, the *Nyctanthes* or Arabian jasmine, the *Polianthes* or tuberose, which is here called the *Soondal Mallam*, the *Wanton of the night*; the *Plumeria*, which is usually planted near the graves, the *Ocymum Basilicum*, the *Seree* or lemon grass, which is used as an ingredient in the favourite dish of *Currie*. Among the aromatic plants those held in most esteem are the three species of pepper, the common black pepper, the betel, and the *Seriboo* or long pepper, which is used by the several natives either alone or with the betel leaf; the different species of Capsicum, the common ginger, and that species producing what the Dutch call *Cardomums*, which are the silicles or pods of the *Amomum Compactum*. These seeds are eaten by the ladies to sweeten the breath, and to remove any offensive smell that might remain after the daily use of garlic and onions, which always enter into the standing dish of *Currie*. Every lady carries about with her a box of cardomums, which she presents to her friends or strangers in the same manner as the snuff-box is presented in Europe.

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Among the plants which were considered to be rare and curious we saw, in one of the gentlemen's gardens, the Elastic Gum tree, the *Convolvulus Jalappa*, the *Styrax Liquida*, the Bread Fruit, and the *Areca Oleracea* or mountain cabbage tree of the West Indies. But the most extraordinary plant that occurred, and which is said to be very common in most of the Eastern islands, was the *Nepenthes Distillatoria* or pitcher plant. There is not, perhaps, among the numerous examples that occur of the provident economy of nature, in the vegetable part of the creation, a more remarkable instance of contrivance adapted to circumstances, of means suited to the end, than what is evidently displayed in this wonderful plant. Being the inhabitant of a tropical climate, and found on the most stoney and arid situations, nature has furnished it with the means of an ample supply of moisture, without which it would have withered and perished. To the footstalk of each leaf, and near the base, is attached a small bag, shaped like a pitcher, of the same consistence and colour of the leaf in the early stage of its growth, but changing with age to a reddish purple; it is girt round with an oblique band or hoop, and covered with a lid neatly fitted, and moveable on a kind of hinge or strong fibre which, passing over the handle, connects the vessel with the leaf. By the contraction of this fibre the lid is drawn open whenever the weather is showery, or dews fall, which would appear to be just the contrary of what usually happens in nature, though the contraction probably is occasioned by the hot and dry atmosphere, and the expansion of the fibre does not take place till the moisture has fallen and saturated the pitcher. When this is the case the cover falls down, and it

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closes so firmly as to prevent any evaporation from taking place. The water, being gradually absorbed through the handle into the footstalk, gives vigour to the leaf and sustenance to the plant. As soon as the pitchers are exhausted, the lids again open to admit whatever moisture may fall; and when the plant has produced its seed, and the dry season fairly sets in, it withers, with all the covers of the pitchers standing open. Why the name of Homer's *grief-dispelling* plant should have been transferred to the pitcher plant I am unable to explain; but it does not appear to be possessed of any sedative or narcotic quality like

> " ——that Nepenthes which the wife of Thone
> " In Egypt gave to Jove born Helena."

Many of the products of Java are not less valuable in a commercial point of view, than those which I have enumerated are useful to the natives, curious to the traveller, or ornamental to the face of the country. Of such may be mentioned, among the most important, sugar, coffee, cocoa, spices, sago, cotton, and indigo. The *Catjang* is cultivated by the Chinese for the sake of the oil expressed from the seed, which is not only used abundantly among themselves and by other natives, but is also exported to China. Several hundred acres, at no great distance from Batavia, are annually covered with this plant, which appears to be a species of *Dolichos*, of low growth and very prolific in long pods which rest upon, and even grow into, the earth. The *Cajaputta* oil, expressed from the *Melaleuca Leucadendrum*, is greatly esteemed as a specific for removing rheumatic complaints, both in the eastern and the western world. The

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Nardus or spikenard, sandal wood, and Calambac or aloes wood, are products of Java, and form a part of the trade with China. The *Cassia Fistula*, with its long pendent seed pods filled with a medullary substance in which the beans are embedded, was once considered as one of the most approved laxatives, and great quantities of it were sent to Europe, but modern practitioners have expelled this drug, among a whole host of former remedies, from the pages of the Pharmacopoeia. The roots of the *Caladi Ayer* or Water *Caladi* (the *Arum Esculentum*) furnish, when boiled, an article of food; and the broad leaves, as a topical application, are considered to be efficacious in dispelling the pains of the gout. The *Calamus Rotang* is a very useful creeper, and is worked into chair bottoms, mats, and sofas.

After the notoriety which the baneful *Upas* has obtained from the republication, in a popular work, of a most extraordinary account of this poisonous tree that first appeared several years ago in the Gentleman's Magazine, it would have been an unpardonable neglect in us not to make very particular inquiry into the degree of credibility which is attached by the inhabitants of the island to its existence; and, if such tree did exist, to endeavour to learn how far its deleterious qualities might correspond with those which had been ascribed to it. Accordingly we seldom entered a garden or plantation without interrogating the people employed in them as to the *Upas*. The result of our inquiries was little favourable to the truth of *Foersch*'s relation, which carries with it, indeed, internal marks of absurdity. It required some ingenuity to conceive the existence of a single tree, the sole individual of its

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species, standing on the middle of a naked plain, of a nature so baneful that not only birds, beasts, and every living creature which come within the circle of the atmosphere contaminated by its poisonous effluvia, instantly perish, but so deleterious as to wither up and destroy all other plants, and to devour, like Saturn, its own offspring as they pullulate from its roots. Such a monster in nature, with "its thousand "tongues steeped in fell poison," is almost too much for the page of romance, or the wildest fiction of poetry. Yet the relation was not wholly discredited. "That which is "strange," says Dr. Johnson, "is delightful, and a pleasing "error is not willingly detected." The magic pen of Dr. Darwin, by celebrating the wonders of this wonderful tree

"In sweet tetrandrian monogynian strains,"

made the error still more pleasing, and consecrated, as it were, the fiction of the *Upas*.

As fabulous stories have sometimes, however, their origin in truth, so that of the *Upas* may probably not be wholly groundless, but admit of some explanation. In tropical climates, plants possessing noxious qualities are very common. Java is considered to abound with them. The first of this kind that was discovered might probably have the name of *Upas* conferred on it, which name, being afterwards adjunctively applied to all other plants possessing the same qualities, became the appellative for every poisonous tree. That this was the common acceptation of the word *Upas*, I inferred from its being connected with the trivial name of all such plants as were either known, or supposed, to contain

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poisonous qualities. Thus, for instance, the *Dioscorea Deleteria* was called the *Ubi Upas*, which may be translated the *poisonous potatoe*. The seed of a tree bearing a papilionaceous flower, and apparently a species of *Sophora*, was called the *Upas Bidjie*, the *poisonous seed*. Thus, also, a triangular-stemmed *Euphorbia*, a species of *Solanum*, a *Datura*, and several other plants of real or supposed noxious qualities, had all of them the word *Upas* joined to their proper names. In this sense, the *Bohun* or *Boon Upas* of *Foersch* would imply neither more nor less than a *poisonous tree*, and not any particular species of tree, much less an unconnected individual *sui generis*, bearing the name of *Upas*.

It is generally believed in Batavia, that both the Malays and Javanese wear *crisses* or daggers that have been steeped in vegetable poison. So was it generally believed in Athens, two thousand years ago, that Demosthenes carried poison about with him, lodged under the gem of his ring. The one appears to be just as probable as the other; but, whether true or false, the Dutch are not less credulous than the Athenians were in this respect. We were told by the old governor of Bantam fort, that when the king of that district is desirous of proving the virtues of a new *cris*, he calls before him one of his slaves, and pricks his arm with its point. The value of the instrument is estimated according to the length of time which elapses before the poison begins to operate and the rapidity with which the victim is dispatched, which is stated to take place sometimes in the course of a few minutes. I have read somewhere (I think in Tavernier) of an instance of this kind, which, if a fact, evinces a very

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extraordinary power in some of their poisons. An English sailor at Madura was condemned, for some high crime, to suffer death by a poisoned dart. The executioner, who was the Prince himself, agreed to deliver up the culprit to the Dutch and English surgeons immediately after being struck, and allowed them also to name the spot where he should hit him. The fleshy part of the great toe was pointed out for this purpose, which was accordingly pierced by the dart of the Prince. Every preparation being made for immediate amputation, the toe was instantly taken off, notwithstanding which a mortification ensued, and the man died. Admitting, however, the fact to have been as here stated, the climate and the general relaxation of the habit might also have operated, in conjunction with the poison, in producing this speedy dissolution.

To this relaxed state of the body may certainly be attributed the fatality attending many disorders which in Europe are not considered to be dangerous. The prick of a pin or a needle will sometimes occasion a lock-jaw. The Dutch doctors are also of opinion, that certain cases of hydrophobia which have occurred, notwithstanding no instance of canine madness was ever known on the island, may be attributed to climate, and the state of the constitution as effected by it. The bite of the large Indian rat, commonly called the *Bandicoot*, is supposed to occasion hydrophobia and certain death; an opinion which, I understand, is also entertained on the coast of Malabar. The bite of an enraged man is said to be as certain of producing hydrophobia as that of a mad dog, two cases of which had happened not long before our

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arrival. One of them being stated by Dr. Le Dulx, in the 5th volume of the Transactions of the Batavian Society, a work little known in Europe, I shall use no apology for inserting a translation of it.

" On the 17th March, 1789, information was laid before " the Court of Justice that the Writer, *Balthazar Van Vliet*, " in a fit of madness, had plunged a knife into his bowels. " The Court proceeded to the place without delay, attended " by the town surgeon, *Lombart*, where they found the pa- " tient, by direction of the surgeon attending him, bound " and in strong convulsions, particularly of the eyes. The " family being interrogated as to the origin of his complaint " related that, four or five days previous to the act, the pa- " tient had a quarrel with a friend, which proceeded to a " furious scuffle, when his antagonist, finding himself not a " match for the patient, in the moment of rage bit him in the " arm. The wound was bound up in the usual way, with- " out the least idea being entertained of the dreadful conse- " quences which a bite thus made in the heat of passion was " capable of producing. Three days after this happened the " patient was attacked with fever, but still no particular " regard was had to the wound. The surgeon who attended " him observed that he was in a state of continued delirium; " that he had a great antipathy to every kind of medicine " and, in particular, a strong aversion to water. On " the fourth day the surgeon, on entering the apartment, " found him stabbing himself repeatedly with a knife. With " some difficulty they seized and bound him down on a sofa. " On the town surgeon being sent for, he offered him a

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" spoonful of water which he refused, but, on being told it " was *gin*, he endeavoured with great difficulty to swallow " it. When a glass of water was presented to him, the most " ghastly spasmodic convulsions were observable in his face, " and over his whole body, accompanied with such a degree " of terror that he exclaimed, *Water! Oh Jesus, have mercy* " *on me!* His terror increased on wiping his bloody hands " with a wet napkin, when, in convulsive agonies, he called " out, *Oh God, water!* Perceiving clearly that hydrophobia " had supervened from the bite received in anger, we re- " solved to treat him accordingly, but he died in the after- " noon of the same day."

That the bite of a man is attended with very malignant symptoms was a doctrine which prevailed in ancient times. Pliny classes it among the very worst of wounds given in this manner. *Morsus hominum inter asperrimos quoque numeratur.* And it appears to be a well authenticated fact, that many animals, beside dogs, when highly enraged, become morbid and acquire the power of communicating the infection by their bite. Dr. Le Dulx mentions in the same paper several instances of hydrophobia succeeding to the bite of enraged animals, as the case of a boy bit by a duck which he had disturbed in its amours, and of a feeder of cocks who, being pecked in the hand by one of these animals in separating it from its antagonist, died under every symptom of hydrophobia and madness. The bite of the common domestic cat, rendered furious by provocation, is well known to produce hydrophobia. In what manner this extraordinary state of morbidity in the animal body is generated remains yet an ar-

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canum in animal pathology; but it is pretty evident that the poison is secreted by the salivary glands, and conveyed into the circulation with the spittle of the morbid animal.

Most of the wild quadrupeds of Java, from the huge rhinosceros and the fierce buffalo to the least of all known four footed beasts with the hoofs divided, the *Moschus Pigmæus* or pigmy deer, are sufficiently well known to naturalists. Large crocodiles abound in the rivers and creeks, which the Javanese, from their being objects of terror, have raised to those of adoration. The ancient story, first recorded by Herodotus, and after his day repeated by Plutarch and Pliny, and quoted in modern times by Montaigne and many others, concerning the *Trochilus* or humming bird picking the teeth of the crocodile, is firmly believed both by the Dutch and the natives. There is not, in fact, any thing marvellous in the story. This huge animal, fond of rolling in muddy waters, crawls on shore, having his rough hide bedaubed with slime swarming with worms and other animated beings. By these are attracted numbers of little birds, perching on various parts of the monster's carcase, whilst he is basking and sleeping in the sun with his jaws yawning wide open. The *Boa* snake, found in the forests of Java, is no less formidable than, and not inferior in magnitude to, the crocodile. Some of these are thirty feet long, and are said to be able to gorge the calves of buffalos whole, and the largest hogs; after which, attaching themselves to trees by the tail, they remain in a state of torpidity till the animals they have swallowed are digested or dissolved. These woods abound in that species of wild hedge-hog, the *Erinaceus Malaccensis*, in the gall-

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bladder of which is sometimes found a stone, called by the Portugueze the Pedra da Porco. To this stone the Dutch ascribe many wonderful properties. When put into a glass of wine for about an hour it communicates its virtues to the liquor, which then becomes an infallible remedy for all kinds of poison, for obstructions, fevers, agues, and a variety of diseases. Like the *Antimonial Cup*, the *Pedra da Porco* is a standing family medicine.

Another species of wild hog, the *Sus Babyroussa*, is also common in the woods of Java. Philosophers had long puzzled themselves in conjecturing what the design of nature could be (as she does nothing without design) in giving to this animal a pair of large curved tusks, pointing inwards to the face in such a manner, as made it sufficiently clear they could not be used either for attack or defence, for procuring food, or for assisting the mastication of it when procured. But as nature has made nothing in vain, it was necessary to assign some purpose for the tusks of the *Babyroussa*. At length it occurred, or was discovered, but by whom I do not recollect, that the animal is fond of sleeping in a standing posture and that, having a large ponderous head, it finds a conveniency in hanging it upon the branch of a tree or shrub within the reach of its tusks, which serve on such occasions for hooks. This is at least an ingenious discovery, and may be true; but if so, the habits of the animal must vary according to local circumstances. The same species, or one so like it that the difference is not distinguishable by any description or drawing that I have seen, is common among the rocks on the deserts of Southern Africa, where, within the

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distance of a hundred miles, there is neither tree nor shrub, except a few stunted heaths or shrivelled *Everlastings* thinly scattered over the barren surface. In such situations where I have hunted and taken them, it would certainly be no easy matter for the *Babyroussa* to find a peg to hang its head upon.

It would be endless to attempt an enumeration of the wild animals with which this island abounds; of the leopards, and wild cats, and squirrels, and monkies innumerable from the *Ourang-Outang* to the little flying Lemur. For one species of the monkey genus, called the *Wow-Wow*, the Javanese pretend to have a kind of fellow feeling; there being a tradition among them, that their ancestors originally sprung from this species of ape.

The insect tribes, as in all warm climates, are here very numerous, and the multitude of snakes, centipedes, scolopendras, scorpions, and spiders, with white ants, mosquitoes, fire flies, and a thousand other dangerous, disgusting, and troublesome vermin, swarm in the streets and in the houses, infesting even the sleeping rooms. The sting of the scorpion is considered to be very dangerous, and sometimes fatal; but the Javanese are persuaded, like the Hottentots in Africa and the Romans of old, that the topical application of the same animal which gave the wound will heal it. A venomous spider is very common in the thickets of Java. The diameter of the body is near two inches, and the length of the fore legs or claws near four inches, covered with hair, the colour black, and the mouth red. The webs spun by this animal gave us considerable trouble, as we traversed the woods about Anjerie point. Birds are said to be frequently

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entangled and caught in them, as in artificial nets. A grave gentleman in London observed to me one day how much he was surprized to find so marvellous an account of the strength of spider-webs inserted in so valuable a book as the Authentic Account of an Embassy to China. On being told that I could inform him of something not less marvellous respecting the spiders who made them, which was that the nails of their fore claws were so large and strong, that it was a common practice in Batavia to have them mounted on gold or silver handles, and to use them as tooth-picks, I have little doubt he was ready to exclaim with Gay,

> "The man who with undaunted toils
> "Sails unknown seas to unknown soils,
> "What various wonders feast his sight,
> "What stranger wonders does he write!"

It is scarcely necessary to add that the forests and the mountains of Java produce an immense number and variety of the feathered race, from the large cassowary or emeu to the minute humming bird little larger than the common bee; and though the plumage of the birds of Java may not perhaps be put in competition with that of the feathered race of South America, which taken collectively are unquestionably the most splendid in the world, yet many of the loories and paroquets are here singularly beautiful. Of that elegant bird the Argus pheasant we procured a number of perfect specimens, but it is said to be rarely brought alive out of the woods. The fire-backed pheasant, the crowned pigeon, the *Fulica Porphyrio*, the several birds of Paradise, the various species of *Oriolus* or golden thrush, and of the *Alcedo* or kingfisher; and, to descend to the smaller kinds, as the Java sparrows or rice

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birds and the avadavat, are sufficiently beautiful to deserve a distinguished place in the class of the animal kingdom to which they belong.

Having thus taken a very superficial view of the most striking productions of Java, I shall, in the next chapter, attempt to pencil out a few general outlines of the character and features of the various nations by which the city of Batavia is inhabited.

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CHAP. VIII.

BATAVIA.

Reception by the Dutch Governor—Van Weegerman's Villa and Dinner—The Governor's Ball and Supper—Dutch Mode of Living—Consequences of it—The Chinese—Their Industry and Prosperity—Jealousy of the Dutch, and horrid Consequences of it—Javanese, their Habits of Life, and Condition—Their spare Diet—Their apparent Origin from the Hindus—Their Religion—Inconsistencies of Transmigration—Of Animal Life being produced by a fortuitous Concurrence of Circumstances—The Malays—Their Character and vindictive Spirit—Attachment to Gaming—Instance of the ferocious Conduct of the Malays—Slaves of different Nations, their Disposition, Condition, and Employment.

If a stranger should happen to make his first entrance into the city of Batavia about the middle of the day, he would be apt to conclude it deserted by the inhabitants. At this time the doors and windows are all shut, and not a creature, except perhaps a few slaves, is stirring in the streets. But if he should enter the city in the morning or the evening, his eye will not be less attracted by the vast crowds of people moving about in the principal streets, than by the very great variety of dress and complexion which these crowds exhibit. Here he will at once behold every tint of colour, except that of rosy health, from the pallid hue of the sickly European, through the endless shades of brown and yellow, to the jetty

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black of the Malabar; and the dresses of the several nations, both as to fashion and materials, are as various as their colour and cast of countenance. That class of men which bears a complete sway over the island is by much the least numerous; it is even rare to see a single *wel edele hoog geboorenʻ Hollander, a right honourable high-born Dutchman*, condescending to walk the streets. "Nothing from "Europe," he observes, "but Englishmen and dogs walk "in Batavia." Whenever he has occasion to take this kind of exercise, he puts on his full dress suit of velvet, and is attended by a suitable retinue of slaves: sensible how very necessary it is, where power is but ideal, to put on an imposing appearance. But the Armenians, the Persians, and the Arabs, always grave and intent on business; the half-cast merchants from the different ports of Hindostan; and, above all, the Chinese, some in long sattin gowns and plaited tails reaching almost to their heels, and others crying their wares to sell, or seeking employment in their several professions, dressed in large umbrella hats, short jackets, and long wide trowsers; the Javanese loitering carelessly along, as if indifferent to every thing around them; the free Malays, with half-averted eye, looking with suspicion on all who come across them; and slaves, from every nation and country of the East, condemned to trudge in the same path with the carriages:—all these, in the early and latter parts of the day, may be seen bustling in crowds in the streets of Batavia.

It would far exceed the limits I have prescribed, were I to enter at full length into the manners and peculiar customs of

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all or any of these people; but I shall endeavour to give such a general sketch or outline of the character and situation of the Dutch, the Chinese, the Javanese, the Malays, and the Slaves, as may serve to throw some light upon their respective conditions in this great and once wealthy city, which, from a miserable village of thatched hovels, rose into splendour and opulence, by the adventurous and successful commerce of the Dutch, in the happy days of their freedom and independence.

On our first visit to Batavia, we were received with great ceremony at the gates of the castle by the old Governor *Van Alting*, accompanied with the *wel edele heeren*, composing the Council of India. On this occasion we all suffered greatly from the heat of the climate. It happened to be about the middle of the day, when the sun was vertical, and not a breath of wind stirring; the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer at 89° in the shade; when, after abundant ceremony in the open air, we were introduced into a close narrow room, with a couple of windows at one end, nearly filled with fat "sleek-headed men," dressed in suits of velvet stiffened with buckram. In this narrow room, and mixed among these warmly clad gentlemen, we were seated round a table covered with crimson velvet, on chairs whose corresponding cushions were stuffed with feathers. And though the very appearance of the furniture alone was enough to induce a fever, two or three little chafing-dishes with live coals were set on the table, for the accommodation of those who were inclined to smoke a pipe of tobacco, which, with wine, spirits, and cakes, were handed round to the company.

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The ceremony of our introduction being ended, we proceeded from the castle to the country-house of *Van Weegerman*, the second in council, to which we were conveyed in small carriages, each drawn by a pair of ponies, and driven by a black coachman, who, mounted on a high box, with a large three-cornered hat and an enormously long whip, formed no unimportant part of the equipage. The distance we had to travel was only about a mile beyond the city gate. We entered his villa by a draw-bridge thrown across a moat, with which it was surrounded, and which was intended as well for ornament as defence. Behind the house was a considerable piece of ground laid out with much formality into a sort of pleasure garden intersected, rather injudiciously it would seem in such a climate, with fish ponds and canals or, more correctly speaking, with puddles and ditches of dirty water. The ground was well stocked with all kinds of tropical fruits, and many rare plants peculiar to the island. Orange trees of a large size, shaddocks and mangoes were loaded with fruit; and every individual of the vegetable world seemed to flourish with a vigorous luxuriance, except a few sickly European plants, which were here and there seen drooping in pots. On observing to our host how very bountiful nature had been to this island in the distribution of some of her choicest stores, he replied, "*Ya mynheer het is wel waär.*" "You are very right, Sir, we have abundance of every "thing; and yet," continued he, "*het is een vervloekt land,*" "it is an accursed country, to say the bost of it, where *we* "*eat poison and drink pestilence at every meal.*" In what this poison and pestilence consisted will best appear by a short description of *Van Weegerman*'s dinner.

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We had scarcely set foot in the house when a procession of slaves made its appearance, with wine and gin, cordials, cakes and sweetmeats; a ceremony that was repeated to every new guest who arrived. After waiting a couple of hours the signal for dinner was given by the entrance of three female slaves, one with a large silver bason, the second with a jar of the same metal filled with rose water for washing the hands, and the third with towels for wiping them. The company was very numerous and, the weather being remarkably close, the velvet coats and powdered wigs were now thrown aside, and their places supplied with short dimity jackets and muslin night-caps. I certainly do not remember ever to have seen an European table so completely loaded with what Van Weegerman was pleased to call *poison* and *pestilence.* Fish boiled and broiled, fowls in *curries* and *pillaws*, turkies and large capons, joints of beef boiled and roasted and stewed, soups, puddings, custards, and all kinds of pastry, were so crowded and jumbled together that there was scarcely any room for plates. Of the several kinds of dishes there was generally a pair: a turkey on one side had its brother turkey on the other, and capon stared at capon. A slave was placed behind the chair of each guest, besides those who handed round wine, gin, cordials, and Dutch or Danish beer, all of which are used profusely by the Dutch under an idea that, by promoting perspiration, they carry off in some degree the effects of the poison and pestilence. After dinner an elegant desert was served up of Chinese pastry, fruits in great variety, and sweetmeats. There were not any ladies in company. Van Weegerman being a bachelor had no females in his house, except his haram of slaves amounting to about fifty in number, assorted from the different nations of

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the East, and combining every tinge of complexion from the sickly faded hue of a dried tobacco leaf to the shining polish of black marble. A band of Malay musicians played in the viranda during dinner.

From table the Dutch part of the company retired to their beds, in order to recover, by a few hours sleep, the fatigues of eating and drinking, and to prepare for those of a far more serious meal which was to follow. The dinner, in fact, is considered only as a whetter of the appetite for supper. The day of our landing happened to be, at the time when we visited Batavia, a day of general festivity. It was the 8th of March, the anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Orange, and a most magnificent entertainment was prepared on the occasion at the Governor's country-house. Here we had an opportunity of witnessing as grand a display of splendour and luxury as the wealth and the productions of the East could supply or suggest. The amusements out of doors consisted of a brilliant exhibition of fire-works, partly European and partly Chinese, which were let off in the midst of a large garden, whose avenues were fancifully lighted up by thousands of Chinese painted lanterns, hanging in festoons from the branches of the trees, and connected with wreaths of natural and artificial flowers. To those who had never had an opportunity of visiting Vauxhall, these illuminations were gazed on with rapture; but, dazzling and splendid as they certainly were, their brilliancy could not be put in competition with that which lights up and enlivens the joyful scene of pleasure on the banks of the Thames. In different parts of the Batavian garden were stationed bands of musicians, some of which were Malays, and others Germans belonging to the

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garrison. In front of the house a long row of booths was erected, in which were exhibited the humours of a Dutch fair; and, what to us was then more interesting, among these booths were two or three temporary theatres, on which Chinese comedians were entertaining the crowd on our first arrival, and they continued to act without intermission the whole night.

Having satisfied our curiosity as to the fair and the fire-works, we repaired to the ball room, where the ladies were already assembled; and here we were struck with a very unusual display of finery, the singularity of which at least, if not the beauty, very forcibly attracted our attention. Let the reader imagine to himself about eighty or ninety ladies seated round the sides of a long narrow room, superbly dressed in the finest muslins that India affords, spangled with gold and silver, and glittering with rubies and diamonds—Let him figure to himself an equal number of little female slaves, each sitting at the feet of her mistress, and, except as to the ornamental parts, nearly as well dressed as herself—Let him imagine about half as many, as there were ladies, of tall, bright, brazen candlesticks, like those that are sometimes seen on the altars of Romish churches, arranged in a row on the floor immediately before these splendid beauties, and reflecting, like so many mirrors, the brilliant objects to which they were opposed—Let him, moreover, figure to himself at least an equal number of gentlemen, all full dressed in coats of cut velvet, shag breeches, bag wigs, and long swords, besides the British officers both naval and military in their respective uniforms, to say nothing of the *Corps diplomatiques*—And having disposed this assemblage of objects

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in a long narrow room plainly furnished, he will then have a tolerably correct notion of the appearance of the Governor's ball-room at Batavia. But here, out of tenderness to the Eastern beauties, I ought perhaps to stop short as, by entering into a more detailed description, I shall be compelled to throw a shade on the brilliant scene. Their dingy complexions sufficiently indicated their kindred connexion to some of the Oriental nations. Like those of the Chinese and Malays, their black shining locks, glistening with a profusion of cocoa nut oil, were smoothed up all round, and fixed in a knot by golden bodkins on the crown of the head. Like the Malays, also, the greater part of these dingy beauties were in the delicate habit of chewing the areca nut and betel, the necessary consequence of which soon discovered the mistake we had committed with regard to the Roman candlesticks: they were, in fact, the ladies' spitting-boxes, to which the genteel part of the Dutch give the name of *Quispedoors*, (probably from the Spanish word *Escupedero*, a spitting-dish;) but the delicate name in vulgar use among the Dutch is *Speuw-potjies*. Whatever real or pretended advantages the Batavian fair may derive from the use of her favourite masticatory, the appearance of her mouth, and the effect it produces, are to a stranger shocking and nauseous, and, one would suppose, an invincible antidote against inspiring the tender passion.

The pearls and the diamonds, spread in profusion over the black shining locks of the ladies, appeared to great advantage on such a ground; and those whose circumstances did not allow of so grand a display of jewels as their wealthier neighbours, contrived, however, to make amends by the less glittering, but not the less agreeable, ornament of chaplets of fragrant

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flowers, such as the *Nyctanthes* or Arabian jasmine (called here Sambac), the *Plumeria*, the *Michelia Tchampaca*, and the *Polianthes* or tuberose. The whole room was scented with the powerful fragrance of these and other odoriferous plants, whose perfumes were not, however, unmixed with the less agreeable smell of cocoa nut oil. The Governor's daughter, who by the mother's side was of a dingy breed, was so bespangled with jewels that, according to the Dutchmen's valuation, she was whispered to be worth twenty thousand rixdollars, or about four thousand pounds, as she then stood.

These ladies, thus splendidly adorned to appear in company, are dressed, when at home, just like their slaves, in long loose printed or chequered cotton gowns, bare headed, bare necked, bare legged, and bare footed. Their only object at home is to keep themselves cool, and at their perfect ease; and by so doing, and living a more temperate life, the mortality is by no means so great among the women as in the other sex.

A little after midnight a magnificent supper was served up in the great hall which, it is almost unnecessary to add, consisted of every luxury and delicacy that the united stores of Asia and Europe could supply. The company amounted at least to one hundred and fifty persons. The old Governor who, with the rest of the Dutchmen, had hitherto kept on his full dressed suit of velvet, now threw off his coat and wig, and took his seat at table in a light muslin jacket and a night-cap. Many of the ladies, following his example, laid aside their spangled gowns, and appeared in their dimity jackets. These jolly dames took especial care that the strangers should

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be well plied with wine, to which, at the same time, they were by no means backward in helping themselves. Some of the elder sort sat at table to a late hour, while the younger part returned to the ball-room, where reels and jigs and horn-pipes now took place of country dances. A *Scoto-Batavian* officer displayed his raw-boned activity in a saraband, to the great amusement of the native dames, who had seldom witnessed such nimble capering. So fascinating was the entertainment that it was near four in the morning before the company dispersed.

It is almost superfluous to remark how very ill suited is the mode of life I have here described to an equinoxial climate. But the Dutchman, whose predominant vice in Europe is avarice, rising into affluence in an unhealthy foreign settlement, almost invariably changes this part of his character and, with a thorough contempt of the frugal maxim of *Moliere's L'Avare*, lives to eat rather than eats to live. His motto is, " Let us " eat and drink, for to morrow we die." He observes, it is true, the old maxim of rising at an early hour in the morning, not however for the sake of enjoying the cool breeze, and of taking moderate exercise, but rather to begin the day's career of eating and drinking. His first essay is usually a *sopie* or glass of gin, to which succeed a cup of coffee and a pipe. His stomach thus fortified, he lounges about the great hall of the house, or the viranda if in the country, with a loose night-gown carelessly thrown over his shoulders, a night-cap and slippers, till about eight o'clock, which is the usual hour of breakfast. This is generally a solid meal of dried meat, fish and poultry made into curries, eggs, rice, strong beer and spirits. *Currie* and rice is a standing dish

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at all meals and at all seasons of the year, being considered as an excellent stimulus to the stomach. The business of the day occupies little more than a couple of hours, from ten to twelve, when he again sits down to dinner, a meal that is somewhat more solid than the breakfast. From table he retires to sleep and remains invisible till about five in the evening, when he rises and prepares for taking a ride or a walk, but generally the former. In the open doors of the little covered carriages male or female slaves, or both, sit on the steps, according as they may happen to be occupied by gentlemen or ladies.

From seven to nine are the usual hours for receiving and returning visits, when they play cards, drink wine, and smoke tobacco. In the dry season these evening parties generally meet in the little summer-houses which, as I have already noticed, are built on the margin of the canals, snuffing the nauseous effluvia which abundantly evaporate from the nearly stagnant water, and tormented by myriads of mosquitoes and other insects, for the propagation of which the climate, the dirty water, and the evergreen trees, are so remarkably favourable. The inhabitants, however, are so passionately attached to their canals and their trees, that a proposal in the Council to fill up the one and cut down the other had almost produced an insurrection in the city. But neither these insects, troublesome as they are, nor the stench of the water, can be considered as the most offensive nuisances to which those evening parties are liable to be exposed. The lower class of the inhabitants, the Javanese, the Malays, the Chinese, and the slaves of every nation, descend the steps of wooden ladders placed down the sides of the canals, and there, without any ceremony, perform the rites

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of the goddess who, in our country at least, is usually worshipped in retirement. Both men and women are constantly meeting on the same step, without being in the least disconcerted with themselves, or molested by the presence of the parties in the summer-houses or bye-standers in the street. The man turns his back to the water, and the woman faces it. At this time of the day the canals are all alive with the numbers of men, women, and children, that promiscuously plunge into the water. The women are considered as the best swimmers, paddling with their hands in the same manner as quadrupeds do, and not striking out as is the common practice among Europeans.

But these conveniencies and amusements which the canals afford, and which are carried on under the eyes of the parties of pleasure assembled on their banks, gross as they are, may be considered as still less disgusting than a general usage in the city, by which they are immediately succeeded. I have somewhere met with an observation, that an Englishman in building a house first plans out the kitchen, and a Dutchman the necessary. But the Dutch in Batavia, like the good people of Edinburgh, have contrived to dispense with conveniencies of this kind, for which I have heard two different reasons assigned: one is, that the heat of the climate would operate so as to create a putrid fever in the city; and the other, that the great bandicoot rat, of which I have spoken in the last chapter, would infest the temple in such a manner as to render the resort to it unsafe, especially for the male sex: the first is absurd, the last ridiculous. Instead, however, of such places of retirement they substitute large jars, manufactured

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for the occasion in China, narrow at top, low, and bulging out in the middle to a great width. These jars remain undisturbed, in a certain corner of the house, for twenty-four hours; at the end of which time, that is to say at nine in the evening, the hour when all the parties usually break up and return to their respective homes, the Chinese *sampans* or dirt boats begin to traverse the canals of the city. At the well known cry of these industrious collectors of dirt, the slaves from the opposite houses dart out with their loaded jars, and empty their contents in bulk into the boats. In this manner the Chinese scavengers, paddling in their sampans along the several canals, collect from house to house, for the use of their countrymen who are the only gardeners, "the golden store." Such a custom, in such a climate, can be no less injurious to health than it is indecent and disgusting. But the Dutch appear to be as insensible of the one as they are reconciled to the other. If they happen to catch a passing breeze charged with the perfume of these jars, they coolly observe, "*Daar bloeit de "foola nonas horas"—the nine o'clock flower is just in blossom.*"

The blooming of the *nine o'clock flower* is the signal for all parties to disperse and betake themselves to their respective homes, where, after a smoking hot supper, which is always ready to receive them, they immediately retire to rest. The ill effects that must necessarily result from such an intemperate life as I have here described are, indeed, not less pernicious than "poison and pestilence." The natives are destroyed at an early period of life, and the new comers rarely get over what is called "the seasoning." Those few that escape grow unwieldy and corpulent, but are soft, lax, and

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weak, affording no bad illustration of an ancient doctrine recorded by Pliny, " *Somno concoquere corpulentiæ quàm firmi-* " *tati utilius.*"—" Digestion in sleep is more conducive to " corpulency than strength." In fact, such habits of life, in such a climate, could not fail to exhaust the strength and enfeeble the constitution. The functions of life are fatigued, the powers of the body are worn out by luxury, indolence, and voluptuousness; and when disease attacks them, the feeble victim, without nerves or stamina to resist it, falls a speedy sacrifice, and sinks into the grave. Deaths of this kind are so frequent at Batavia, that they scarcely make any impression upon the minds of the inhabitants. The frequency of the event has rendered it familiar; and they shew no signs of emotion or surprize, beyond the shrug of the shoulder, when they hear in the morning of the death of the person with whom they supped in seemingly good health the evening before.

Unexpected promotions and extraordinary removes to situations, different from what the successful candidates were originally designed, are not unfrequently the consequences of the great and rapid mortality of Batavia. Our friend Weegerman left his native country in the humble capacity of sail-maker to one of the Company's ships. The barber has more than once quitted the shaving profession for the pulpit. The physicians have almost invariably emerged out of that class of men whose original occupation was the handling of a razor, and who, in their native country,

" —— shav'd, drew teeth, and breath'd a vein."

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In both professions, however, there have been occasionally at Batavia men of talent and character. But an equinoxial climate is not more favourable for the growth of the arts and sciences than a polar one. To give elasticity to the expansion of the mind, and vigour to those energies of which it is capable, the body requires to be placed in that state of ease which no art nor pampering luxuries can possibly place it in the extremes of heat or cold. Yet with every inconvenience attending the worst of climates the Batavian society has printed six octavo volumes, which, if they do not display much depth of learning, evince at least a laudable desire of extending the sphere of useful knowledge.

The next description of the inhabitants of Batavia, who in numbers and in opulence exceed the former, is the Chinese. These people, as appears from their records, first obtained a settlement on Java about the year 1412. As intruders, but not conquerors, it is probable they have at all times been subject to harsh and oppressive treatment; but the restrictions and extortions under which they at present labour seem to be as unnecessary and impolitic as they are unjust. That they should consent to the Mahomedan Malays and Javanese exercising their devotions in the same temple which they built at their own expence, and consecrated to the god of their own worship, is by no means an unfavourable feature in their character; but on the part of the Dutch, who enforce the measure, it is one of the greatest insults that could well be offered. The Chinese hospital or infirmary, which was erected by voluntary contributions from their own community,

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and is supported by legacies, by profits arising from theatrical exhibitions and fire-works, and by a small tax on marriages, funerals, and celebrations of public festivals, is equally open for the benefit and reception of those who have not contributed towards the establishment, and who do not belong to their society. Into this admirable institution are indiscriminately admitted the infirm and the aged, the friendless and the indigent, of all nations. Towards the support of those institutions, the temple and the infirmary, their contributions are voluntary; but, exclusive of these, their industry is severely taxed by the Dutch government. Every religious festival and public ceremony, every popular amusement, as well as every branch of individual industry, are subject to taxation. They are even obliged to pay for a licence to wear their hair in a long plaited tail, according to the custom of their country; for permission to bring their greens to market, and to sell their produce and manufactures in the streets. Yet to the industry and the exertions of these people are the Dutch wholly indebted for the means of existing with any tolerable degree of comfort in Batavia. Every species of vegetable for the table is raised by them in all seasons of the year, and at times when the most indefatigable attention and labour are required. They are masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, upholsterers, tailors, and shoemakers; they are employed in the arts of distilling, sugar-refining, pottery, lime-burning, and every other trade and profession that are indispensably necessary for making the state of civilized society tolerably comfortable. They are, moreover, the contractors for supplying the various demands of the civil,

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military, and marine establishments in the settlement; they are the collectors of the rents, the customs, and the taxes; and, in short, are the monopolizers of the interior commerce of the island, and, with the Malays, carry on the principal part of the coasting trade.

That influence which would naturally follow from the management of concerns so very important and extensive, could not long be regarded by a weak and luxurious government without jealousy. Those arts which Europeans have usually employed with success in establishing themselves in foreign countries, and which the Dutch have not been backward in carefully studying and effectually carrying into practice, with regard to the natives of Java, could not be applied with the least hope of success to the Chinese settlers. These people had no sovereign to dethrone, by opposing to him the claims of an usurper; nor did the separate interests of any petty chiefs allow them, by exciting jealousy, to put in execution the old adage of *divide et impera*, divide and command. With as little hope of success could the masters of the island venture to seduce an industrious and abstemious people from their temperate habits, by the temptation of foreign luxuries; and their general disposition to sobriety held out no encouragement for the importation of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs. For though the Chinese, who are in circumstances to afford it, make use of opium to excess, yet this is a luxury in which the common people of this nation rarely think of indulging. The Dutch, therefore, who were weak in point of numbers, had recourse to a more decisive and speedy measure of getting rid of a redundancy of

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population, which had begun to create suspicion and alarm. They put them to the sword.

The horrible scenes that were exhibited in this abominable transaction, which took place in the year 1740, have frequently been mentioned, but the subject was never fairly investigated. The cause has been ascribed solely to the Dutch Governor *Valkanier*, who, disappointed in not being able to extort a large sum of money from the Chinese chiefs for permission to celebrate some particular feast, accused them of a plot against the government. Many others, however, are supposed to have been implicated in this affair; and it is strongly suspected that, in order to get rid of farther inquiry, the coadjutors found it expedient to put an end to the Governor by poison. The causes assigned on the public records of Batavia are too absurd to deserve the least degree of credit. By these it would appear that a man, assuming the character of a descendant of the Emperor of China, formed a conspiracy with some of the Princes of Java, the object of which was to exterminate the Dutch; that, with this view, they had provided themselves with a quantity of *wooden cannon* to batter down the walls of the city; that their plan was to seize the persons of the Governor General and the Council, whose destiny was to be that of umbrella-bearers to the Chinese chief; but the wives of these noble personages were to be cut into minced meat, in order to be eaten by the Chinese at one of their solemn feasts; that a general *auto da fe* was to be held in the early part of the day for all Dutchmen that should be taken, and in

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the evening that all the women were to suffer the same death. Their children were to be slaves to the imperial family.

On such ridiculous surmises was the Chinese chief dragged to the stadt-house, where the most horrid tortures were employed for the purpose of extorting from him the confession of a crime which it had never entered into his mind to commit; and, at the same time, about five hundred of this nation were thrown into prison. The Dutch guards were doubled; and, while the work of torture was going on, a fire, unluckily for the Chinese, broke out in that quarter of the suburbs which was particularly inhabited by them. This accident, occurring at the distance of half a mile without the walls, was nevertheless construed into a malicious intention to set fire to the whole city. The gates were doubly guarded, the half-cast burghers were armed, the soldiers drawn out, and the sailors landed from the ships in the road. The Chinese were ordered, by proclamation, to confine themselves to their houses; but terror overcoming their discretion, and fearful of being murdered within doors, they rushed forth to meet their fate in the streets. The horrid tragedy now began, and neither age nor sex could avail in preserving the victims from assassination. About four hundred who had fled to their hospital, and five hundred who had been imprisoned, were speedily put to death. Numbers without the city, who had hastened to the gates to learn what was doing within, were set upon by the soldiers and put to death. Within, the streets ran with blood.

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No sooner had the work of destruction ended than that of plunder began. The soldiers and sailors were seen scrambling among the dead bodies, their hats and pockets loaded with dollars, quarrelling for the spoil, fighting, maiming, and murdering one another. This extraordinary affair took place on the 9th of October; the whole of the 10th was a day of plunder; and on the 11th they began to remove out of the streets the dead bodies, the interment of which employed them eight days. The number said to have perished, according to the Dutch account, amounts to more than twelve thousand souls. Having thus completed one of the most inhuman and apparently causeless transactions that ever disgraced a civilized people, they had the audacity to proclaim a public thanksgiving to the God of mercy for their happy deliverance from the hands of the heathen.

While the Dutch, in their public records, endeavour to justify this atrocious act on the plea of necessity, they make the following memorable observation: "It is remarkable that "this people, notwithstanding their great numbers, offered "not the least resistance, but suffered themselves to be led "as sheep to the slaughter." For my own part, when I reflect on the timid character of the Chinese, their want of confidence in each other, and their strong aversion to the shedding of human blood; and when I compare their situation in Batavia with that of the Hottentots in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, where every little irregularity is magnified into a plot against the government, I cannot forbear giving a decided opinion that these people were innocently murdered. The consequences to the Dutch proved

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much more serious than at first they seemed to have been aware of. The terrified Chinese who escaped the massacre fled into the interior of the island; a scarcity of rice and every kind of vegetables succeeded; and the apprehensions of a famine induced them to offer terms to the fugitives, and to entreat their return.

On another occasion of a supposed conspiracy against the government, the Dutch acted with a rigour that could scarcely be justified on any emergency. The chief, with twenty of the conspirators, were condemned to suffer death, "by being stretched on a cross; the flesh of their legs, arms, "and breast torn away with red hot pincers; their bellies "ripped up, and their hearts thrown in their faces; their "heads cut off and stuck upon poles, and their mangled "carcases exposed to be devoured by the fowls of the "air," &c. &c. And after this sentence was put in execution, a solemn thanksgiving was proclaimed; and the following day thirty more were broken on the wheel. To perpetuate this conspiracy, a skreen or blank wall is erected, with a death's head stuck on the top, on the spot where the house of the rebel chief stood; and on the skreen is written, in the Dutch, French, Portugueze, Malay, and Chinese languages, the following sentence: "Here once stood the "house of the abominable wretch Peter Erberfeldt, where a "house shall never again stand to the end of time. Batavia, "22d April 1722."

This last conspirator was a native of Batavia, and nearly connected with some of the principal families of the Javanese. The

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resistance which the Dutch have experienced from this people has, at all times, been trifling. Their spirit, if ever they had any, seems to have been completely subdued by their Mahomedan conquerors, some centuries before their island was discovered by Europeans. What they might have been in early ages history does not inform us; but, at the present day, their state and condition are by no means enviable. Sunk into the lowest stage of apathy, they seem to be utterly incapable of any great exertions. Their Princes are prisoners to a handful of Dutchmen, and the landholders are slaves to the Princes. We endeavoured to pay a visit to the King of Bantam, but were prevented by a Dutch officer, who commanded the fort in which he resided, and who, as in Trinculo's government, appeared to be Viceroy over the King. But a state of imprisonment can scarcely be considered as any hardship to one who has no care for the welfare of his subjects, who consults only bodily ease, and who lives in the firm persuasion of the profound wisdom in which the old Oriental maxim is founded, "that it is better to stand than "to walk, to lie down than to sit, to sleep than to be awake, "and that death is the best of all." Agreeably to such sentiments, the life of a Javanese of condition is an invariable round of indefatigable and persevering indolence. To him the supreme blessings of life consist in stretching himself at full length, or sitting cross-legged on a carpet, the whole day long surrounded by women; or, in his more lively hours, attended by musicians with drums and squalling flutes, by dancing men and dancing women, whilst, with placid indifference and unshaken tranquillity, he draws the smoke through the

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tube of his hookar, takes his dose of opium, or chews his preparation of betel-pepper, areca nut and chunam.

In the dances of the women, however pleasing to a Javanese eye, an European will not find any thing interesting or elegant. They consist, as in India, of certain lascivious motions of the body, head, and arms, whilst the feet remain as it were rivetted to the floor. The contortions of the body that are practised by the men may with more propriety be called posture-making than dancing.

The private hours of a Javanese Prince are mostly passed in the society, or at least in the presence, of women. He feels himself, probably, more secure in their attendance than he would do in that of his own sex. He inlists as many into the number of his wives as he chuses. Polygamy is allowable to any extent, and the ladies take rank according to the priority of their introduction into the haram. The comparative estimation in which the sex is held is sufficiently declared in one of their laws, by which it is ordained that if a man, either by accident or design, shall kill his wife, he must pay to her relations the full value; but if the wife kill her husband, she must suffer death. Pecuniary compensations are fixed for theft and murder and almost every other crime, except treason against the Prince; and when the criminal is unable to pay the fine, he is usually sold as a slave. The power of a Javanese Prince over his subjects is very limited in some respects, in others it is absolute. By a sort of feudal right they are liable to become his slaves, in which situation he exercises over them an

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uncontrolled sway. When a man, for instance, dies and leaves behind him children that are either under age or unmarried, his wives, his children and property fall to the Prince, and are considered to be taken by him in lieu of the military service of the deceased, to which he had a claim. This right is not, however, generally exercised. The chief being considered as the sole proprietary of the soil, all lands are held of him under the tenure of military service, and a proportion of their produce; but since the settlement of the Dutch on Java, the several Princes not only oblige the peasantry to cultivate particular articles suitable for exportation, but take from them such proportion of the produce as will meet the terms on which they may have concluded their agreement with the Dutch. Formerly they exacted one half of the produce by way of rent, but they are now said to demand at least two thirds of the crop. Pepper and coffee are the two principal articles that are required to be cultivated, as best suiting the purpose of the Dutch, to whom they are delivered by the Javanese Princes at the low rate of about one penny a pound.

The Javanese are, in general, about the middle size of Europeans, straight and well made; all their joints, their hands and their feet, remarkably small; the colour of their skin a deep brown, approaching to black; their eyes are black and prominent; the nose rather broad and somewhat flattened; the upper lip a little projecting, not much thickened, but highly arched. They have a firm steady gait, and seem to feel, or at least to affect, a superiority over the other inhabitants of the island. They rub the head, the face and

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other parts of the body that are not covered with clothing, with a composition of cocoa nut oil and sandal wood dust, as a preventive against a too copious perspiration, and the biting of mosquitoes and other annoying insects.

They are remarkably temperate in their diet, but neither their temperance nor their moderate labour seem to have the effect of promoting longevity. Females usually marry at ten or twelve years of age, till which time they go nearly naked, wearing only a belt round their loins, with a broad metal plate in front, of an oval or circular form, and sometimes shaped like a heart; and this is the only imperfect covering of what decency requires to be concealed. Sometimes they wear rings or bracelets round the wrist, chains about the neck, and chaplets of flowers in the hair. When a girl is espoused, she is clad in a loose flowing robe, variously ornamented according to the circumstances of her parents, her hair is more than usually decorated with flowers, and smoothed with a profusion of paste and cocoa nut oil. In this dress she rides about the town or village, mounted on horseback and, as emblematic of her chastity, the animal is always a white one, when such is to be had; and she is accompanied by all the friends, the relations and the slaves of both families, and a band of music. But this is often her last public exhibition; for, if she marries into a family of condition, she is then shut up for the remainder of her life.

The diet of the Javanese forms a great contrast with that of the Dutch. A considerable part of it consists in rice,

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sometimes fryed in oil and sometimes boiled in plain water, with which are used a few capsules or heads of *Capsicum* or Cayenne pepper, and a little salt, to render more palatable this insipid grain. With the use of animal food a true Javanese is wholly unacquainted, and of milk he is very sparing, except indeed of that liquid substance, sometimes though improperly so called, which abounds in the young cocoa nut, and which affords a cool and refreshing draught. This tree, and indeed most of the palm tribe as the date, the sago and the areca, all supply him with solid food. The chief use of the areca, however, is only as an ingredient in a compound masticatory, consisting, besides this nut, of chunam or lime of shells and *seriboo* or seeds of long pepper, made into a paste and rolled up in the green leaf of betel pepper. This composition, when moistened in the mouth, communicates to the tongue and lips a deep red colour, which turns afterwards to a dark mahogany brown. The teeth of a Javanese being painted black (because monkies, he observes, have white ones) give to the countenance rather a hideous appearance.

The areca nut, especially when fresh from the tree, is powerfully narcotic, and a small portion will cause intoxication in those who are not accustomed to the use of it. The feculæ of this nut is the *Catechu* or red earth of the old Pharmacopoeia, and is obtained by boiling it with unslacked lime; but the *Terra Japonica* or *Catechu*, which is now in use and said to be an excellent tooth powder, is the ashes of a particular species of mimosa, found in Japan and on most of the Eastern islands. The charcoal of the areca nut is, how-

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ever, considered in India as the best and most agreeable powder that can be used for the teeth.

The sedative and soporific qualities of opium are well adapted to the character and habits of the Javanese. This inspissated juice of the poppy is the greatest blessing and the greatest curse that the ingenuity of man ever devised the means of extracting from the vegetable part of the creation. When taken in moderation, it softens the anguish of bodily pain, tranquillizes the mind and, like the waters of Lethe, draws the veil of oblivion over corroding care; a larger dose produces a temporary exhilaration of the spirits which subsides into lowness and languor: and when used to excess, it irritates even to madness and to death. Opium, however, is too expensive a luxury to become of general use, and can be taken only occasionally by the bulk of the people; but other though less agreeable substitutes, possessing similar qualities, have been resorted to for producing the same effects, as the common tobacco and the seeds and leaflets of *bangue* or hemp. But the seeds of the *Datura Indica* are said to be more powerfully narcotic than either opium, tobacco, or hemp; and that, if taken only in a moderate quantity, they will affect the brain and produce the most violent paroxysms of madness. A Leyden doctor, having probably heard of their efficacy in this way, was induced to try their effect as a remedy in cases of mental derangement; and he published an account of several instances in which he pretends this medicine was administered with complete success.—"*Sanat quem sauciat ipsa.*" On the same principle, Dr. Storke of Vienna administered large doses of *Hyoscyamus*

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Niger, the black henbane, in cases of madness. He conceived, probably, that as, according to public opinion, a small quantity of the extract of this plant would cause a derangement of the intellects, a copious dose might be attended with the same salutary effects as drinking deeply of the Pierian spring,

> " Where shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
> " And drinking largely sobers us again."

Not only the features, the manners, and the remains of the civil and religious institutions of the Hindoos are still apparent among the Javanese, but they have preserved the fragments of a history, according to which they derive their origin from *Vishnoo*. This history terminates with the account of a dreadful deluge, which swept away the great bulk of mankind. In the inland parts of the island they still observe a scrupulous abstinence from every kind of animal food, under the notion of a transmigration of souls. However amiable that religion may seem which forbids the taking away of animal life, it may fairly be doubted whether an aversion to the shedding of blood, or a tender feeling for animal suffering, had any share in the origin of such an institution. A supposition to this effect would involve with it a multitude of contradictions and inconsistencies. The same people who, in their precepts strenuously inculcate and in practice encourage, by assisting and gazing at, the inhuman and unnatural sacrifice of a beautiful and innocent woman expiring in the flames of a funeral pile, cannot consistently be supposed to feel any horror at the slaughtering of an ox. The same remark will with equal force apply to the Javanese.

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What pretensions can these people have to delicate feeling and sensations of horror for animal suffering, whose great delight is to witness, like the barbarous Romans, a miserable criminal, perhaps for a very slight offence, torn in pieces by tygers and buffalos? Neither is it more likely that, in a country where animal existence is so abundantly produced and abundantly destroyed, the forbearance should have originated in any peculiar degree of respect and value for animal life. It is scarcity that in general constitutes value.

The torrid zone indeed is probably not the country in which such a system had its origin—where all nature is in a state of visible animation—where the naked earth, the woods, the waters, and even the rocks under the waters, are teeming with animal life—where every step that a man takes, every time that he opens his mouth, whether to inhale the atmospheric air, to quench his thirst with pure water, or to eat his lifeless vegetables (as he is willing to suppose them), he necessarily destroys myriads of living and sentient beings. With as little propriety can such a system, so misplaced, be referred to any refined notions of mercy and benevolence, but may, perhaps, more properly be considered as one of those unaccountable institutions which are sometimes found to militate against local consistency, and which afford no slight argument in favour of their foreign origin. On the same ground of reasoning we might venture, perhaps, to infer that the consecration of the cow is more likely to have had its origin on the bleak and barren heights of Tartary than on the warm and fertile plains of Hindostan.

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In Java every object seems to be impregnated with life. A glass of water taken out of the canal of Batavia becomes, in the course of a few hours, a mass of animated matter, the minute portions of which, multiplying by division and subdivision, move about with astonishing rapidity. The bay, swarming with myriads of living creatures, exhibits, in the night time, a phosphorescent light like a sheet of fire. The stream of fresh water which falls into it, being more highly charged with animal life, is distinctly traced in the bay by a train more luminous and brilliant than the rest of the surface, appearing like another milky way in the midst of a firmament of stars.

Whether the Hindoos framed the strange doctrine of transmigration of the vital principle into different animals, or borrowed it from other countries where animal life was less abundant, and therefore of more value, than in India, their absurdities are, in either case, fully as defensible as those of some of our modern philosophers who, in a glare of fine phrases, have assiduously endeavoured to propagate the unfounded doctrine of a fortuitous and spontaneous vivification of inanimate matter. If, in any single instance, it could be shewn that animal life had been produced under a fortuitous concurrence of favourable circumstances, one would be the less surprized at the adoption of such preposterous notions as "faculties being obtained simply by wishing for them"—that "from organic particles accumulated, originate animal appetencies"—that

> "Hence without parent, by spontaneous birth,
> "Rise the first specks of animated earth."

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And that this earthy matter of spontaneous animation has been aggregated into all the shapes and sizes of living creatures on the face of the globe, merely by volition, by forming

"A potent wish in the productive hour."

Such sublime nonsense, though in contradiction to every known fact, is yet plausible enough to mislead the judgment of many of those to whom it is particularly addressed; though, like the transmigration of souls, it is ushered into the western world in an age too enlightened to suffer it to pass into a religious creed. When the object of talents, so miserably misapplied, appears to be that of degrading man to a level with the lowest reptile that crawls on the earth, and of allowing him no other pre-eminence in the scale of creation than the accidental conception of a more "potent wish in "the productive hour;"—when the most disgusting comparisons are drawn, with an obvious design to debase the "noblest work of God" down to

"His brother-emmets and his sister-worms;"

one cannot avoid feeling the mingled sentiments of pity, contempt, and indignation, which even the seducing garb of harmonious verse has not the power of suppressing. In comparing the writings of Paley with those of Darwin, how simple, how noble, how consolatory, are the design and contrivance of a benevolent Being demonstrated in the one; how wretchedly obscure, how mean, how hopeless, is the doctrine of a fortuitous concurrence of fortunate circumstances so pomp-

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ously and perversely displayed in the fascinating verse of the other!

The next class of the inhabitants of Batavia, which I have briefly to notice, is the Malays; a race of men which is found to inhabit the coasts of most of the numerous islands that are scattered over the great Eastern Ocean; while the inland parts of the same islands are inhabited by a distinct class of people bearing, on every island, certain marks of a common origin, and an affinity more or less with the Hindoo character. These circumstances not only prove that the Malays were not the original possessors of the islands on which they are found, but that the Hindoos must have been considerable navigators at a period antecedent to all history. Indeed all the Oriental nations seem to have sprung from two grand stocks, the Hindoos and the Tartars. The Javanese evidently derive their origin from the former, and the Malays as obviously from the latter. The change in the character of this people, now so different from that of the Tartars, has most probably been occasioned by change of situation and local circumstances. The religion of Mahomet, forced upon them by the Arabs, may in itself be considered perhaps as sufficient, without any other cause, to have operated this change. Added, however, to this, they may have been driven by necessity to become pirates, and to seek that subsistence on the sea, which the more numerous and powerful owners of the islands denied them on shore. At all events, their situation and their circumstances seem still to compel them to retort on modern navigators those cruelties and oppressive

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measures, which their Mahomedan and succeeding European visitors were by no means sparing in inflicting on them.

The present cast of the Malay character is of a very extraordinary nature. In the pursuit of plunder they are as active, restless, and courageous, as in their conquests they are ferocious and vindictive. To their enemies they are remorseless, to their friends capricious, and to strangers treacherous. Ready at one moment to sacrifice his life in the defence of his friend, the Malay, in the heat of passion, will not hesitate to murder him the next. Like a beast of prey, he raves and foams when beset with dangers; but his courage may rather be considered of that ferocious and desperate kind which acts on the impulse of the moment, a sort of mental frenzy, than that steady and deliberate conduct which preserves its character under all circumstances. It is equally dangerous to offend or to punish a Malay: in the one case he will stab privately, in the other in the heat of his rage. A blow is an indignity which makes him lose at once all value for his own existence, and to set death at defiance. He never forgives the author of such disgrace, but seeks how he may best glut his revenge, however certain that an ignominious death will be the consequence.

By the same impetuous temper, which renders him impatient of injuries, he is driven to desperation by misfortunes, whether they arise from unavoidable circumstances, or from his own misconduct. In either case he rarely submits to his fate with coolness, but flies to his favourite opium, whose

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powerful effect on the brain is necessary to prepare him for the commission of the desperate acts he may have premeditated. Intoxicated with this drug, he tears loose his long black hair, and rushing infuriated through the streets, with a dagger in his hand, as if bent on doing all the mischief in his power the little while he has to live,

" He runs a *muck*, and tilts at all he meets."

An unconquerable propensity for gambling is one of the chief causes which drives the Malay to this state of desperation. So passionately attached is he to every species of gaming, and more particularly so to cock-fighting, that his last morsel, the covering of his body, his wife and children, are frequently staked on the issue of a battle to be fought by his favourite cock. This bird, on the island of Java, grows to a prodigious size, especially about Bantam, where, instead of those little feathery-legged fowls, usually supposed to be natives of this place from whence they take the name, they are nearly as large as the Norfolk bustard. " I have seen " one of these cocks," says Mr. Marsden, " peck off a com- " mon dining table; when fatigued they sit down on the " first joint of the leg, and are then taller than the common " fowls." This animal is the inseparable companion of the Malay; but his affection, though apparently approaching to infatuation, does not prevent him from exposing it to the risk of a battle which, from the nature of the weapons, must prove fatal to one of the combatants. Instead of spurs or heels, he fixes on the bottom of his foot a piece of sharpened iron, about the size of the blade of a large penknife, and of

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the shape of a scythe. A single stroke of this weapon will sometimes completely lay open the body of his antagonist. But whether thus hacking down with cutlasses, or pricking each other like gentlemen with small swords, will be considered as the more humane and the more genteel practice, is a point I must leave to be determined by the Malays, and those refined gentlemen of our own country who can derive amusement from the destruction of so noble-spirited an animal. But while we condemn the ignorant and but half-civilized Malays for their eagerness in the pursuit of this favourite and inhuman sport, we cannot too much reprobate the same barbarous practice so sedulously encouraged, as an amusing relaxation, in many of our seminaries of education, where it is usually preceded by the elegant exercise of foot-ball, as a suitable preparatory for the cock-pit, which on such occasions is generally graced by a few black eyes and broken shins. Thus are scenes of quarrelling and cruelty made familiar to youth, as the proper accompaniments of gaming and idleness in riper years. The education of Malay children is not less attended to in their way. While too young to manage so large an animal as the cock, they indulge their propensity to this species of gaming by carrying about in little cages, like the Chinese, quails trained to fight, and different species of grasshoppers.

The ferocious conduct of the Malays would appear to be sometimes the result rather of a wanton cruelty of disposition, or an implacable hatred of strangers, than of mental distress, insult, or injury. On the coast of Sumatra we had the mis-

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fortune to lose a very valuable man by the daggers of these people. Finding him alone and defenceless, employed at the watering-place in washing his foul linen, they had rushed upon him unawares, plunged their weapons into his back, and thrown him into the pool of water. His companion, who had strayed to a little distance along the beach, met the murderous party who, perceiving he carried a musquet, passed him without the least molestation. He dragged the body of his friend out of the water, but poor Leighton had already expired. It could not have happened for the sake of robbing him of a little dirty linen, for in this case it was not necessary to commit a murder; neither was he likely to have given them any provocation. He was, on all occasions, a man of thorough good humour. A circumstance was recollected, after the accident had happened, to which perhaps it might have been owing. One day a Malay came on board the Lion, with monkies, birds, fruits and vegetables for sale. Leighton, among his various pursuits, had a turn for portrait-painting, in which he was flattered with being successful. The Malay being a new character, he was desirous of obtaining his features. The man not understanding what he wanted, and suspecting that he might be practising some incantation, of which this nation is extremely apprehensive, springing from the deck of the ship, plunged at once into the sea and, scrambling into his canoe as well as he could, paddled off. Calling to recollection this circumstance, it was supposed by many that this same man might have instigated the party to put him to death.

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The last class of people of which I am to take notice is that of the slaves. If at any one place this unhappy race of men has been more unnecessarily introduced than at another, that place is certainly Batavia, where thousands of free Chinese, the best and most handy servants perhaps in the whole world, presented themselves in readiness to serve on the most moderate terms. I confine the observation to those slaves who are in servitude to the Dutch; as the Javanese, though in fact little better than slaves to the Princes, are not, however, disposable by sale, nor in any way transferable from hand to hand, like other property. The slaves of the Dutch are employed chiefly as artificers, or for domestic purposes. By the number that are kept, the wealth and importance of the owner are in some degree indicated. Like a stud of horses in England, the slaves of Batavia are kept more for parade than for real use. While in this condition, as I before observed, they are not allowed to wear shoes and stockings, in order that they may be known in the streets; for a freeman, however poor, will take care to supply himself with at least a covering for his legs and feet, in preference even to a coat, to avoid carrying about with him the odious badge of slavery. Few as the Dutch are, when compared with their slaves, they are less cautious than the Roman people were, who would not suffer a proposition to be carried, which was made in the Senate, to distinguish the slaves by a particular dress from the citizens, lest the number of the former, being thus easily ascertainable, might become dangerous to the state.

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The slaves of both sexes are lightly worked and well fed; and though they are occasionally punished with great severity, their punishment is rarely inflicted by the hands, or under the direction, of their owners. The usual way is to send them to the Fiscal, who is paid some trifling sum for each correction; but when a man possesses a considerable number of slaves, he generally bargains with the Fiscal to flog them in the lump by the year. The members of the Council and of the Court of Justice have the privilege of demanding the exercise of this magistrate's authority, free of expence. The usual punishment consists of a certain number of stripes, according to the nature of the offence, with laths of bamboo; and the wounds are generally pickled with a preparation of pepper and salt, to prevent mortification.

The number of slaves annually imported into Batavia alone, for the use of the Dutch and half-cast burghers, is computed at one thousand. However extraordinary it may appear, it is not the less certain, that, in order to keep up the establishment of slaves in this declining settlement, it is found to be absolutely necessary to continue this large importation. If any explanation were required for a fact, which unfortunately is established in all countries where slavery exists, it may perhaps be here attributed to the excess of females above the males, and the little care that is taken of children where there is no connubial tie, and a restrained intercourse between the parents.

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The most numerous and indeed the most useful are the Malay slaves, brought from the different islands in the Eastern Sea. Like the Chinese, they are prompt at imitation, and expert in learning all handicraft trades. A great part of the female slaves are imported from Pulo Nias, a small island on the west side of Sumatra, being esteemed for the elegance of their shapes, their vivacity, and their smooth skins. They are, however, said to be subject to a cutaneous disorder which, like the leprosy, withers the skin, and changes its colour. The price of a Nias maid, when all her points are good, is seldom less than one thousand dollars.

The Malabar is a mild and passive creature, willing to learn, but slow of apprehension. His slender form is ill adapted for hard labour, and he is therefore generally purchased as a personal servant; and the women of this nation are mostly employed to wait on their mistresses. The black slaves from the island of *Timor* are not unlike the Malabars, and in their features evidently betray their Hindoo origin.

The slaves from Madagascar and the Mosambique are a harmless race of men, of a pliant and willing disposition, but extremely stupid; tall, muscular, and athletic, but their strength is seldom employed with advantage to themselves or their owners, or their labour conducted with judgment. Their artless simplicity leads to the easy detection of their crimes. We had an instance of this at the hotel where we lodged. Some articles were missing from one of the rooms.

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The slaves were summoned to undergo the trial by rice. Each slave was directed to open his mouth, into which was to be thrown a certain quantity of dry rice. The actual thief, impressed with the idea that the rice would certainly choak him, and that a flogging was better than suffocation, pertinaciously refused to open his mouth. Another mode of detecting a culprit is by giving him at night a small stick, notched at a certain distance from the end, whilst the master keeps another notched exactly in the same manner. Being persuaded that, if guilty, the notch will be farther removed from the end, or that the stick will grow longer before the next morning, the slave, in the simplicity of his heart, takes good care that this shall not be the case, by cutting from it a slice to keep it down to its proper length.

As none of the Dutch inhabitants are holders of land, beyond the gardens usually annexed to their country villas, and the Chinese are incomparably the best gardeners, there are no field slaves in the neighbourhood of Batavia; the whole that are imported being either employed for domestic purposes, or brought up to some useful trade, by working at which they earn, for the use of their masters, a higher interest for the money expended in their purchase and subsistence than they would be able to procure by employing the same capital in any other way. Many of the Malay slaves, by industry in their profession, are enabled in a few years to purchase their emancipation; sometimes they are manumitted for their long and faithful services; but most frequently at the death of their master, who usually bequeaths to one or

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more of his slaves the legacy of their freedom, which the Governor and Council are compelled to confirm, on the application of the slave for letters of manumission, for which, however, he is obliged to pay the sum of twenty-five dollars, or remain in servitude till he has earned by his labour what may be deemed an equivalent to that amount.

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CHAP. IX.

COCHINCHINA.

Geographical Outline—Bays and Rivers—Suspicious Conduct of the Natives, and Cause of it—Historical Sketch relating to Cochinchina—A Rebellion, and the Murder of the King—Conquest of Tung-Quin—Conduct of a Chinese General—Safety of the young Prince of Cochinchina—His Adventures—Bishop d'Adran carries the King's Son to Paris—Treaty between him and Lewis XVI.—Preparations for carrying the Treaty into Effect—Defeated by Madame de Vienne—Return of the legitimate King to Cochinchina—His various Successes over the Usurpers—His Character—His Attachment to the Bishop d'Adran—Extraordinary Energy of his bodily and mental Faculties—His land and marine Forces.

HAVING remained a much longer time in the neighbourhood of the equator than we had intended, or indeed than was advisable for the health of the crews, if it could have been avoided, we quitted with pleasure the low swampy coast of Sumatra, and at the same time the strait of Banca; and after a fruitless attempt to stand into a bay on the island of Pulo Lingin, situated immediately under the equinoctial, we were not sorry to leave it behind, few of us caring to encounter that extraordinary degree of heat which, on this island, the learned Bayer says, but on whose authority I forget, is quite sufficient for the propagation of the human species, without the usual intercourse of the sexes; under

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this provision, however, I suppose, that the spontaneous embryo shall be lucky enough to form

" A potent wish in the productive hour."

As the favourable monsoon was scarcely yet set in, and the state of the sick required the refreshments of the shore, we came to anchor in an open bay before one of the small islands of Pulo Condore, with a view to that effect; but the appearance of our large ships occasioned so great an alarm to the few poor natives, as to drive them into the mountains, leaving behind them their scanty stock of provisions exposed at the doors of their huts, and praying us, in a billet written in the Chinese character, to be satisfied by taking their little all, and to spare their humble dwellings. Such being the state of the island, we hastened our departure from thence, and steered direct towards a part of the Asiatic continent which is less known than it deserves to be and, I may venture to predict, less than it will be to some of the European nations, before many years shall have elapsed.

In the latest and perhaps the best arranged system of geography which has been offered to the public, a considerable portion of Asia, containing full twenty millions of people, and from three to four hundred thousand square miles, extraordinary as it may appear, is passed over with a mere dash of the pen. " The kingdoms of *Laos*, *Cambodia*, " *Siampa*, *Cochinchina*, and *Tung-quin*," says Mr. Pinkerton, " are countries unimportant in themselves, and concerning " which the materials are imperfect." To the latter part of this sweeping and unqualified assertion I most freely and

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fully subscribe, but cannot by any means assent to the former; being vain enough to hope that the small stock of well-authenticated materials, which I am about to lay before the publick, will be sufficient to shew that these countries, or a portion of them only, held thus so very cheap, are not only important within themselves, but highly so to the present and future concerns of British India. And for the better illustration of the historical sketch, which will be the subject of this chapter, it may not be amiss to prefix a concise outline of the geographical situation and divisions of that part of the Asiatic continent which is usually known by the name of Cochinchina.

The extensive empire of China terminates, on the south, at the twenty-second degree of latitude; but a tongue of land connected with it continues on its western side as far as to the ninth parallel of northern latitude. This prolongation of thirteen degrees in extent has a ridge of high mountains which, running down the middle from north to south, divides the Birman empire, on the west, from the kingdoms of *Tung-quin*, *Cochinchina*, *Tsiompa*, and *Cambodia*, on the east. These names, thus usually marked on our charts, are, however, utterly unknown to the natives, except *Tung-quin*. The other three collectively are called *An-nan*, and are distinguished by three grand divisions. The first, contained between the southernmost point which forms the extremity of the gulph of Siam and which lies in about the ninth degree of latitude, as far as to the twelfth degree, is called *Don-nai*; the second, extending from hence to the fifteenth degree, *Chang*; and the third, between this and the seventeenth de-

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gree, where the kingdom of *Tung-quin* commences, is called *Hué*. On the sea coast of all these divisions are safe and commodious bays and harbours. The great river of *Don-nai* (*Cambodia* of the charts) is described as navigable by ships of the largest size to the distance of forty miles up the country, where the city of *Sai-gong* is situated, having a capacious and commodious port, and an extensive naval arsenal. An English gentleman, who sailed up this river in a large Portugueze vessel, on his passage from China to India, represented it to me as one of the grandest scenes that could be imagined. It has several large branches, but the width of that up which they sailed seldom exceeded two miles, and in many places was less than one; but the water was so deep in every part, that the rigging of their vessel was sometimes entangled in the branches of the stately forest trees which shaded its banks, and her sides frequently grazed against the verdant shores.

In the division of *Chang*, in latitude 13° 50′ N. is *Chin-cheu* bay and harbour; the latter spacious and completely sheltered from all winds, but only accessible by large vessels at high water, on account of a bar that runs across the narrow entrance or gullet between it and the outer bay. At the head of this harbour is situated the city of *Quin-nong*.

The principal city in the division of *Hué*, which bears the same name, is situated on the banks of a large river navigable by ships of considerable burden; but a bar of sand runs across the mouth. A little to the southward of this river is the bay of *Han-san*, or, as it is usually marked in the

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charts, *Turon*, which, for the security and conveniencies it affords, is equalled by few in the Eastern world, and certainly surpassed by none. It is situated in latitude 16° 7′ N.

It was for this bay we shaped our course from Pulo Condore, and we arrived before it on the 24th May. Not having any chart that could be depended on, and perceiving a multitude of fishing craft between our ships and the shore, we sent out a boat with the view of getting a pilot; but the fishermen, on observing it, immediately hoisted their sails and scudded away before the wind. At last, however, a small boat without any sail was overtaken, from which a miserable old wretch was brought away, than whom I never beheld a more piteous object. His eyes were deeply sunk in his head, his face was the colour of an old oaken wainscot, haggard, and wrinkled; and a few clotted locks of grey hair started from under a dirty handkerchief which was bound round his head. His whole dress consisted of a short frock patched with pieces of twenty different sorts and colours, and a pair of ragged trowsers of the petticoat kind. Such a specimen of the people we were about to visit was not calculated to raise very high expectations in their favour. On stepping into the ship he seemed to be greatly agitated, casting his eyes first round the spacious deck, then at the large guns, and not a little disturbed at the appearance of so many people; but, above all, the great height of the masts seemed to attract his attention. He frequently fell on his knees, and burst into tears. With some difficulty he was at last sufficiently pacified to be made, by signs, to comprehend the purpose for which he had been brought on board; and

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he pointed out the entrance into the bay, which does not readily discover itself to those who are strangers to it. The weather being squally, we did not succeed in getting in till the latter part of the following day.

The deplorable state to which our sick were now reduced by the typhous fever and dysentery, which had been caught at Batavia, and had spread nearly through the whole of the ship's company, was the principal reason of our going to Turon, after the disappointment we met with at Pulo Condore. It may be imagined then how great and grievous was the mortification we all felt on being told, by the Captain of a Portugueze vessel which was lying in the bay, that an existing rebellion, having plunged the whole of Cochinchina into a state of civil war, had reduced the country to such a wretched situation as to preclude every hope of our procuring the refreshments of which we stood so much in need; and that it would be more advisable for us to proceed to Macao without a moment's delay, than to wait there in fruitless expectation of getting those supplies, which might perhaps be promised, but which, he knew very well, could not be provided. The miserable condition of our old fisherman, and the general appearance of the place, and every thing we saw, seemed to confirm the unwelcome intelligence of Manuel Duomé. Few natives came near the ships; those that did come were shy and suspicious in their conduct, and when we went on shore they seemed to avoid us. No provisions nor any kind of refreshments were brought off to the ships, and it was not without difficulty we could procure on shore a few fowls and a trifling quantity of fruit and roots.

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The second day, however, the market was rather better stocked; and, in a few days more, when they found that their articles were saleable at their own prices, and money plentiful, it was abundantly supplied with live stock, fruit, and vegetables. The leading men of the place, who now began to come forward, shewed an inclination to be civil, and to pay some attention to our requisitions. They even visited us on board; and on the fourth or fifth day it was announced that, for the sake of convenience, a public dinner would be daily prepared on shore, for such of the gentlemen and officers of the squadron as might chuse to partake of it.

Our intercourse with the people was now become constant and unrestrained, and mutual confidence was established between us; and this brought to light a discovery not very creditable to our friend Manuel Duomé. This Portugueze trader, in the true spirit of commercial jealousy, had availed himself of the suspicions of the Cochinchinese, and insinuated that nothing was more probable than the English squadron having come thither with hostile views. And it seemed he was at no little pains to convince them that such was really the case, in the hope that, by their shutting the markets against us, we should be induced to take a speedy departure, and leave the coast clear to himself. To explain the circumstances which gave colour to these suspicions will require a brief statement of the affairs of this distracted country for the last thirty years; and I am unwilling to think that the historical sketch I am about to give will be considered, even by Mr. Pinkerton, as unimportant or uninteresting.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MODERN COCHINCHINA.

In the 35th year of the reign of *Caung-shung*, King of Cochinchina, and the 50th of his age, (1774 of the Christian æra,) a sudden and overwhelming insurrection broke out in his capital, the city of *Quin-nong*. This rebellion was headed by three brothers. The eldest, whose name was *Yin-yac*, was a wealthy merchant who carried on an extensive commerce with China and Japan; the name of the second was *Long-niang*, a general officer of high rank and great command; and the third was a priest. Such a dangerous combination of wealth, of military power, and of influence over the minds of the people, was but feebly resisted on the part of the King, who, from a sickly constitution and an indolent habit of body, had for many years surrendered, in a great degree, the reins of government into the hands of his generals, who were mostly eunuchs. Other circumstances at the moment tended to forward the views of the rebel chiefs. The imposition of a poll tax had created a general discontent among the people. The first step they took, which is the usual proceeding on such occasions, was to get possession of the person of the King, and to secure every part of the royal family that came within their reach; and all who fell into their hands were immediately put to death. The city of *Sai-gong* was supposed to be favourable to the cause of the deposed sovereign. An army was therefore marched against it, the walls were levelled with the ground, and 20,000 of its inhabitants put to the sword. Trials and executions were daily exhibited

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in every part of the country, under pretence of plots and conspiracies against the sacred persons of the usurpers. These, on their part, left no measures untried, nor suffered any occasion to pass by, which might be the means of acquiring them popularity. The merchant gave sumptuous entertainments, fetes, and fire-works; the general cajoled the army; and the priest prevailed on the clergy to announce to the careless multitude the decree of *Tien*, which had ordained these three worthies to be their future rulers.

In their arrangements for the future government of this extensive country, it was determined that *Yin-yac* should possess the two divisions of *Chang* and *Don-nai*; *Long-niang* that of *Hué*, bordering on *Tung-quin*; and that the youngest brother should be high priest of all Cochinchina. By this disposition, *Yin-yac* cunningly placed his brother between himself and the *Tung-quinese*, who were at this time considered as a powerful nation. *Long-niang* had scarcely set foot in his capital *Hué-foo*, before he took occasion to quarrel with the King of *Tung-quin*, who was a tributary vassal to the Emperor of China. The *Tung-quinese*, being in fact of the same character and disposition as the Chinese, were little able to cope with the hardy and disciplined troops of a bold and adventurous usurper. Their King, abandoning his army after the first engagement, fled to Pekin to demand the assistance of the Emperor of China. *Kien-Lung* who, from his successes in every part of Tartary and on the great island of Formosa, had been led to believe that his troops were invincible, conceived there would be little difficulty in driving the usurper from *Tung-quin*, and in restoring the lawful

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sovereign to his throne. With this view he ordered the Viceroy of Canton to march immediately at the head of an army of 100,000 men. *Long-niang*, by means of his spies, was fully apprized of all the movements of this immense army. Having ascertained their line of march, he sent out detachments to plunder and destroy the towns and villages through which it had to pass; and the country being thus laid waste, the Chinese army, long before it had even reached the frontier of *Tung-quin*, was distressed by want of provisions, and obliged to fall back.

The usurper, who was a much better general than our friend *Foo-chang-tong*, (whom we met at the court of Pekin,) the commander of this army, continually kept harassing the rear of the Chinese troops, as they retreated; and so much did they suffer in this ill-conducted expedition, by fatigue, by famine and the sword, that not less than fifty thousand men are said to have perished, without a general battle having been fought. Driven back with the remains of his army within a hundred miles of Canton, the Viceroy, in order to prevent a further loss of men and, what to him was of more importance, loss of character and certain disgrace, concluded that the most prudent step he could now take would be that of opening a negociation with the usurper. *Long-niang*, assuming the tone of a conqueror, boldly declared that, having been called to the throne of *Tung-quin* by the will of heaven and the voice of the people, he was resolved to maintain his right to the last extremity; that he had 200,000 men in *Tung-quin*, and as many in Cochinchina, ready to lose the last drop of their blood in his support; and that he was now no longer *Long-*

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niang the *usurper*, for that he had caused himself to be crowned, by the name of *Quang-tung*, King of the united kingdoms of *Tung-quin* and *Cochinchina*.

The Viceroy of Canton was but ill prepared for this high and decided tone of the usurper; yet no time was to be lost in deliberation. *Foo-chang-tong* was a poor soldier; but, for what he was deficient in courage and military skill, he amply made up in cunning. His fortunes and his character were at stake, and he saw that he was reduced to the necessity of playing a desperate game. He dispatched a courier to the Court of Pekin, to give an account to the Emperor of the unparalleled success of his expedition: and, after some detail of engagements which never happened, but in which the arms of the Emperor were always represented as victorious, bore testimony to the bravery of the enemy; to the justice and reasonableness of his pretensions to a crown, which the former possessor had relinquished; the fair character of his antagonist, and the universal esteem in which he was held by the people; and, in short, delivered it as his opinion that *Quang-tung* should be invited to the Court of Pekin to do the usual homage, and to receive the sanction of the Emperor for holding the throne of *Tung-quin*; suggesting, at the same time, that a degree of mandarinate in one of the provinces of China, conferred on the late sovereign of that country, would be an ample indemnification for what he had lost in *Tung-quin*.

The Court approved of the Viceroy's proposal. The fugitive King of *Tung-quin*, like Federigo of Naples when

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created Duke of Anjou by Louis XII., relinquished his pretensions to a crown, and accepted the degraded title of a Chinese Mandarin: after which an invitation in due form was sent down for *Quang-tung* to proceed to Pekin. This wary general, however, thinking it might be a trick of the Viceroy to get possession of his person; and naturally distrusting the man whom he had so shamefully defeated, remained in doubt as to the course he ought to pursue: but, on consulting one of his confidential generals, it was concluded between them that this officer should proceed to the capital of China as his representative, and as the new King of *Tung-quin* and Cochinchina. He was received at the court of Pekin with all due honours, loaded with the usual presents, and confirmed in his title to the united kingdoms, which were in future to be considered as tributary to the Emperor of China. On the return of this mock king to *Hué*, *Quang-tung* was greatly puzzled how he should act; but seeing that the affair could not long remain a secret with so many living witnesses, he caused his friend and the whole of his suite to be put to death, as the surest and perhaps the only means of preventing the trick, which he had so successfully played on the Emperor of China, from being discovered. This event happened in the year 1779.

To those who are acquainted with the Chinese character, and the nature of that government, it will appear the less surprizing that the commanding officer of an army should transmit to the supreme tribunal in Pekin a false report of his proceedings. Where the chances are in favour of falsehood escaping detection; where military merit has no other mea-

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sure than that of success; and where the consequence of a single reverse, when once ascertained, is the bow-string, truth can hardly be expected to flow from the pen of the very man who has to tell the tale of his own disasters. In vain have *Kien-Lung* and *Kia-king* issued their proclamations, from time to time, denouncing vengeance on those generals who should transmit reports of battles that were never fought, and of victories that were never gained; the military tribunal of Pekin is, at this day, just as remote from receiving a true statement of facts as their predecessors were two thousand years ago. No wonder then that *Foo-chang-tong*, at the distance of 2000 miles, and in a wild and but little frequented country, should be tempted to impose on the court, and that the trick should remain undiscovered.

At the time of the rebellion in Cochinchina, when the three brothers caused the King, and that part of the royal family and its adherents which fell into their hands, to be put to death, there happened to reside at Court a French missionary of the name of Adran, who, in his various communications which are published in the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, calls himself the *Apostolic Vicar of Cochinchina*. This missionary was strongly attached to the royal family which, on its part, seems to have held him in great consideration and esteem. Instead of persecuting the little colony of Christians which he had raised in the country, the King afforded them his protection; and so little danger did he apprehend from a man who professed a different religion from that of his own, that he had no scruples in placing under his particular tuition his only son and heir to the throne. Adran, on the first burst

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of the revolt, saw that the only hope of safety for himself and his flock was in flight. The King was already in the power of the rebels; but the Queen, the young Prince, with his wife and infant son, and one sister, by the ready assistance of Adran, effected their escape. Under favour of the night they fled to a considerable distance from the capital, and took refuge in a forest. Here, for several months, the young King of Cochinchina, like another Charles, concealed himself and the remnant of his unfortunate family in the shady branches, not of an oak, but of a banyan or fig tree, whose sacred character rendered it, perhaps, in their estimation the more secure. In this situation they received their daily sustenance from the hands of a Christian priest, of the name of Paul, who carried them supplies at the hazard of his own life, till all further search was discontinued, and the parties of troops sent out for the purpose recalled.

As soon as the enemy had retired, the unfortunate fugitives made the best of their way to *Sai-gong*, where the people flocked to the standard of their legitimate sovereign, whom they crowned as King of Cochinchina under the name of his late father *Caung-shung*. There happened, at this time, to be lying at *Sai-gong* an armed vessel commanded by one Manuel, a Frenchman, seven Portugueze merchantmen and a considerable number of junks and row-boats. By the advice of Adran, this fleet was purchased, manned and equipped at the shortest notice, for the purpose of making an unexpected attack on the usurper's fleet, unprepared for such an event, in the harbour of *Quin-nong*. The monsoon was favourable for the project. They entered the bay where the enemy's

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fleet was lying quietly at anchor. The alarm, however, being given, the troops were soon embarked. The fate of the day was doubtful till the Frenchman's ship, which in a Frenchman's narrative is said to have done wonders, got aground; when the commanders of the seven Portugueze vessels immediately ran away, and carried off their ships to Macao. The young King displayed the greatest coolness and intrepidity but, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to effect his escape by a precipitate retreat.

By this attack a considerable part of *Yin-yac*'s fleet was disabled or destroyed; but it answered no other purpose than to rouse his attention towards the southern parts of the country. *Caung-shung*, indeed, had scarcely returned to *Don-nai*, which he reached with difficulty on account of the monsoon being adverse to his return, when intelligence was received of a large army being on its march against him. It was soon discovered that any resistance which he could oppose would be nugatory; and, therefore, he determined at once to abandon the country. Having collected the remains of his family and a few faithful followers, he embarked in the river of *Saigong*; and, putting to sea, arrived safely on a small uninhabited island in the gulph of Siam called *Pulo Wai*. Here he was joined, from time to time, by about twelve hundred of his subjects fit to carry arms. The usurper, having discovered the place of his retreat, resolved to send out an expedition against him; but *Caung-shung*, apprized of his intention, deemed it more prudent to embark for Siam, and to throw himself on the protection of the King of that country,

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than to remain on a defenceless island, where certain destruction must follow to himself and to his people.

His Siamese Majesty happened to be at war with the *Braamans* (the Birmans), who had hitherto been constantly victorious, and made considerable encroachments on his territories. *Caung-shung*, whose mind was of too lofty a cast to brook the idea of remaining a humble and inactive dependent on the munificence of the King of Siam, made an offer of his services to proceed against the enemy at the head of his little army of followers, amounting, at that time, to about one thousand effective men. The King accepted his offer. Having acquired, under the instructions of the French missionary, a considerable knowledge of European tactics, he had now, for the first time, an opportunity of putting them in practice. Instead of hazarding a general engagement with the enemy, he attacked him only from certain commanding positions, threw obstacles in the way of his march, harassed him continually by detachments and, in short, made use of so many manœuvres unknown to the Birmans, that he obliged them to sue for a peace on his own terms. After this he returned in triumph to the capital of Siam, where he was received with universal joy and every demonstration of kindness, on the part of the King, who loaded him with presents of gold, silver and precious stones.

The King of Siam, it seems, had made overtures to *Quang-shung*'s mother, during his absence in the war, to obtain his sister as one of his concubines; a proposal which she had

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rejected with disdain. But being desperately smitten with her beauty, he was determined to possess her at any rate, and, for this purpose, made an offer to share with her his throne, which was also refused. His Siamese Majesty began now to be offended in his turn, and to upbraid the emigrant Prince as an abandoned outcast, who ought not to hold himself and his family in such high estimation. On this subject the two sovereigns are said to have quarrelled: but other accounts state, what indeed is more probable, that the Siamese generals, jealous of the emigrant Prince, had plotted against his life. The same jealousy might also have found its way into the breast of the King of Siam. Aware of the storm that was rising against him, he communicated his apprehensions to some of his faithful followers, who advised him immediately to quit a Court where the delay of a night might prove fatal to him. It was therefore determined that they should force their way that very evening, with sword in hand, to the nearest port, seize on the shipping which might be there, and, being embarked, steer a direct course for their old solitary island of *Pulo Wai*. The number of those who had followed his fortunes from Cochinchina, and who had since joined him in Siam, amounted to about fifteen hundred persons. Placing himself, with his family, at the head of this small force, he sallied forth from the capital of Siam, cut his way through all that opposed him, embarked his friends in a sufficient number of Siamese vessels and Malay proas that were lying in the harbour and, putting to sea, arrived safely on *Pulo Wai*, which he now took care to fortify in such a manner, with the guns and arms found on the ships he had seized, as to be se-

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cure against any attack that either the King of Siam or the rebels of Cochinchina might be disposed to make against it.

Adran, some time before this, had made his way from Siam to the southern province of Cochinchina, in order to sound the sentiments of the people with regard to their legitimate sovereign; and, finding them still faithful to his interest, and a general dissatisfaction prevailing against the usurper, he conceived the plan of applying to Louis XVI. of France for succours, in order to replace the lawful heir on the throne, on such terms as would not be objectionable to himself, and might eventually be highly advantageous to France. With this view he set sail in search of the emigrant King. "I met "with the unfortunate Monarch," says he, in a letter dated from Pondicherry, "in a very wretched situation, accom- "panied by a few faithful friends, on one of the small islands "in the gulph of Siam, near the junction of this kingdom "with Cambodia. His soldiers were subsisting on roots "which they dug out of the earth." Here, it seems, the King committted to the care of the missionary his eldest son, earnestly entreating him, in the event of any accident befalling himself, to continue his advice and assistance to him as a father and a friend; and to instruct him never to lose sight of his lawful dominions, of which his father was deprived by violence and usurpation

Adran, having satisfied the King on this subject, took his leave, and embarked with his young charge for Pondicherry; and, having procured a passage from thence in an European

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vessel, they arrived in Paris in the year 1787. The young Prince was presented at court, and treated with every mark of attention and respect; and the project of the missionary was so highly approved that, in the course of a few months, a treaty was drawn up and concluded between Louis XVI. and the King of Cochinchina, signed at Versailles on the part of the former by the *Comptes de Vergennes* and *Montmorin*, and of the latter by the young Prince. The principal articles of this extraordinary treaty, which I believe is now for the first time made public, were as follows:

I. There shall be an offensive and defensive alliance between the Kings of France and Cochinchina; they do hereby agree mutually to afford assistance to each other against all those who may make war upon either of the two contracting parties.

II. To accomplish this purpose, there shall be put under the orders of the King of Cochinchina a squadron of twenty French ships of war, of such size and force as shall be deemed sufficient for the demands of his service.

III. Five complete European regiments, and two regiments of native colonial troops, shall be embarked without delay for Cochinchina.

IV. His Majesty Louis XVI. shall engage to furnish, within four months, the sum of one million dollars; five hundred thousand of which shall be in specie, the remainder

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in salt petre, cannon, musquets, and other military stores.

V. From the moment the French troops shall have entered the dominions of the King of Cochinchina, they and their generals, both by sea and land, shall receive their orders from the King of Cochinchina. To this effect the commanding officers shall be furnished with instructions from his Catholic Majesty to obey in all things, and in all places, the will of his new ally.

On the other hand,

I. The King of Cochinchina, as soon as tranquillity shall be re-established in his dominions, shall engage to furnish, for fourteen ships of the line, such a quantity of stores and provisions as will enable them to put to sea without delay, on the requisition of the ambassador from the King of France; and for the better effecting this purpose, there shall be sent out from Europe a corps of officers and petty officers of the marine, to be put upon a permanent establishment in Cochinchina.

II. His Majesty Louis XVI. shall have resident consuls on every part of the coast of Cochinchina, wherever he may think fit to place them. These consuls shall be allowed the privilege of building, or causing to be built, ships, frigates, and other vessels, without molestation, under any pretence, from the Cochinchinese government.

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III. The ambassador of his Majesty Louis XVI. to the Court of Cochinchina shall be allowed to fell such timber, in any of the forests, as may be found convenient and suitable for building ships, frigates, or other vessels.

IV. The King of Cochinchina and the Council of State shall cede in perpetuity to his most Christian Majesty, his heirs, and successors, the port and territory of Han-san (bay of Turon and the peninsula), and the adjacent islands from *Faifo* on the south to *Hai-wen* on the north.

V. The King of Cochinchina engages to furnish men and materials necessary for the construction of forts, bridges, high-roads, tanks, &c. as far as may be judged necessary for the protection and defence of the cessions made to his faithful ally the King of France.

VI. In case that the natives shall at any time be unwilling to remain in the ceded territory, they will be at liberty to leave it, and will be reimbursed the value of the property they may leave upon it. The civil and criminal jurisprudence shall remain unaltered; all religious opinions shall be free; the taxes shall be collected by the French in the usual mode of the country, and the collectors shall be appointed jointly by the ambassador of France and the King of Cochinchina; but the latter shall not claim any part of those taxes, which will belong properly to his most Christian Majesty for the support of his territories.

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VII. In the event of his most Christian Majesty being resolved to wage war in any part of India, it shall be allowed to the Commander in Chief of the French forces to raise a levy of 14,000 men, whom he shall cause to be trained in the same manner as they are in France, and to be put under French discipline.

VIII. In the event of any power whatsoever attacking the French in their Cochinchinese territory, the King of Cochinchina shall furnish 60,000 men or more in land forces, whom he shall clothe, victual, &c. &c.

Beside these articles, the treaty contained some others of inferior importance, but all of them, as might be expected, greatly in favour of the French. Adran was promoted to the episcopal see under the title of Bishop of Cochinchina, and honoured with the appointment of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to that Court. The command of the troops intended to be embarked on the expedition, which was put under the sole management and direction of the Bishop, was meant to be conferred either on M. Custin or M. de Frêne. The Bishop was desirous that Conway, the Governor of Pondicherry, should have the command; but Louis XVI., it seems, had taken a strong aversion to this officer, as being, in his opinion, an immoral, unprincipled character, and a proud, haughty and restless man. "Mons. d'Adran," observed this good Monarch, "you suffer yourself to be led "away in favour of Conway: believe me, he would occasion "you much uneasiness, and probably frustrate the views of

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" the expedition. If I have made him Governor General in " India, it is with the view solely of preventing his intrigues " here, and his attempts to throw matters into confusion; " for I well know that his brother, himself, and Dillon, can- " not remain one moment at rest. He may be a good soldier, " and will do well enough while stationary at Pondicherry; " but I would not trust him at the head of an army. How- " ever, for your sake, he shall have the red ribband (*cordon* " *rouge*), and the rank of Lieutenant General."

Matters being thus far concluded in Paris, the Bishop, with the young Prince under his charge and the treaty in his pocket, set sail for Pondicherry, in the Meduse frigate, as Ambassador Plenipotentiary from Louis XVI. of France to the King of Cochinchina. He called on his passage at the Isle of France, where he found lying a ship of fifty guns, seven frigates, and some transports. He found also that the number of disposeable troops in this island and Bourbon amounted to between four and five thousand men. The ships were ordered to be equipped with all possible dispatch, and the troops to hold themselves in readiness for embarkation, the moment that an advice boat should arrive from Pondicherry, which he meant to dispatch, on his arrival there, with orders to that effect.

There happened to be in Pondicherry, at the time of his arrival in 1789, a celebrated beauty of the name of Madame de Vienne, the wife of Conway's Aid-de-camp, and mistress to the General. As the Bishop had paid his respects to all the women of distinction in the settlement, it was

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hinted to him that he ought to make a visit to this lady. This piece of civility he not only refused to perform, but was exceedingly indignant on the intimation being made to him, using many gross epithets on the occasion, and reprobating, in the severest terms, the scandalous conduct both of the General and his mistress; all of which was faithfully communicated to the latter by some of her confidential friends. Enraged on hearing the impertinent observations, as she considered them, on the part of the priest, she was determined to lose no time in practising her revenge. Madame de Vienne had obtained an absolute sway over Conway. In a large company she took an occasion to ridicule his red ribband, which she represented as a bauble sent out rather for his amusement, and to keep him in good humour, than as an honourable testimonial of his services. She treated with great contempt the rank to which he had been promoted in what she called the *Pope*'s army, under the command of a Bishop. In short, this enraged beauty knew so well how to work on the feelings of Conway, that she completely succeeded in all her views, and prevailed on him to create a temporary delay to the progress of the expedition. For this purpose he dispatched a fast-sailing vessel to the Mauritius, with directions to suspend the armament until further orders should be received from the Court of Versailles; and the revolution, in the mean time breaking out in France, put a final stop to all their proceedings.

Had this event not taken place, it is difficult to say what the consequences of such a treaty might have been to our possessions in India, and to the trade of the East India Com-

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pany with China; but it is sufficiently evident that it had for its object the destruction of both.

The untoward circumstances that had put an end to the expedition did not, however, deter the Bishop from the prosecution of his original plan of re-establishing the lawful Sovereign of Cochinchina, if still living, or the young Prince, if his father should be dead, on the throne of their ancestors. He had carried with him from France several officers, who were to have held appointments in the new settlements. With some of these, as volunteers, the Bishop and the young Prince embarked in a merchant ship for Cape St. Jacques, at the mouth of the river leading to *Sai-gong*, where they hoped to receive intelligence of the King. Here they learned that, after their departure for Pondicherry, the unfortunate monarch had remained on the island of *Pulo Wai* for nearly two years, feeding on roots with the rest of his people, when the two usurpers were so much exhausted by perpetual broils and skirmishes, and his faithful subjects so very desirous of his presence in *Don-nai*, that he was induced once more to venture a landing in his own dominions; that all ranks flocked with ardour to his standard; that he marched without interruption to *Sai-gong*, whose works of defence were immediately strengthened and put into good order; that the moment of his landing had been particularly favourable, as the two rebel brothers were then shut up in their respective capitals, each expecting to be attacked by the other. This favourable intelligence gave a spur to the exertions of the Bishop and his son, who joined the King at *Sai-gong*, in the year 1790; and they were followed by a small vessel which had been taken up to convey arms and

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ammunition; but the commander (Richerie) was accused of having sold the greater part of his cargo, for his own use, at Malacca.

The meeting of the King, his son, and his instructor, may be more easily conceived than described. No time was lost in concerting their plans for carrying on a vigorous war against the usurper. The greater part of the first year was occupied in fortifying *Sai-gong*, in recruiting and disciplining the army, and in collecting and equipping a fleet.

In the year 1791, the rebel *Quang-tung* died at *Hué*, leaving behind him a son of about 12 years of age to succeed to the government of *Tung-quin* and the northern part of Cochinchina. This event seemed to make it the more necessary for the legitimate sovereign, *Caung-shung*, to commence his operations against *Yin-yac* who, much as he hated his late brother, might probably not be indisposed to offer his young nephew at *Hué* terms of accommodation. The ratification of his father's title to the kingdom of *Tung-quin*, by the Emperor of China, had been the first cause of hostilities between the two brothers. In all their skirmishes *Yin-yac* was worsted, and the limits of his country contracted. Nothing, therefore, was more probable than his offering to make peace with the young King of *Tung-quin*. Under this idea the Bishop strongly urged the expediency of making an immediate attack upon the fleet of *Yin-yac*, in the harbour of *Quin-nong*; especially as the land forces were now considered, both as to numbers and discipline, to be capable of opposing any army that might be marched against them through the interior. The King had only a few ships, and the usurper's

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fleet was very numerous; but whilst the latter was shut up in port by the adverse monsoon, the same wind was favourable for carrying the former directly into the midst of them. He therefore embarked in the spring of the year 1792, and putting the whole of his fleet under the direction of two French officers, who commanded two European vessels, proceeded to *Quin-nong*. A Monsieur d'Ayot is said to have made a dreadful havock among the Cochinchinese junks, burning, sinking and destroying all that fell in his way; but, pursuing his successes too far, his vessel took the ground. The King, having observed this accident, is said to have remarked that, although it might prove the cause of his losing the day, yet that he could not forbear rejoicing at the opportunity it afforded him of performing his part as well as d'Ayot. "He has done his share," said he, "and I would not wish "he should do mine also."

The attack was so wholly unexpected on the part of *Yin-yac*, that he and his Court had gone about thirty miles into the country to enjoy the pleasure of hunting. On such occasions the sovereign is not merely attended by a few of his courtiers; the numbers of which the party is composed form a little army. The greater part consists, in fact, of soldiers: they surround the thickets, and having sprung their game, which is generally the huge elephant, the ferocious tyger, or the wild buffalo, they narrow the diameter of the circle till, fixing the animal to a spot, they either kill him with their spears or take him prisoner. The alarm of the enemy was soon communicated to the party of pleasure, and the beach was presently lined with troops; but they were of little as-

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sistance to the fleet, which was now almost completely destroyed. The King, therefore, made the signal to retreat the moment that d'Ayot's ship, on the rising of the tide, was again afloat. The grand yacht of the usurper, with a few others that were lying at the upper corner of the harbour, had not been brought into action. They were pointed out to the King who, however, objected to their being destroyed, observing, " that when *Yin-yac* was tired of hunting he might " wish to amuse himself with fishing, and that it would be " cruel to deprive him of the means of pursuing so innocent " an occupation."

It was in the spring of the following year, 1793, when the British squadron, in its way to China, came to anchor in Turon bay. At that time the whole of *Don-nai* was in the possession of the lawful sovereign. *Chang*, the middle part of the country, was held by the usurper *Yin-yac;* and *Hué*, including the country and islands adjacent to Turon bay, was governed by the son of *Quang-tung*, the youth abovementioned, who then held his court at *Hué*. It was not, therefore, in the least surprizing that our ships should have created an alarm and a degree of distrust which, I have observed, our Portugueze friend Manuel Duomé had endeavoured to improve to his own advantage, in order that he might not be interrupted in the exclusive and lucrative trade which he had for some time been carrying on with the natives. These, as it afterwards appeared, had immediately concluded us to be in the service of the legitimate monarch, and that we had come from *Sai-gong* with the intention of getting possession of Turon; and, under this idea, they had actually

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assembled a considerable body of troops and war elephants in the vicinity of the town: nor was it till some days had expired before this impression was done away.

But before I proceed to give any account of our own transactions in this country, or of the manners and appearance of the people, I shall continue my narrative of the progress made by *Caung-shung* in the recovery of his kingdom; and select from my materials the leading features of the character of this extraordinary man, who may justly be ranked among those few who are born with talents to rule in the world; who now and then appear, in all countries, with a splendour which outshines the rest of their fellow mortals. It may be right to apprize the reader that a considerable part of the sketch which I have here given, as well as that which follows, is the substance of a manuscript memoir drawn up by Monsieur Barissy, an intelligent French officer, who commanded a frigate in the service of this monarch. And as the former part agrees so well with what we learned in Turon bay, through our interpreter, from a Chinese secretary to the government at that place, and with the different relations of the missionaries who have resided there, I have no hesitation in giving to the sequel the most implicit belief. The material facts have, indeed, been corroborated by the testimony of two English gentlemen, who visited *Sai-gong* in the years 1799 and 1800.

The rebel *Yin-yac* did not long survive the destruction of his fleet. He died a few months after we left Turon bay, in the year 1793, of a disease of the brain, as one account states,

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supposed to have been brought on by rage and despair at the success of the lawful King; but another report says, that his phrenzy was so ungovernable that it was found expedient to get rid of him by poison. His son succeeded to the government, who possessed all the vices without the talents of his father. Cruel, deceitful, and vindictive, he was hated by every one. *Caung-shung*, in the year 1796, resolved to attack his capital by land. The young usurper was enabled to bring against him an army of 100,000 men; but the King completely routed it with a very inferior force, and took possession of *Quin-nong*. On this occasion an extraordinary instance of magnanimity is related of *Caung-shung*. When the garrison had surrendered, the King, having been engaged in person the whole day sword in hand and worn out with fatigue, threw himself into a sedan chair, in order to be conveyed into the citadel. On passing the inner gate he was fired at by a person on the rampart. His guards advancing immediately seized the culprit, whom they brought before the King with his hands bound behind him. It was discovered that he was a general officer, and a relation of the usurper. The King, according to the custom of the Chinese when they mean to mitigate the sentence of death passed on a criminal, told him that instead of ordering his head to be struck off, which he so well merited, he would allow him, in consideration of his rank, to chuse his own punishment, being presented at the same time with a bowl of poison, a cord of silk, and a dagger. "If you are not afraid of me," said the rebel chief, "you "will instantly order my release; and, as I have sworn never "to live under your protection, or to be obedient to your "laws, if you dare to comply with what I ask, I shall im-

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" mediately repair to *Hué*, where my rank and character will " procure me the command of an army, at the head of which " I shall hereafter be proud to meet you." The King, struck with his bold and open conduct, ordered him to be untied, directed a guard of soldiers to escort him to the northern frontier; and the following year this very man was the second in command at the siege of *Quin-nong*, where he lost his life. The son of *Yin-yac* was completely subdued, and the whole country, as far as Turon bay, submitted to the arms of its lawful sovereign. The other young usurper at *Hué* still, however, kept possession of the kingdom of *Tung-quin*, against which *Caung-shung* was preparing a formidable armament in the year 1800. Though no authentic accounts since this period have reached England, there are grounds for believing that he has reconquered the whole of that country.

From the year 1790, in which *Caung-shung* returned to Cochinchina, to 1800, he was allowed to enjoy only two years of peace, 1797 and 1798: and these two years were, in all probability, the most important of his hitherto troublesome reign. Under the auspices of the Bishop Adran, who in every important undertaking was his oracle, he turned his attention to the improvement of his country. He established a manufactory of saltpetre in *Fen-tan* (*Tsiompa* of the charts), opened roads of communication between important posts and considerable towns, and planted them on each side with trees for shade. He encouraged the cultivation of the areca nut and the *betel* pepper, the plantations of which had been destroyed by the army of the usurper. He held out rewards

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for the propagation of the silk-worm; caused large tracts of land to be prepared for the culture of the sugar-cane; and established manufactories for the preparation of pitch, tar, and resin. He caused several thousand matchlocks to be fabricated; he opened a mine of iron ore, and constructed smelting furnaces. He distributed his land forces into regular regiments, established military schools, where officers were instructed in the doctrine of projectiles and gunnery by European masters. Adran had translated into the Chinese language a system of military tactics, for the use of his army. In the course of these two years he constructed at least 300 large gun-boats or row-gallies, five luggers, and a frigate on the model of an European vessel. He caused a system of naval tactics to be introduced, and had his naval officers instructed in the use of signals. One of the English gentlemen, whom I mentioned to have been at *Sai-gong* in the year 1800, saw a fleet of ships consisting of 1200 sail, under the immediate command of this Prince, weigh their anchors and drop down the river in the highest order, in three separate divisions, forming into lines of battle, in close and open order, and going through a variety of manœuvres by signals as they proceeded along.

During this interval of peace he likewise undertook to reform the system of jurisprudence, in which he was no doubt very ably assisted by the Bishop. He abolished several species of torture, which the law of the country had hitherto prescribed; and he mitigated punishments that appeared to be disproportionate to the crimes of which they were the consequence. He established public schools, to which pa-

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rents were compelled to send their children at the age of four years, under certain pains and penalties. He drew up a system of rules and regulations for the commercial interests of his kingdom; caused bridges to be built over rivers; buoys and sea-marks to be laid down in all the dangerous parts of the coast; and surveys to be made of the principal bays and harbours. He sent missions into the mountainous districts on the west of his kingdom, inhabited by the *Laos* and the *Miaotsé*, barbarous nations whom he wished to bring into a state of civilization and good government. These mountaineers are the people whom the Chinese designate by the degrading appellation of "Mén with tails;" though, in all probability, they are the regular descendants of the true original inhabitants of this long civilized empire. In short, this Monarch, by his own indefatigable application to the arts and manufactures, like Peter of Russia, without his brutality, aroused by his individual example the energies of his people, and, like our immortal Alfred, spared no pains to regenerate his country. His activity and exertions will readily be conceived from the circumstance of his having, in less than ten years, from a single vessel, accumulated a fleet of twelve hundred ships, of which three were of European construction; about twenty were large junks, similar to those of China, but completely manned and armed; and the rest were large gun-vessels and transports.

Caung-shung is represented to be, in the strictest sense of the word, a complete soldier. He is said to hold the name of General far more dear and estimable than that of Sovereign. He is described as being brave without rashness;

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and fertile in expedients, when difficulties are to be surmounted. His conceptions are generally just; his conduct firm; he is neither discouraged by difficulties, nor turned aside by obstacles. Cautious in deciding, when once resolved, he is prompt and vigorous to execute. In battle he is always eminently distinguishable. At the head of his army he is cheerful and good humoured; polite and attentive to all the officers under his command, he studiously avoids to mark out any individual as a favourite beyond the rest. His memory is so correct, that he is said to know by name the greater part of his army. He takes uncommon pleasure in conversing with his soldiers, and in talking over their adventures and exploits; he makes particular inquiries after their wives and children; if the latter go regularly to school; how they mean to dispose of them when grown up; and, in short, enters with a degree of interest into a minute detail of their domestic concerns.

His conduct to foreigners is affable and condescending. To the French officers in his service he pays the most marked attention, and treats them with the greatest politeness, familiarity, and good humour. On all his hunting excursions, and other parties of pleasure, one of these officers is always invited to attend. He openly declares his great veneration for the doctrines of Christianity, and tolerates this religion and indeed all others in his dominions. He observes a most scrupulous regard to the maxims of filial piety, as laid down in the works of Confucius, and humbles himself in the presence of his mother (who is still living) as a child before its master. With the works of the most eminent Chinese authors he is

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well acquainted; and, through the translations into the Chinese character of the *Encyclopedie* by the Bishop Adran, he has acquired no inconsiderable knowledge of European arts and sciences, among which he is most attached to such as relate to navigation and ship-building. It is stated, on what appears to be good authority, that, in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the practice as well as theory of European naval architecture, he purchased a Portugueze vessel, for the sole purpose of taking in pieces, plank by plank, with his own hands, fitting in a new piece of similar shape and dimensions as the old one he removed, till every beam, timber, knee and plank had been replaced by new ones of his own construction, and the ship thus completely renovated.

The energy of his mind is not less vigorous than the activity of his corporeal faculties. He is represented, in fact, as the main spring of every movement that takes place in his extensive and flourishing kingdom. Intendant of the ports and arsenals, master shipwright of the dock-yard, and chief engineer of all the works, nothing is attempted to be undertaken without his advice and instructions. In the former, not a nail is driven without first consulting him; nor a gun mounted on the latter but by his orders. He not only enters into the most minute detail in drawing up instructions, but actually sees them executed himself.

To enable him the better to attend to the concerns of his government, his mode of life is regulated by a fixed plan. At six in the morning he rises from his couch, and goes into

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the cold bath. At seven he has his levee of Mandarins: all the letters are read which have been received in the course of the preceding day, on which his orders are minuted by the respective secretaries. He then proceeds to the naval arsenal, examines the works that have been performed in his absence, rows in his barge round the harbour, inspecting his ships of war. He pays particular attention to the ordnance department; and in the foundery, which is erected within the arsenal, cannon are cast of all dimensions.

About twelve or one he takes his breakfast in the dock-yard, which consists of a little boiled rice and dried fish. At two he retires to his apartment and sleeps till five, when he again rises; gives audience to the naval and military officers, the heads of tribunals or public departments, and approves, rejects, or amends whatever they may have to propose. These affairs of state generally employ his attention till midnight, after which he retires to his private apartments, to make such notes and memorandums as the occurrences of the day may have suggested. He then takes a light supper, passes an hour with his family, and between two and three in the morning retires to his bed; taking, in this manner, at two intervals, about six hours of rest in the four-and-twenty.

He neither makes use of Chinese wine, nor any kind of spirituous liquors, and contents himself with a very small portion of animal food. A little fish, rice, vegetables and fruit, with tea and light pastry, constitute the chief articles of his diet. Like a true Chinese descended, as he boasts to be,

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from the imperial family of *Ming*, he always eats alone, not permitting either his wife or any part of his family to sit down to the same table with him. On the same principle of pride, he would not allow some English gentlemen to pay their respects to him at his palace, in the year 1799, because, as he observed, the unsettled state of the country did not permit him to make such preparations as were due to himself, and to strangers of respectability. The meaning of such an excuse, coming from a Chinese, could not be well mistaken; but, on the part of this Monarch, there did not appear to be any thing like jealousy, or a wish to deprive the strangers of the means of gratifying their curiosity: on the contrary, they had full liberty to visit every part of the naval arsenal, and to inspect the town and its fortifications. He had no objection to entertain them as a General, but refused to see them in his character of Sovereign.

His stature is represented to be somewhat above the middle size; his features regular and agreeable; his complexion ruddy, very much sun-burnt by a constant exposure to the weather. He is at this time (1806) just on the verge of fifty years of age.

Of the English he has little knowledge but by name; yet he is said to profess, on all occasions, a great veneration for their character. When Frenchmen declare this, they may be believed. He has given, however, frequent proofs of his good inclinations towards the English. He published an edict, declaring that all our ships should at all times be admitted into any of his ports and harbours, free of all duties

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and port charges. An instance occurred wherein his generous conduct shews his character in the fairest point of view. An English merchant vessel from Canton arrived at *Sai-gong*, where the Master and first officer died. To prevent the frauds and pillage which might be committed, and the losses which would inevitably ensue to the owners from the death of those who had been entrusted with the management of their concerns, he directed Captain Barissy, with a party of soldiers, to take possession of her, and carry her under his charge to Canton, with orders to deliver her safe to her owners, or their agents, who might be found there or at Macao.

Though no apparent alteration took place in his conduct with regard to the French officers in his service, yet the French character is said to have suffered greatly in his estimation from the moment he was made acquainted with the outrageous and inhuman treatment which the unfortunate family on the throne experienced from a licentious and savage rabble. The feelings of a mind like that of *Caung-shung* could not be otherwise than tremblingly alive on such an occasion. Driven by usurpers from his dominions, and doomed to wander for many years as an outcast and an exile, it is no wonder that, in comparing a nation which had expelled the family of its lawful Sovereign with another nation which received it with open arms, he should be more desirous to cultivate the friendship of the latter than of the former. We have not, however, managed affairs with regard to this extraordinary character, in such a manner as to promote that kind of friendly intercourse, which could not fail to be highly advantageous to our commercial concerns. The East

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India Company, convinced at length of the importance of standing on friendly terms with the King of Cochinchina, sent, it is true, one of their servants from Canton on a secret mission to *Sai-gong*, in the year 1804; which, however, completely failed. But more of this hereafter.

In justice to the memory of Adran, who died in 1800, it ought to be observed, that the character of this Monarch, the recovery of his kingdom, his successes in war, the improvements of his country in the intervals of peace and, above all, the rapid progress made in various arts, manufactures, and science, are greatly owing to the talents, the instruction and faithful attachment of this missionary. The King, on his part, loved him to adoration, distinguishing him by an epithet bestowed on Confucius alone, *the Illustrious Master*. And in testimony of his great veneration, after the remains of the Bishop had been interred by his brother missionaries according to the rites of the Romish Church, he ordered the body to be taken up and again buried with all the funeral pomp and ceremonies prescribed by the Cochinchinese religion; nor could he be prevailed on to forego this signal mark of honour to his memory, notwithstanding the intreaties and expostulations of the French missionaries, who were not a little scandalized at such unhallowed proceedings. It may readily be supposed the Bishop had no easy task to perform. As counsellor of the King and instructor of his son, he naturally became the object of jealousy to all the Mandarins. Combinations were frequently formed against him; and remonstrances were sometimes ventured to be made to the King against the impolicy as well as indecency of entrusting the

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education of the heir apparent to a foreigner, who neither respected the laws nor professed the religion of their ancestors; and the necessity strongly urged of placing him under the direction and guidance of the learned men who were versed in the only true doctrine, as contained in the writings of Confucius. On such occasions the King always repelled their representations with firmness, and sometimes did not conceal from them his determination of preferring rather to sacrifice the friendship of his ministers than to give up that of the Bishop, who continued indeed to enjoy his implicit confidence to his last moments.

His Queen is represented as a woman of exemplary virtue, of great firmness, and as the support and comfort of the King in the midst of his adversity. Of their seven children the two eldest sons were put under the tuition of Adran. The heir apparent, the youth whom the Bishop carried with him to Paris, died shortly after his master. He was of a mild, obliging, and affable disposition, endued with all the social virtues, but of talents more suitable for the quiet of domestic retirement than the bustle of public life. The second brother, the present heir to the throne, has the character of being a complete soldier. He served three years as a private in his father's guards, and five years as a corporal and serjeant, during which servitude he was engaged in a great deal of active warfare. In 1797 he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and the following year he was appointed Governor of the southern province. In 1800 he obtained the rank of General, and was appointed to the command of an army of 35,000 men; in which year he gained a most important victory over the rebels

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in the north, having slain 9000 of the enemy, and taken all their elephants of war and artillery.

The strength of the forces of the King of Cochinchina, as stated by Captain Barissy, was in the year 1800 as follows:

Army.

	Men.
24 squadrons of buffalo cavalry - -	6,000
16 battalions of elephants (200 beasts) -	8,000
30 battalions of artillery - - -	15,000
25 regiments of 1200 each (trained in the European manner) - - - -	30,000
Infantry with matchlocks, sabres, &c. trained in the ancient manner of the country - -	42,000
Guards, regularly trained in European tactics	12,000
Land forces	113,000

Marine.

Artificers in the naval arsenal -	8000	
Sailors registered and borne on the ships in the harbour - -	8000	
Attached to the European built vessels	1200	
Attached to the junks - -	1600	
Attached to 100 row-galleys -	8000	
In the sea service		26,800
Total		139,800

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What the qualities of these troops may be, if measured by an European standard, I cannot pretend to say; but those few which fell under our observation were active and vigorous young men, not much encumbered with dress, nor was that dress uniform either in point of shape or of colour; except indeed the holiday dress of those who were on guard on the day of our public reception, whose pasteboard helmets, and tassels of cow tails dyed scarlet, quilted jackets and petticoats, were completely Chinese. In general, a handkerchief tied about the head, somewhat in the shape of a turban, a loose smock frock, with a pair of drawers, constitute the dress of a soldier, as in the annexed figure which is an accurate portrait taken from the life.

The history of this Prince, of which I have here given a slight sketch, furnishes a striking example and an useful lesson to such as may have fallen through misfortunes into similar circumstances; in shewing how much may be accomplished by the union of talent, energy, and courage, properly directed. An outcast from his country, forced to fly from the hand of the usurper and assassin, and to suffer the keenest pangs of adversity, he has not only been able, in the course of ten or twelve years, to recover the whole of his lawful possessions, but has added to them the kingdom of *Tung-quin*, which anciently belonged to the Kings of Cochinchina. It is said that he has even demanded from the Emperor of China the cession of the large island of *Hai-nan*, not so much for the sake of enlarging the extent of his dominions, as of leaving behind him the fame of having restored to

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Drawn by W. Alexander

Engraved by T. [illegible]

Cochin chinese Soldier -

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Cochinchina its ancient domains, till the accomplishment of which he is said to have made a vow to *Tien* never to sit down in the quiet enjoyment of his conquests; exemplifying the poet's observation, that

> "Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
> "(That last infirmity of noble mind)
> "To scorn delights, and live laborious days."

The progress of his exertions suggests likewise other considerations, which are not undeserving of the attention of the British government in India. If this Monarch, in the midst of a struggle with powerful rebels for the recovery of his kingdom, and under the most adverse circumstances, could, in the short period of ten years, find the means of raising and equipping a fleet of 1200 armed vessels, how much more formidable an armament might the active subjects of Louis XVI. have prepared in the same country, had the treaty been carried into effect? And what may not the present still more active government of France be tempted to try in this only remaining country in the East where they can entertain any reasonable hope of acquiring a solid and permanent establishment?

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CHAP. X.

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE MANNERS, CHARACTER, AND CONDITION OF THE NATIVES OF TURON.

Cochinchinese Dinners—Communication with the young King of Tung-quin—Presents sent by him to the Ambassador—Entertainment given at Turon on the King of England's Birth-Day—Plays and other Amusements—Activity of the Cochinchinese—How they agree and disagree with the Chinese—Treatment of their Women—Consequences of it—Easy Terms on which Women are transferred to Strangers—Instances of it—Dress—Buildings—Diet and Means of Subsistence—Extensive Use of marine Productions as Articles of Food—Low State of the Arts and Manufactures—Excel most in naval Architecture—Language—Religion—Laws the same as those of China—Punishments not so frequent.

It was observed in the last chapter, that when the jealousy and alarm had in some degree subsided, to which the appearance of our squadron and the unfounded insinuations thrown out by Manuel Duomé had given rise, the markets were from day to day better supplied with refreshments, the officers of government under less restraint, and that something like mutual confidence as well as an uninterrupted intercourse was established between the inhabitants of the port and the persons belonging to our squadron; that the officers of the ships and the gentlemen attached to the embassy, whom business or curiosity might induce to spend the day on

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shore, were entertained with a public dinner. On their side, some of the leading men daily visited the ships, where, notwithstanding the very little relish they seemed to feel for our cookery, they usually dined. They neither admired our beer nor our wine; but their avidity for raw rum, brandy, or any kind of spirituous liquors, was so great that, after their first visit, it was found expedient not to leave the quantity to their discretion, as the whole party went out of the ship in a state of complete intoxication.

As none of the houses in the town were large enough for the accommodation of so numerous a party, the Governor issued his directions for building a spacious shed, which, by the help of the ever ready and useful bamboo, was finished in the course of a few hours: the roof and the sides were covered with thick close mats. Within this shed was placed a row of little tables, with forms on each side, to which might sit down conveniently from twenty to twenty-four persons. In China it is the custom to cover their little square tables so completely with dishes, or rather bowls, that no part of their surfaces shall be seen; but the Cochinchinese seem to have improved on the liberality of their highly polished neighbours, by not merely covering the table, but by piling the bowls in rows upon each other three or four in depth. I should suppose that we seldom sat down to a fewer number of bowls than two hundred, exclusive of the cups of rice which are handed round to the guests in the place of bread; rice being in this country, as well as in China and most of the Oriental nations, the staff of life. Of table linen, knives, forks, bottles and glasses, they make

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no use; but before each person is laid a spoon of potter's ware, and a pair of porcupine quills or small sticks of bamboo, of rose or sandal wood, sometimes tipped with silver or tootanague, of the same kind in every respect as those used by the Chinese, and known to the English under the name of *chop-sticks*. The contents of the bowls are preparations of beef, pork, fowls, and fish, cut into small pieces, mixed with vegetables, and dressed in soups and gravies variously seasoned and composed of various materials. We had nothing roasted nor prepared in the dry way. Neither wine nor spirits, nor fermented liquors of any kind, nor even water, were served round during the time of eating; but when dinner was over, Chinese *seau-choo* was handed about in little porcelain cups.

As from our mutual ignorance of each other's language there could be no exchange of conversation, we found little inducement for sitting long at table. The Governor or General commanding at Turon did not indeed condescend to sit down with us, but usually on these occasions lay stretched on a mattress spread on a mat at the end of the room, smoking tobacco, or eating his areca nut and betel pepper, while two tall fellows fanned the air the whole time with large fans made of the wing feathers of the Argus pheasant. From the table we usually repaired to the theatre, which was also a shed of bamboo; and here, as in China, we invariably found the actors busily engaged in the performance at all hours of the day, proceeding apparently with as much ardour when no spectators were present as when they were. Being hired for the day, a crowded or a thin audience made little dif-

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ference to the performers; all their concern being the receipt of their pay on the finishing of their work.

The whole of that division of Cochinchina in which Turon bay is situated was, at this time, in the possession of young *Quang-tung*, the son of the rebel General who defeated the Viceroy of Canton, and afterwards played the successful trick on the Emperor of China which I have related in the preceding chapter. His residence was at the city of *Hué*, about forty miles to the northward of Turon. No sooner had the welcome intelligence of our being friends, or, in the strictest sense of the word, neutrals, reached that place than a Mandarin of high rank was dispatched to the Ambassador, with an invitation to his Excellency to proceed to Court which, however, he found expedient to decline on many accounts, and particularly on the score of the delay which would thereby be occasioned. However desirable a journey might have been to the capital of northern Cochinchina, as furnishing an opportunity of seeing the state of the country in the interior, it is probable the loss which curiosity sustained, in not witnessing the ceremonies and festivities of the Court of Hué, is scarcely to be regretted, especially as we were about to be present at those of Pekin which, though of the same kind, must be infinitely more splendid than what Cochinchina could exhibit. It would have been more gratifying had an opportunity presented itself of passing a few days in the towns, the villages, and the cottages. "The true state of every nation," as Dr. Johnson observes, "is the state of common life. Public happiness is "not to be estimated by the assemblies of the gay, or the "banquets of the rich. The great mass of nations is neither

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" rich nor gay." Of Eastern nations this is particularly true, where there are but two descriptions of men, the governors and the governed. One amusement, however, would have proved highly interesting, with which, it seems, the Sovereigns of Cochinchina usually entertain foreign ambassadors: this is an excursion into the forests to hunt the elephant, the tyger, or the buffalo, on which occasion they usually celebrate the royal feast of elephants. Hence it has been said that the Cochinchinese eat elephants; but it is probable that the magnitude of the object marks the peculiarity of the festival rather than the delicacy of the food, which I imagine must be extremely coarse. In the forests of Cochinchina and neighbouring countries these animals are supposed to be of a larger size than in any other part of the world. The first I ever saw were at Turon, and their appearance made a very strong impression on my mind. I may safely say that the elephants of Cochinchina, the peak of Teneriffe, and a storm at sea, are the only three objects in nature that surpassed the idea which my imagination had previously formed of them.

The letter from the young King was filled with expressions of the high regard he entertained for the British nation, as a proof of which, it was observed, he had sent one of his officers of state with a small present, as he termed it, for the use of the ships' companies. It consisted of ten young buffalos, fifty hogs, and about three hundred ducks and fowls, with fruit, pumpkins, brinjalls, onions, and other vegetables. This seasonable supply of refreshments was brought in sailing craft, preceded by a parade of officers in large row-gallies, gaudily painted and decorated with flags and streamers. The

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Ambassador accompanied his letter in reply with a handsome double-barrelled gun complete with its apparatus, a pair of brass pistols fitted with spring bayonets, a steel hilted sword, and several pieces of camblets and scarlet broad cloth. The bearer of the letter was dressed in a silken robe, embroidered with figures of tygers and dragons, like those worn in China; but on coming on board the Lion, he threw this aside, and put on two or three long white muslin robes.

The good understanding that now subsisted between the natives and us met with a momentary interruption by an act of indiscretion on our part. Being desirous of obtaining a correct outline of this excellent bay and harbour, a party of us one morning took a boat and landed on the eastern shore, where, by measuring a base line on the sandy beach, and taking the necessary angles, we might be able to determine the position of the most material points. From the earliness of the hour, and the expedition with which we accomplished our object, it was concluded we had escaped without notice. An officer, however, speedily followed on board with a message from the Governor, expressing dissatisfaction at our conduct, and desiring that no more measurements might be taken. Another awkward circumstance occurred, which served to confirm their suspicions of our having other views than those we professed. An officer of the Lion, whose zeal to explore the river leading up to *Fai-foo* got the better of his prudence, was seized in the night, and made prisoner in a kind of small fort, with the whole boat's crew. Hearing nothing of what had happened, we conjectured that the boat had swamped, and every soul in her perished. At length,

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however, information was brought on board the Lion by some officers of government, with grievous complaints that we were not dealing fairly with them. The Ambassador disavowed any knowledge of the matter, but desired that the officer might immediately be released and sent on board to answer for his conduct to his commanding officer, whose orders he had ventured to disobey. His indiscretion, it seemed, had been attended with ample punishment. The Mandarin, into whose hands he fell, was almost constantly in a state of ebriation, and in this condition he used to give orders for the officer being brought before him, sometimes amusing himself with brandishing a large scymitar over his head, and sometimes putting round his neck a heavy tablet of wood and iron, like the *cangue* of the Chinese. The affair, however, was satisfactorily explained; and we had every reason to believe that, whatever unfavourable suspicions they might once have entertained of our motives for entering Turon bay, they were soon convinced that we had not the most distant intention of interfering in the concerns of the contending parties. In a second letter from the King, some indirect overtures were thrown out for establishing a commercial intercourse with the northern parts of Cochinchina. The present that accompanied this letter consisted of a pair of elephant's tusks and ten baskets of pepper for the Ambassador, and three thousand baskets of rice (each weighing about seventy pounds, making thus above one hundred tons) for the use of the seamen.

The Ambassador had not as yet landed at the town of Turon; and as the principal officers of that place were ex-

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tremely desirous of testifying their respect by a public entertainment to be given on the occasion, his Lordship fixed on the 4th June for celebrating, with the Cochinchinese on shore, the anniversary of his Majesty's birth-day. Whether through accident, or in consequence of former suspicions, or to give *eclat* to the entertainment, did not appear, but on the evening preceding we observed an unusual bustle about the place, an increased number of troops in and about the town, besides several huge elephants of war. We therefore, on our part, took the precaution of sending the two armed brigs up the river opposite to the town, to make a retreat, if necessary, the more secure. The day, however, passed over in harmony and conviviality. We were conducted from the place of landing to a temporary building, on a larger scale than that which we had hitherto occasionally occupied. The two pitches of its roof were supported by a row of bamboo poles which, running down the middle, divided the building into two parts. The sides and the roof were covered with thick double matts and lined within with coarse Manchester cottons of various patterns. These prints appeared to be new, but damaged, and were probably the refuse of the China market, carried thither by the Portugueze trader. In the first compartment of the building was a long table covered with linen, and laid out with plates, knives and forks, in the manner and style of Europe. Our Portugueze friend, it seemed, by way of making some atonement for the injury he had nearly, though perhaps not maliciously, done us, had prevailed on the Cochinchinese to allow him to be master of the ceremonies for the day, concluding in his own mind that, as the eating and drinking would be considered by us as the best

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part of the entertainment, he would be able to suit our taste in these respects better than the Cochinchinese; and under this impression, to do him justice, he had spared neither trouble nor expence in making his dinner as complete as circumstances would admit: and thus, by his misplaced zeal, a good Cochinchinese entertainment was entirely marred by a bad Portugueze dinner.

A trifling circumstance occurred on our first entering the building, which was rather embarrassing to the Cochinchinese officers. These people who, on most occasions, adopt the Chinese customs, had prepared a yellow skreen of silk, bearing in large painted characters the name of the young adventurer at Hué. Whether they took it for granted, or were so told by Manuel Duomé, that the English, as a matter of course, would make the usual prostrations to this shade of Majesty, we did not inquire, but it was very evident they expected it; for when the General commanding at Turon, and who sat cross-legged on a bench as proxy for his master, observed that, having made our bow, we filed off and took our seats regardless of the yellow skreen, he appeared to be greatly disconcerted, and could hardly be said to recover himself the remainder of the day. His disappointment in missing the nine prostrations seemed to operate on his mind as if he had been sunk so many degrees in the estimation of his brother officers. He took little notice when the rank and station were explained, though at his own desire, which each of us held in the embassy, until the Chinese interpreter announced Captain Parish of the Artillery as the " overseer of " the great guns," upon which his attention was suddenly

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roused, and he seemed the whole day to regard this officer as a very formidable and a dangerous man.

In the farther division of the building a party of comedians was engaged in the midst of an historical drama when we entered; but on our being seated they broke off and, coming forward, made before us that obeisance of nine genuflexions and prostrations, which we had been so very uncivil to omit to the Mandarin and his painted skreen of silk; after which they returned to their labours, keeping up an incessant noise and bustle during our stay. The heat of the day, the thermometer in the shade standing at 81° in the open air, and at least ten dégrees higher in the building, the crowds that thronged in to see the strangers, the horrible crash of the gongs, kettle drums, rattles, trumpets, and squalling flutes, were so stunning and oppressive, that nothing but the novelty of the scene could possibly have detained us for a moment. The most entertaining as well as the least noisy part of the theatrical exhibition was a sort of interlude, performed by three young women, for the amusement, it would seem, of the principal actress, who sat as a spectator in the dress and character of some ancient Queen; whilst an old eunuch, very whimsically dressed, played his antic tricks like a scaramouch or buffoon in a Harlequin entertainment. The dialogue in this part differed entirely from the querulous and nearly monotonous recitative of the Chinese, being light and comic, and occasionally interrupted by cheerful airs, which generally concluded with a common chorus. These airs, rude and unpolished as they were, appeared to be regular compositions, and were sung in exactly measured time. One in particular

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attracted our attention, whose slow melancholy movement breathed that kind of plaintive softness so peculiar to the native airs of the Scotch, to which indeed it bore a very close resemblance. The voices of the women were shrill and warbling, but some of their cadences were not without melody. The instruments at each pause gave a few short flourishes, till gradually overpowered by the swelling and deafening gong. Knowing nothing of the language, we were of course as ignorant of the subject as the majority of an English audience is of an Italian opera. In the shed of Turon, however, as well as in the theatre of the Haymarket, the eye was amused as well as the ear. At each repetition of the chorus the three Cochinchinese graces displayed their fine slender shapes in the mazy dance, in which, however, the feet were the least concerned. By different gestures of the head, body, and arms, they assumed a variety of figures; and all their motions were exactly adapted to the measure of the music. The burden of the chorus was not unpleasing, and was long recollected on the quarter-deck of the Lion, till the novelty which succeeded in China effaced it from the memory. In the latter country, however, we saw no dancing neither by men nor women, which makes it probable that this part of the Cochinchinese entertainment must be an amusement of their own invention, or introduced from the western part of India. A tolerably good notion may be collected of the theatre and the operatic part of the representation from the annexed engraving.

No entrance money is ever expected in the theatres of China or Cochinchina. The actors are either hired to play at

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Plate 2. A Circle at San Opan

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private entertainments, at a fixed sum for the day; or they exhibit before the public in a temporary shed, entirely exposed in front. On such occasions, instead of cheering the performers with empty plaudits, the audience throw among them pieces of copper money: for this purpose, the Mandarins brought us some hundred pieces strung on cords, of the same kind as those which are current in China. By the Cochinchinese the regular drama is called *Troien*, or *a relation of histories*. To the operatic interlude of recitative, air and dancing they give the name of *Song-sang*; and a grand chorus accompanied with the *gong*, the kettle drum, castanets, trumpets and other noisy instruments, is called the *Ring-rang*. The Ambassador had ordered his band to attend on shore, where they played a few light airs; but the Cochinchinese had no ear for the soft and harmonious chords of European music. Their *Ring-rang* and their *Song-sang* were infinitely superior in their estimation, and were the more applauded in proportion as they were the more noisy.

Leaving the comedians in the midst of their labours, we walked across the village green, which was also the market-place, where we were highly entertained with a variety of sports and gambols. The fourth of June was for once a day of general festivity in this part of Cochinchina. In one place we observed about a dozen young fellows playing at foot-ball with a bladder; in another, they were displaying their agility in leaping over an horizontal pole; here a noisy groupe were amusing themselves in fighting cocks; there young boys, in imitation of their elders, were training quails and other small birds, and even grasshoppers, to tear each other in

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pieces; and in every corner gamesters were playing cards or throwing dice. But that which most attracted our attention was a party of young men keeping up a shuttlecock in the air, by striking it with the soles of the feet. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the activity and energy of the men of Cochinchina. A seaman of the Lion, having quarrelled with one of these people, insisted on making a ring and boxing it fairly out. While the sailor was squaring his arms and manœuvring and looking for the exact spot where he should hit his antagonist a knock-down blow, the Cochinchinese, while grinning in his face, very coolly turned up his heel and, giving him a hard and totally unexpected kick in the jaw, walked away with great composure, leaving the astonished sailor to the laughter and merriment of the crowd.

Active as they were in the use of their feet, their manual dexterity was not less remarkable. Jugglers and conjurors and posture-makers were exercising their respective arts for the amusement of the crowd, and for their own advantage; and we found to our cost that those who did not openly practise juggling as a profession were equally as expert in the art of picking pockets. Scarcely a day occurred in which some of the party did not return to the ships with the loss of pocket handkerchiefs, an article for which they seemed to have a particular liking. We found them all, from the highest to the lowest, most importunate beggars, craving without the least ceremony for every thing that might suit their fancy; neither were they satisfied with a simple denial, nor with obtaining what they asked, becoming generally more urgent in their demands in proportion to the liberality of the giver; and

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what they could not obtain by begging they usually endeavoured to procure by stealing. They had not even the Spartan virtue of blushing at detection; nor did it appear that they apprehended any punishment either for the theft or the discovery of it. This disposition to stealing was so general, that it was even found necessary to watch narrowly the officers of government who came on board the ships.

In attempting to draw a very general sketch of the character of this nation, I am not unaware of the risk I incur of being drawn into error. To speak correctly of the manners and opinions of foreign nations; to trace the motives of their actions and the grounds of their prejudices; to examine the effects produced on the temper and disposition of the people by the civil and religious institutions; and to inquire into their ideas of moral right and wrong, their notions of taste, of beauty, of happiness, and many other subjects necessary to be investigated before a thorough knowledge can be obtained of their true character and real condition, require not only a long residence in the country, but an intimate acquaintance with all the various classes of society: and, after all, an accurate portrait is hardly to be expected. What can be more ridiculous than a Frenchman attempting to describe English manners, or more preposterous than a German dramatizing the English character? There are, however, certain strongly marked features which, prevailing in the mass of the people, may safely be set down as national characteristics; and from such only the few observations I have to make on the Cochinchinese were derived. Some of them,

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indeed, might perhaps be entirely local, and applicable only to that part of the sea-coast on which we landed.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, what I apprehend is generally known, that Cochinchina, until a few centuries after the Christian æra, formed a part of the Chinese empire; and that the general features of the natives, many of the customs, the written language, the religious opinions and ceremonies still retained by them, indicate distinctly their Chinese origin. In the northern provinces, however, they are more strongly marked than in those to the southward. The same characteristics are likewise discernible, but in a fainter degree, in Siam which is properly *Se-yang*, or the western country; in Pe-gu, probably *Pe-quo*, or the northern province; and in Ava and the rest of the petty states now comprehended under the Birman empire, where, however, from an intermixture with the Malays of Malacca and the Hindoos of the upper and eastern regions of Hindostan, the traces of the Chinese character are in many respects nearly obliterated. The Cochinchinese of Turon, notwithstanding the loose manners of the women which I shall presently have occasion to notice, and the tendency which all revolutions in governments have to change, in a greater or less degree, the character of the people, have preserved in most respects a close resemblance to their original, though in some points they differ from it very widely. They perfectly agree, for instance, in the etiquette observed in marriage and funeral processions and ceremonies, in the greater part of religious superstitions, in the offerings usually presented to idols, in the consultation of oracles, and in the universal propensity of

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inquiring into futurity by the casting of lots; in charming away diseases; in the articles of diet and the mode of preparing them; in the nature of most of their public entertainments and amusements; in the construction and devices of fire-works; in instruments of music, games of chance, cock-fighting and quail-fighting. The spoken language of Cochinchina, though on the same principle, is so much changed from the original as to be nearly, if not wholly, unintelligible to a Chinese; but the written character is precisely the same. All the temples which fell under our observation were very humble buildings; and we saw no specimens either of the heavy curved roofs, or of the towering pagodas, so frequently met with in China; but it seems there are, in many parts of the country, monasteries that are amply endowed, whose buildings are extensive and enclosed with walls for their better security. The houses in general near Turon bay consisted only of four mud walls, covered with thatch; and such as are situated on low grounds, in the neighbourhood of rivers, are usually raised upon four posts of wood, or pillars of stone, to keep out vermin as well as inundations.

The dress of the Cochinchinese has undergone not only an alteration, but a very considerable abridgment. They wear neither thick shoes, nor quilted stockings, nor clumsy sattin boots, nor petticoats stuffed with wadding; but always go barelegged and generally barefooted. Their long black hair, like that of the Malays, is usually twisted into a knot and fixed on the crown of the head. This, indeed, is the ancient mode in which the Chinese wore their hair, until the

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Tartars, on the conquest of the country, compelled them to submit to the ignominy of shaving the whole head except a little lock of hair behind.

On the precepts of Confucius is grounded the moral system for the regulation of the conduct in this country as well as in China. Here, however, to the exterior forms of morality very little regard seems to be paid. In China these precepts are gaudily displayed in golden characters in every house, in the streets and public places; but here they are seldom seen and never heard. Were they, indeed, repeated in their original language, (and they will scarcely bear a translation,) they would not be understood. Their conduct, in general, seems to be as little influenced by the solemn precepts of religion as by those of morality. The Cochinchinese are, like the French, always gay and for ever talking; the Chinese always grave and affect to be thinking: the former are open and familiar, the latter close and reserved. A Chinese would consider it as disgraceful to commit any affair of importance to a woman. Women, in the estimation of the Cochinchinese, are best suited for, and are accordingly entrusted with, the chief concerns of the family. The Chinese code of politeness forbids a woman to talk unless by way of reply, to laugh beyond a smile, to sing unless desired and, as to dancing, she labours under a physical restriction which makes this kind of movement impossible. In Cochinchina the women are quite as gay and as unrestrained as the men. And as a tolerably accurate conclusion may be drawn of the state of their society, from the condition in which the female part

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of it is placed, and the consideration in which the female character is held among them, I shall be more particular in describing the situation here assigned to them, in so far at least as our limited means afforded us the opportunity of observing, than on other points.

In some of the provinces of China women are condemned to the degrading and laborious task of dragging the plough, and otherwise employed in various kinds of heavy drudgery. In Cochinchina it would appear likewise to be the fate of the weaker sex to be doomed to those occupations which require, if not the greatest exertions of bodily strength, at least the most persevering industry. We observed them day after day, and from morning till night, standing in the midst of pools of water, up to the knees, occupied in the transplanting of rice. In fact, all the labours of tillage, and the various employments connected with agriculture, seem to fall to the share of the female peasantry; whilst those in Turon, to the management of domestic concerns, add the superintendance of all the details of commerce. They even assist in constructing and keeping in repair their mud-built cottages; they conduct the manufacture of coarse earthen ware vessels; they manage the boats on rivers and in harbours; they bear their articles of produce to market; they draw the cotton wool from the pod, free it from the seeds, spin it into thread, weave it into cloth, dye it of its proper colour, and make it up into dresses for themselves and their families. Almost all the younger part of the males are compelled to enrol themselves in the army; and such as are exempt from military service employ

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themselves occasionally in fishing, in collecting swallows' nests and the *Biches de mer* among the neighbouring islands, as luxuries for the use of their own great men, but more particularly as articles of export for the China market; in felling timber; building and repairing ships and boats, and a few other occupations which, however, they take care shall not engross their whole time, but contrive to leave a considerable portion of it unemployed, or employed only in the pursuit of some favourite amusement: for they are not by any means of an idle disposition. But the activity and the industry of the women are so unabating, their pursuits so varied, and the fatigue they undergo so harassing, that the Cochinchinese apply to them the same proverbial expression which we confer on a cat, observing that a woman, having nine lives, bears a great deal of killing. It is evident indeed, from the whole tenor of their conduct, that the men, even in the common ranks of life, consider the other sex as destined for their use; and those in a higher station, as subservient to their pleasures. The number of wives or of concubines, which a man may find it expedient to take, is not limited by any law or rule; but here, as in China, the first in point of date claims precedence and takes the lead in all domestic concerns. The terms on which the parties are united are not more easy than those by which they may be separated. To break a sixpence between two parting lovers is considered, among the peasantry of some of the counties in England, as an avowal and pledge of unalterable fidelity. In Cochinchina, the breaking of one of their copper coins or a pair of chop-sticks between man and wife, before proper

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witnesses, is considered as a dissolution of their former compact, and the act of separation.

In China the men have sedulously and successfully inculcated the doctrine, that a well-bred woman should never be seen abroad; that she should confine herself constantly to her own apartments; that in the presence of even her nearest male relations she should not expose her neck and her hands, to prevent which her gown is buttoned up close to the chin, and its sleeves hang down below the knee: and so craftily have they contrived their precepts to operate, that the silly women have actually been prevailed on to consider a physical defect which confines them to the house as a fashionable accomplishment. Here, in this respect, there is a total difference with regard to the sex. So far from the Cochinchinese women being deprived of the free use of their limbs or their liberty, they have the enjoyment of both to the fullest extent. It certainly was not in Cochinchina where Eudoxus, in his travels, is said to have observed the feet of the women to be so small, that they might with propriety be distinguished by the name of the "Ostrich-footed;" *fœminis plantas adeo parvas ut Struthopodes appellentur;* as, by their bustling about with naked feet, they become unusually large and spreading; but the name might aptly enough be applied to the feet of the Chinese ladies, whose undefined and lumpish form is not unlike the foot of the ostrich.

Extremes often approximate. The same cause which in China has operated this total seclusion of the sex from so-

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ciety and the abridgment of their physical powers, has produced in Cochinchina a diametrically opposite effect, by permitting them to revel uncontrolled in every species of licentiousness. This cause is their being degraded in public opinion, and considered as beings of an inferior nature to the men. Thus situated, character becomes of little value either to themselves or to others; and, from all accounts, it appears they are fully sensible of its unimportance in this respect. The consequence of which is that women of less scrupulosity, or men of more accommodating dispositions, are not certainly to be met with in any part of the world than those in the environs of Turon bay. It is to be hoped, however, that the general character of the nation may not exactly correspond with that which prevails at one of the most frequented of its sea-port towns. The singular indulgence, granted by the laws of Solon, of permitting young women to dispose of personal favours, for the purpose of enabling them to procure articles of the first necessity for themselves or their families, is sanctioned by the Cochinchinese without any limitation as to age, condition, or object. Neither the husband nor the father seems to have any scruples in abandoning the wife or the daughter to her gallant. Not Galba, when he politely fell asleep, (as we are told by Plutarch,) for the accommodation of Mecænas and rebuked his servant for officiously rattling the plates in order to awaken him that he might see what was going on, could possibly have been more at ease than a Cochinchinese husband, to whom may justly be applied the following lines of Horace, wherein he describes the dissolute manners of the Romans:

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" Sed jussa coràm non sine conscio
" Surgit marito; seu vocat institor
" Seu navis Hispanæ magister
" Dedecorum pretiosus emptor."

" The conscious husband bids her rise,
" When some rich factor courts her charms,
" And calls the wanton to his arms.
" Then prodigal of wealth and fame,
" Profusely buys the costly shame."

These observations on the indifference, on the part of the men, for the honour and chastity of the sex, and the abandoned and profligate character of the latter which is the necessary consequence thereof, are by no means confined to the common people: they apply indeed more forcibly to the first ranks in society, the officers of government. These men, fully as debauched as the Chinese Mandarins, carry not even that appearance of decency which those find it expedient to observe. Of the facility with which they are disposed to transfer their women to strangers our party had several curious instances. From the following, among many others, a tolerably good notion may be collected of the value put upon them in a pecuniary point of view. An officer of the Lion was one day sent on shore to purchase a couple of bullocks for the use of the ship's company. As the price had previously been fixed at ten dollars a-head, the officer had only to count down the money before one of the magistrates of the place, and receive his bullocks. The Mandarin, taking up the dollars, dispatched a couple of his attendants, who shortly returned with a fine young girl, whom the magistrate handed over to the officer. Whether this gentleman's modesty was too

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much shocked at so barefaced and indecent a transaction, or whether he had not a sufficient sum of money to make up the price of the bullocks, is immaterial to the purpose; it is enough to observe that he preferred his duty to the purchase of the lady, to the affected astonishment of the Mandarin, of whom he understood her to be either the wife or the daughter. Another gentleman, in returning one day from the town to the river side, was accosted by an elderly woman, who made signs to him to follow her into her cottage, where she presented him with her daughter, very nearly in that state in which she came out of nature's hands; and the eyes of the old lady sparkled with joy at the sight of a Spanish dollar.

There was little prepossessing in the general appearance and character of the Cochinchinese. The women had but slender pretensions to beauty; yet the want of personal charms was in some degree compensated by a lively and cheerful temper, totally unlike the dull, the morose, and secluded Chinese. An expressive countenance, being as much the result of education and sentiment as a delicate set of features and a fine complexion are of health, ease, exemption from drudgery and exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather, could hardly be expected in Cochinchina. In point of fact, both sexes are coarse featured, and their colour nearly as deep as that of the Malay; and, like these people, the universal custom of chewing areca and betel, by reddening the lips and blackening the teeth, gives them an appearance still more unseemly than nature intended. The dress of the women was by no means fascinat-

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A Group of Cabin chinese

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ing. A loose cotton frock, of a brown or blue colour, reaching down to the middle of the thigh, and a pair of black nankin trowsers made very wide, constitute in general their common clothing. With the use of stockings and shoes they are wholly unacquainted; but the upper ranks wear a kind of sandals or loose slippers. As a holiday dress, on particular occasions, a lady puts on three or four frocks at once, of different colours and lengths; the shortest being uppermost. A woman thus dressed appears in the annexed print, which represents a groupe of Cochinchinese and may be considered as a fair specimen of their general appearance. Their long black hair is sometimes twisted into a knot and fixed on the crown of the head, and sometimes hangs loose in flowing tresses down the back, reaching frequently to the very ground. Short hair is not only considered as a mark of vulgarity, but an indication of degeneracy. The dress of the men has little if any thing to distinguish it from that of the other sex, being chiefly confined to a jacket and a pair of trowsers. Some wear handkerchiefs tied round the head in the shape of a turban; others have hats or caps of various forms and materials, but most of them calculated for protecting the face against the rays of the sun; for which purpose they also make use of umbrellas of strong China paper, or skreens of the leaves of the Borassus or fan-palm and other kinds of the palm tribe, or fans made of feathers. Consonant with the appearance of their mean and scanty clothing, as frequently thrown loosely over their shoulders as fitted to the body, were their lowly cabins of bamboo. In short, nothing met the eye that could impress the mind of a stranger with high notions of the happy condition of this people.

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There is, however, such a vast difference in the circumstances under which an European and the inhabitant of a tropical climate are situated, that the former, who for the first time finds himself among the latter, will be very apt to fall into error in attempting to form a comparative estimate of their respective conditions. To the one, fuel and clothing and close and compact lodging are essential, not only to his comfort, but to his existence; to the other, fire is of no further use than a few embers to boil his rice, or to prepare an offering to his god. For splendid and massy fabrics neither his taste nor necessity incline him; and close thick clothing, so far from being a comfort, would be to him the most inconvenient of all incumbrances. Even the little which he occasionally finds it expedient to use he frequently throws aside; for where nakedness is no disgrace, he can at all times, and in all places, accommodate his dress to his feelings and his circumstances, without offence to others or embarrassment to himself; an advantage which is denied to the European.

Although we had neither expected to meet with an extensive city nor magnificent palaces in the vicinity of Turon bay, yet as this spot was known to have been anciently the chief mart for the trade of this country with China and Japan, we felt rather disappointed on finding a few villages only, in the largest of which the number of houses did not exceed one hundred, and these chiefly thatched cottages. That it had suffered considerably from the late revolutions was evident from the ruins of larger and better buildings than any which now appeared, and from the inequalities

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of surface indicating a former existence of walls and forts, and which, by our officer's account who was taken prisoner, were still more visible and extensive at *Fai-foo*; from the remains, also, of gardens and plantations of fruit trees and flowering shrubs, that were now run into wildernesses: but no traces appeared to indicate former opulence, or convey the impression of fallen magnificence. It is true, the vestiges of Oriental cities, when suffered to fall into decay, soon disappear. Their best houses, limited to a single story, constructed generally of wood or of bricks that have been dried only in the sun, require an unremitted attention to preserve them from mouldering into dust. Their city walls, constructed of light and imperfect materials, soon crumble into heaps of ruins, and are buried under a rapid and vigorous vegetation. The system on which their city walls are built is but ill calculated for duration. The mass of loose earth heaped in the middle has a constant tendency to push out the brick or stone casing which, tumbling into the ditch, is lost in a few years in the general surface. If the great and populous city of Pekin, the greatest and most populous perhaps on the whole globe, should by any accident be deserted, many centuries would not be required to blot out every vestige of its situation. It is, therefore, the less surprizing that, in the days of Alexander, all traces of the supposed magnificent palaces of Troy had disappeared; and that the proud city of Babylon, once the mistress of the world, should for so many ages past have been laid prostrate in the dust.

The cottages of Turon were in general snug and clean, and sufficiently compact to protect the inhabitants from the heat

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of the sun at one season, and the heavy rains at the other. There appeared to be no want in the market of either cotton or silk stuffs for clothing; and the country produced a great variety and abundance of articles, which contribute to the sustenance of the multitude, as well as to the luxuries of the higher orders of the people. Almost every kind of domestic animal, except sheep, appeared to be plentiful. They had small horned cattle, short legged hogs, kids, and great abundance of ducks and fowls. They eat dogs as in China, and frogs are a common article of food. The sea as well as the land is a never-failing source of sustenance to multitudes who dwell on the coast. Beside a great variety of good fish, they eat at least three different species of the *Balistes*, and as many of the genus *Chætodon;* one of the latter of which, with its purple and yellow bandages and ocellated fin, is a very beautiful fish. The net is in common use, and so are wicker baskets, made like the wire mouse-trap, into which fish running to the bait are prevented from getting out again; and we observed them taking vast quantities of flying fish, by letting down into the sea deep earthen jars with narrow necks, baited with pork or the offals of fish. Most of the genera of marine worms, belonging to that class which by naturalists is distinguished under the name of *Mollusca*, are used as articles of food by the Cochinchinese; as, for instance, various species of the *Medusa*, *Holothuria*, *Actinia*, *Ascidia* and *Doris;* some of which, as the *Biches de Mer*, usually called *Trepan*, (a species either of *Holothuria* or *Actinia*,) is caught and prepared as an article of luxury and commerce. All the gelatinous substances derived from the sea, whether animal or vegetable, are considered by them

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among the most nutritious of all aliments; and on this principle various kinds of *Algæ* or sea-weeds, particularly those genera which are known by the names of *Fuci* and *Ulvæ*, are included in the list of their edible plants.

In the populous islands of Japan the natives of the sea-coasts derive part of their sustenance from various kinds of sea-weeds, and from none more than that species of *Fucus* which is called *Saccharinus*. It would appear from Mr. Thunberg's account of its leaves being used to ornament and embellish packages of fruit or other presents offered to strangers, that this plant is there in high estimation, being considered perhaps as the representative of those resources of sustenance which the sea so amply supplies to such nations as from choice or necessity may be led to avail themselves of its various productions. The *Chin-chou* jelly of China may probably be made, in part, of the *Fucus Saccharinus*; for it would appear, from samples brought to England, that the leaves from which this jelly is made are taken from three or four distinct species of this extensive genus. There is reason indeed to believe that most of the species both of the *Fuci* and the *Ulvæ* might be employed for similar purposes. From the shores of Robben island, at the Cape of Good Hope, the slaves are accustomed to bring away baskets of a species of *Fucus*, whose leaves are sword-shaped, serrated, and about six inches long. These leaves being first washed clean and sufficiently dried to resist putrefaction are then steeped in fresh water for five or six days, changing it every morning; after which if boiled for a few hours in a little water they become a clear transparent jelly which, being mixed with a little sugar and the juice of a lemon or orange,

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is as pleasant and refreshing as any kind of jelly whatsoever. And as few countries perhaps can boast of a greater number of species of the *Fuci* and *Ulvæ* than are found on the coasts of the British islands, future generations may discover those nutritive qualities which many of them contain, and not limit the use of them as articles of food to a few species, which is the case at present; for excepting the *Esculentus* or *Tangle*, the *Saccharinus*, better known in Iceland than in Britain, the *Palmatus* or *Dulse*, which the Scotch say is not only rich and gelatinous but communicates to other vegetables with which it may be mixed the fragrant smell of violets, and that species of *Ulva* well known on the coast of Wales by the name of *Laver*, all the rest seem to be neglected.

But the *Chin-chou* of China, called more properly *Hai-tsai* or *sea-vegetable*, is not only used as an article of food, but is employed both in China, Japan and Cochinchina as a gummous or gelatinous substance, for giving additional transparency to large sheets of paper or coarse gauze used for windows or lanterns. The latter, made sometimes of slips of bamboo crossed diagonally, have frequently their lozenge-shaped interstices wholly filled with the transparent gluten of the *Hai-tsai*.

The Cochinchinese collect likewise many of the small succulent or fleshy plants, which are usually produced on salt and sandy marshes, as the *Salicornia*, *Arenaria*, *Crithmum Maritimum* or samphire, and many others, which they either boil in their soups or stews, or eat in a raw state to give sapidity to rice which, in fact, is with them the grand sup-

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port of existence. Of this grain they have the art of making a kind of vermicelli, usually called *Lock-soy*, which is perfectly transparent, and held on that account in high estimation both in Japan and China; to the latter of which it is exported in considerable quantity. It communicates to soup a gelatinous consistence, but at the same time preserves its form and transparency, qualities which would lead one to doubt if rice be the only ingredient in its composition. The Chinese *Lock-soy* is opaque.

By the natives of warm climates animal food is seldom ranked among articles of the first necessity, and is sparingly used. And though fish is the common sustenance of those who inhabit the sea-coasts, yet rice made more gustable by a little salt, a pod of capsicum or pepper, or a leaf of some of the acidulous maritime vegetables above-mentioned, furnishes a grateful meal to the great mass of Oriental nations. All beyond this article and its accompaniments, even the areca nut and betel leaf, as well as opium and spirituous liquors, may be considered in the light of luxuries. Of rice, in Cochinchina, they are almost certain of two plentiful crops every year, one of which is reaped in April, the other in October. Fruits of various kinds, as oranges, bananas, figs, pine apples, guavas, pomegranates, and others of inferior note, are abundantly produced in all parts of the country. They have very fine yams, and plenty of sweet potatoes. Their small breed of cattle does not appear to furnish them with much milk; but of this article indeed, like the Chinese, they make but a very sparing use, not even as food for their young children. These little creatures were very numerous in Turon, and appeared remarkably

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healthy; and till the age of seven or eight years were entirely naked. Their food seemed to consist chiefly of rice, sugar-cane, and water melons. The mass of people in Cochinchina, like the common Chinese, have but two meals in the day, one about nine or ten in the morning, the other about sunset; and these are usually taken, in the dry season, before the doors of their cottages, on mats spread in the open air. Where all fare alike, none feels ashamed to expose his humble meal.

In the neighbourhood of Turon we observed several plantations of sugar-canes and tobacco. The juice of the former, having undergone a partial refinement, is exported to the China market in cakes, which in colour, thickness and porosity resemble the honeycomb; the latter is consumed in the country, as all degrees of every age and sex indulge in the habit of smoking. The face of the country exhibited, however, but feeble marks of tillage; and arts and manufactures were evidently in a languishing state. The cottages contained little furniture, and that little was rude in its construction and as if intended only for temporary use. The matting which covered the floors was ingeniously woven in different colours; but the art of making mats is so common in all the nations of the East, that the most beautiful are scarcely subjects of admiration among themselves. Their domestic utensils consisted chiefly of an earthen stove, an iron pot to boil their rice, a pan of the shape of a watch glass to fry their vegetables in oil, and a few porcelain cups or bowls. Their vessels of cast iron were equal in quality to those of the Chinese, but their earthen ware was very inferior.

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They seemed to work in metals with a tolerable degree of neatness. The handles of the officers' swords were mostly of silver, and by no means ill finished; and their articles of fillagree were equal to those of the Chinese. In fact, both the one and the other possess quick and comprehensive talents and, under due encouragement, are already in that advanced stage to make a very rapid progress in the arts, sciences, and manufactures. Under every disadvantage of a bad government, their ingenuity occasionally breaks forth in a surprizing manner. The man at Canton who could make a watch at first sight had neither a weak head nor an unskilful hand.

Their arts and manufactures did not, however, appear to be in a state of progressive improvement. There is in all the Oriental governments a radical defect, which no advantages of soil or climate or other favourable circumstances can compensate, and which must for ever operate against their attaining the character and the condition of a great and happy people. This insuperable bar to their grandeur and felicity is owing to the want of a permanent security to property. Where the right of inheritance is a weaker claim than the state of possession; where the hand of arbitrary power can at any time, without the forms of legal process, dispossess a man of the piece of ground on which the support of himself and his family wholly depends; where only the law of the strongest is acknowledged, and where neither person nor property has any effectual protection against the designs of the vindictive or the rapacious entrusted with power,—what possible encouragement can the subject have to build an elegant house, to improve the cultivation of his land, to aim

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at perfection in any branch of the arts, or to extend his ingenuity or his industry much beyond the mere supplying of the necessaries of life. An Oriental sage has observed that "the proof of a just government and a well-regulated police "is, when a beautiful woman covered with jewels can travel "abroad in perfect security." What would this sage have said of that government and that police, where a helpless and wealthy old woman, surrounded by a set of lusty and indigent servants, commits herself and her property to them and to the world with as much composure and confidence, as if her physical strength was not in the least inferior to theirs;—or, where the property of a still more helpless infant orphan is not only secured till he arrives at years of discretion, but cultivated and improved sometimes to the double of its original value? However strange such a relation might appear to an inhabitant of the eastern hemisphere, we have the satisfaction of knowing it to be strictly true in many parts of the western world, and in none more so than on the highly favoured island of Great Britain.

That particular branch of the arts in which the Cochinchinese may be said to excel at the present day is naval architecture, for which, however, they are not a little indebted to the size and quality of the timber employed for that purpose. Their row-gallies for pleasure are remarkably fine vessels. These boats, from fifty to eighty feet in length, are sometimes composed of five single planks, each extending from one extremity to the other, the edges morticed, kept tight by wooden pins, and bound firm by twisted fibres of bamboo, without either ribs or any kind of timbers. At the

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stem and stern they are raised to a considerable height, and are curiously carved into monstrous figures of dragons and serpents, ornamented with gilding and painting. A number of poles and spears bearing flags and streamers, pikes ornamented with tufts of cows' tails painted red, lanterns and umbrellas, and other insignia denoting the rank of the passenger, are erected at each end of the boat. And as these people, like the Chinese, differ in most of their notions from the greater portion of mankind, the company always sit in the fore part of the boat; but as it would be a breach of good manners for the rowers to turn their backs on the passengers, they stand with their faces towards the bow of the boat, pushing the oars from them instead of pulling towards them, as is usually done in the western world. The servants and the baggage occupy the stern of the boat. The vessels that are employed in the coasting trade, the fishing craft, and those which collect the *Trepan* and swallows' nests among the cluster of islands called the *Paracels*, are of various descriptions: many of them, like the Chinese *Sampans*, covered with sheds of matting, under which a whole family constantly resides; and others, resembling the common proas of the Malays, both as to their hulls and rigging. Their foreign traders are built on the same plan as the Chinese junks, the form and construction of which are certainly not to be held out as perfect models of naval architecture; yet, as they have subsisted some thousands of years unaltered, they are at least entitled to a little respect from the antiquity of the invention. As these vessels never were intended for ships of war, extraordinary swiftness for pursuit or escape was not an es-

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sential quality: security rather than speed was the object of the owner. And as no great capitals were individually employed in trade, and the merchant was both owner and navigator, a limited tonnage was sufficient for his own merchandize; the vessel was therefore divided, in order to obviate this inconvenience, into distinct compartments, so that one ship might separately accommodate many merchants. The bulk heads by which these divisions were formed consisted of planks of two inches thick, so well caulked and secured as to be completely water-tight.

Whatever objections may be started against the dividing of ships' holds, and the interference in the stowage seems to be the most material one, it cannot be denied that it gives to large vessels many important advantages. A ship, thus fortified with cross bulk-heads, may strike on a rock and yet sustain no serious injury; a leak springing in one division of the hold will not be attended with any damage to the articles placed in another: and by the ship being thus so well bound together, she is firm and strong enough to sustain a more than ordinary shock. It is well known to seamen, that when a large ship strikes the ground, the first indication of her falling in pieces is when the edges of the decks begin to part from the sides; but this separation can never happen when the sides and the deck are firmly bound together by cross bulk-heads. In fact, this old Chinese invention is now on trial in the British navy, as a new experiment. Other schemes have likewise been proposed in this country for propelling ships in a calm, by large scullers, by water wheels placed at the sides or through the bottom,

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Cochin chinese Shipping on the River Taye

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and by various other modes; all of which, though taking the name of *Inventions*, have been in common use among the Chinese for more than two thousand years.

The annexed print will convey a tolerably good idea of such Cochinchinese craft as frequented that branch of the river *Fai-foo* which fell into Turon bay.

Although the present King of this country has to a certain degree broken the fetters of custom, as far as regards the construction of ships of war, yet, in doing this, he has not been unmindful of popular prejudice which, in Asiatic countries in particular where they are wholly guided by opinion, is stamped with a character too sacred to be torn up at once by the roots. Out of deference to this prejudice, he caused that part only of the hull or body of the vessel to be altered which is immersed in the water; all the upper works, the masts, sails and rigging, remaining Cochinchinese. Indeed it may be questioned if the pliant bamboo, which forms so material a part of the upper works of their vessels, could be displaced with any advantage by solid timber, than which it is more light and equally strong. It is impossible not to admire the good sense of this wise and active Prince who, in steering this middle path, obtained a real advantage without introducing any visible change.

Of tenacity to ancient custom a curious instance appeared on the part of the Emperor of Japan, when the Dutch carried to this Sovereign from Batavia, a few years ago, among other presents, the model of a ship of war. The Am-

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bassador happening to observe the Emperor casting his eye upon this model, and conceiving the occasion might be turned to the advantage of his employers, ventured to make a proposal for sending to Japan a number of proper artificers from Holland, for the purpose of instructing his subjects in the art of ship-building, according to the practice of Europe. The Emperor desired he might be asked how long his countrymen had been acquainted with the art of constructing ships on the model he had brought. The Ambassador replied, about three hundred years. "Tell him," says the Emperor, "that my people have built such ships as he sees "floating in my harbours for as many thousand years, and "that I have not yet heard of any complaints against their "utility. I shall not, therefore, pay so ill a compliment to "myself or to my people, as to lay aside the test of ages for "an invention of yesterday. The Dutch ships may suit the "Dutch, but not the Japanese. Tell him, therefore, I "would advise him to take back this part of his present."

The Cochinchinese having effectually preserved the written characters of the Chinese language, we found no difficulty in communicating with them on all subjects, through this medium, by our Chinese priests. The spoken language, however, has undergone a very considerable change, which is the less surprizing, as the inhabitants of the northern and southern provinces of China are unintelligible to each other; but though it has been altered, it does not appear to have received any improvement, neither from additions of their own, nor from the introduction of foreign words. By a comparison of the short catalogue of Chinese words, which I

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have given in another work, with their synonyms in the Cochinchinese language, an idea may be collected how far the two spoken languages resemble or differ from each other.

ENGLISH.	CHINESE.	COCHINCHINESE.
The Earth,	tee,	dia.
The Air,	kee,	bloei.
Fire,	ho,	whoa.
The Sea,	hai,	bæ.
A River,	ho,	jeang.
A Mountain,	shan,	noui.
The Sun,	jee-to,	mat bloei, *eye of heaven.*
The Moon,	yué,	blang.
The Stars,	sing,	sao.
The Clouds,	yun,	moo.
Thunder,	luie,	no-sang
Lightning,	shan-tein,	choap.
The Wind,	fung,	jeo.
The Day,	jee *or* tien,	ngai.
The Night,	ye *or* van-shang,	teng.
The Sky or Heaven,	tien,	tien.
The East,	tung,	doo.
West,	see,	tai.
North,	pee,	pak.
South,	nan,	nang,
Man,	jin,	dan-ou.
Woman,	foo-gin,	dan-ba.

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ENGLISH.	CHINESE.	COCHINCHINESE.
A Quadruped,	shoo,	kang.
A Bird,	kin,	ching.
A Fish,	eu,	ka.
A Tree,	shoo,	kai.
A Fruit,	ko-tse,	blai.
A Flower,	wha,	wha.
A Stone,	shee,	ta.
Gold,	tchin,	whang.
Silver,	in-tse	bak.
Copper,	tung,	tow.
Lead,	yuen,	chee.
Iron,	tié,	tié.
The Head,	too,	too.
The Hand,	shoo,	tai.
The Heart,	sin,	blai.
The Foot,	tchiau,	tchen.
The Face,	mien,	mien.
The Eyes,	yen-shing,	mat.
The Ears,	eul-to,	tai.
An Ox,	nieu,	bo.
A Horse,	ma,	ma.
An Ass,	loo-tse	looa.
A Dog,	kioon,	koo.
A Sheep,	yang,	chien.
A Cat,	miau,	miao.
A Stag,	shan-loo,	hoo.
A Pigeon,	koo-tse,	bo-kau
An Egg,	kee-tan,	te-lung.
A Goose,	goo,	ngoo.

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ENGLISH.	CHINESE.	COCHINCHINESE.
Oil,	yeo,	taw.
Rice,	mee,	gao.
Vinegar,	tsoo,	jing.
Salt,	yen,	muoi.
Silk,	tsoo,	looa.
Cotton,	mien-wha,	baou.
Sugar,	tung,	dang.
A House,	shia,	da.
A Temple,	miau,	shooa.
A Bed,	tchuang,	tchuang.
A Door,	men,	pan.
A Knife,	tau,	tiau.
A Plough,	lee,	kai.
An Anchor,	mau,	dan.
A Ship,	tchuan,	tau.
Money,	tsien,	tien.
One,	ye,	mot.
Two,	ul,	hai.
Three,	san,	teng.
Four,	soo,	bon.
Five,	ou,	lang.
Six,	leu,	lak.
Seven,	tchee,	bai.
Eight,	pa,	tang.
Nine,	tcheu,	chin.
Ten,	shee,	taap.
Eleven,	shee-ye,	moei-mot.
Twelve,	shee-ul,	moei-hai.
Twenty,	ul-shee,	hai-moei.

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ENGLISH.	CHINESE.	COCHINCHINESE.
Thirty,	san-shee,	teng-moei.
Thirty-one,	san-shee-ye,	teng-moei-mot.
Thirty-two,	san-shee-ul,	teng-moei-hai.
One hundred,	pe,	klang.
One thousand,	tsien,	ngkin.
Ten thousand,	van,	muon.
One hundred thousand,	shee-van,	

It may be observed, that the Cochinchinese have introduced the consonants *B*, *D*, and *R*, which they pronounce without the least difficulty, but a Chinese cannot, by any exertion, articulate a syllable into which one of these enters. In the construction of phrases there is also a considerable difference between the two languages. In forming the plural of the personal pronouns, the Chinese make use of the syllable *muen*, *many*, as,

ngo,	*ne*,	*ta*,
I,	thou,	he.

ngo-muen,	*ne-muen*,	*ta-muen*,
we,	ye,	they.

But the Cochinchinese employ the syllable *chung*, *all*, as,

tooi,	*bai*,	*no*,
I,	thou,	he.

chung-tooi,	*chung-bai*,	*chung-no*,
we,	ye,	they.

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To these people we found less difficulty in making ourselves intelligible than we had to encounter in our future intercourse with the grave and solemn Chinese, whose dignity would be thought to suffer debasement by their condescending to employ the pencil in delineating objects, notwithstanding its alliance with their mode of writing; or by attempting to indicate, by signs and gestures, such ideas as are capable of being interchanged without the aid of language. This was by no means the case with the Cochinchinese, who always seemed anxious to enter into our views, and to facilitate a mutual understanding. Those Chinese, however, who traffic with or engage as servants to Europeans at Canton, are as ready, as ingenious, and as fertile in inventions for making themselves intelligible to their employers, and in meeting the ideas of those whom it is their interest to please, as any other people possibly can be. A Captain, for instance, of one of the East India Company's ships pointing one day at table towards a dish, which he supposed to be hashed duck, desired his Chinese servant, who had only learned a little of the jargon which this description of persons are usually taught by their masters, to get him some of the *quaak-quaak.* The servant, having looked at the dish, shook his head and, by way of correcting his master's mistake, observed significantly that it was not *quaak-quaak*, but *bow-wow*, the dish happening to be a preparation of *dog* instead of *duck.*

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the religion of the Cochinchinese, like that of almost all the Oriental nations, is

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a modification of the widely extended doctrine of *Budha*, appearing, however, from the little we had an opportunity of seeing as to the devotional part, more simple and less disguised with the mysteries and machinery of oracular worship than that which is practised popularly in China. From a sentiment of gratitude to the benevolent and bountiful spirit, the Cochinchinese, like the Jews of old, manifest their piety by offering to the image of the protecting deity the firstlings of their living flocks and of the fruits of the earth. The first ears of rice, the first ripe nut of the areca, the first cup of sugar, or whatever the nature of the produce may be, is taken to the shrine which contains the sacred image, and is there deposited with becoming reverence, as an humble acknowledgment of the divine goodness. I was much gratified in the opportunity of being present at an offering of this nature. Landing from our boat one serene evening, in a little cove on the northern shore of Turon bay, I observed a person in a long yellowish coloured robe reaching to the ground, his head bare and closely shaved, marching with a kind of measured step towards a large spreading tree, and followed by a few of the peasantry. On arriving at the foot of the tree they all halted. Just at the head of the main trunk (for it was a species of *Ficus Indica* or Banyan tree, called *Dea* in Cochinchina, whose branches take root and become stems) I observed a large cage of latticed work, with a pair of folding doors, fixed between two boughs, and partly hidden by the foliage. Within was a wooden figure of *Budha* or *Fo*, of the same corpulent shape and in the usual sitting posture as he is represented in the temples of China. A little

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An Offering of First-fruits to the God Fo

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boy attending on the priest stood close before him with a burning coal on a brazen dish. One of the peasants carried a ladder of bamboo, which he placed against the tree; and another mounting it deposited in the cage, before the idol, two basons of rice, a cup of sugar, and one of salt. The priest in the mean time, with arms extended and eyes turned towards heaven, muttered something in a low tone of voice, when the man who had carried the ladder fell on his knees and nine times prostrated his body on the ground, according to the custom of the Chinese. Several women and children remained at a distance, as if forbidden to approach too near; though, as priestesses are said to be common in this country, it is not probable there was any restriction on account of the sex.

That the ladder was the property of the priest, and that at a suitable time he would take care to remove the sacred deposit and appropriate the offering to his own use, like the priests of the idol Bel in times of old, as related in the apocryphal writings, there is little room for doubting; but the offering was not, on that account, less a token of the piety and gratitude of him who made it. And although it might have been more dignified, on the part of the priest, to take his due fairly and openly, yet there are not perhaps any class of men who are better entitled to a remuneration for their services than those whose time is occupied in keeping alive the duties of religion. At all times and in all nations the disposal of the first fruits seems to have been vested in the hands of the priests. From sacred history it clearly appears

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to have formed a part of the Jewish dispensation; and we are informed by Pliny that no one ever thought of tasting new fruits or new wine until the priests had first performed the customary libations—*Ac ne degustabant quidem novas fruges aut vina antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent.*

On the skirts of every little grove of trees near Turon bay small boxes of wood or baskets of wicker work were either suspended from or fixed among the branches, some containing images made of various materials, and others painted or gilded paper cut into different shapes, inscriptions on slips of wood in the Chinese character, and many other indications of their sacred destination. Trees, in fact, appear to have been among the first of temples that were consecrated to the deities. To man, but little advanced beyond a state of nature, the grandest objects that present themselves are those most likely to arrest his adoration. Such on the plains are trees of venerable antiquity, and on the mountains their high peaked summits of solid rock. But man, more vain and ambitious in proportion as he became more civilized, conceived a Babel whose summit should reach to the skies. The most sumptuous and magnificent temples were consecrated to the deity by most of the polished nations of antiquity, and this practice has universally been adopted by the professors of Christianity; but the Chinese and their neighbours differ in their opinions on this subject, as on most others, from the rest of mankind. They are content to worship

> " ——— that Spirit that does prefer
> " Before all temples the upright heart and pure,"

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in all places and under all circumstances. A little casket not larger than a snuff-box frequently enshrines a favourite divinity. Solitary devotion, it is true, requires not the space that is necessary for congregational worship. A tutelar deity may be placed in any corner of the house, or carried about in the pocket.

The Cochinchinese are extremely superstitious, and their devotional exercises, like those of the Chinese, are more frequently performed with the view of averting an ideal evil than with the hope of acquiring a positive good; or, in other words, the evil spirit is more dreaded than the good one revered. In various parts of the country are large wooden stakes or pillars erected, not only for the purpose of marking the spot where some great calamity either of a public or a private nature may have happened, as the loss of a battle, the murder of an individual, or other unfortunate event, but as a propitiation to the evil spirit by whose influence it is supposed to have been occasioned. So also when an infant dies, the parents are supposed to have incurred the displeasure of some malignant spirit, which they endeavour to appease by offerings of rice, oil, tea, money, or whatever they may imagine to be the most acceptable to the angry divinity. From such sentiments one may venture to hope that the horrid practice of infanticide is not among the bad customs they have retained of the Chinese.

Beside the spontaneous offerings which individuals conceive it necessary to make on various occasions, it seems that a

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yearly contribution, levied by government, is paid for the support of a certain number of monasteries, in which the priests invoke the deity for the public welfare. This contribution consists of produce in kind, as rice, fruits, sugar, areca nut, and other articles; in lieu of which, in towns, are collected money, metals, clothing, and such like. The priests here, as in China, are considered to be the best physicians; but their art lies more in charms and fascinations than in the judicious application of sanative drugs.

It may be inferred that the fundamental principles of the Cochinchinese government are the same as those of China; that they have the same laws and the same modes of punishment: but on this subject I am unable to communicate any information. In the open building adjoining that where the ruling Mandarin resided we saw both the *Tcha* and the *Pan-tsé* (the cangue and the bamboo); but whether the execution of the laws are here less rigidly attended to, or the morals of the people less corrupt, than in China, I will not pretend to say: it may be observed, however, that not a single punishment of any description occurred to our notice, whereas in China we scarcely ever passed a town or village in which our eyes were not offended at the sight of the cangue, or the ears assailed with the cries of persons suffering under the stroke of the bamboo. There, indeed, the Mandarins, however corrupt and debauched in private life, assume in public an austerity of conduct, which gives a sanction to their corrections; but a Mandarin of Cochinchina, who openly violates the rules of decorum, and sets in his own

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person the example of levity and licentiousness, could but with a very bad grace direct and superintend the punishment of another less guilty than himself. At all events, the spirit of the people of Turon did not appear to suffer any depression from a too severe exercise of the hand of power.

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CHAP. XI.

ADVANTAGES OF A COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH COCHINCHINA.

Peninsula and Harbour of Turon—Views of France in desiring the Cession of it—Importance of to Great Britain, particularly in its Commerce with China—Cochinchinese Productions for Export—Mode of establishing an Intercourse with this Nation—Objections against entrusting diplomatic Agency to mercantile Men—Ancient Commerce with Cochinchina—Reason of its Decline owing to the ill Conduct of Europeans—An extraordinary Instance of Cruelty—Chinese Trade to New Holland—Superior Advantages resulting from their early Knowledge of the Compass—An Objection to its Antiquity answered—An Opening for Great Britain to revive the Trade of Cochinchina.

THE Bishop Adran, in negociating the treaty between Louis XVI. and the King of Cochinchina, has clearly shewn that, however great his attachment might be to the latter, he was not at the same time by any means unmindful of the interests of the former. The terms of this treaty also prove that, by fixing on the peninsula of Turon as the cession to be made to France, the good Bishop had not been inattentive to the comparative merits of the local advantages which the coast of Cochinchina possessed. He seems to have been well aware that if France was once permitted to occupy this neck of land, she would thereby be enabled to secure to herself a

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permanent establishment in the East. In fact, the peninsular promontory of Turon (or Hansan) is to Cochinchina what Gibraltar is to Spain; with this difference in favour of the former that, to its impregnability, it adds the very important advantage of a convenient port and harbour, securely sheltered from all winds and at all seasons of the year, possessing every requisite for a grand naval station, where ships can at all times refresh and refit, and where abundant rills of clear fresh water fertilize the numerous vallies which open upon the shores of the bay. Near a small island, connected with the peninsula by a neck of land which is uncovered at low water, ships of any magnitude might conveniently be hove down and careened; and opposite to it, on the peninsula, is a sufficient extent of level surface for a small town, with a naval arsenal, and magazines of every description: the whole capable of being rendered perfectly defensible by a handful of men.

A small island called *Callao*, situated at the distance of about thirty miles to the southward of Turon bay, was also included in the territory to be ceded. This island completely commands the entrance of the main branch of the river on which *Fai-foo*, the ancient mart for foreign commerce, is situated; and is completely inaccessible on every side but that which faces the mouth of this river. Here a small but a fertile and well-watered valley opens upon a bay, wherein ships of any size may lie at anchor in perfect security.

The views of France in fixing upon this part of the coast, which are obvious indeed from the whole tenor of the above-

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mentioned treaty, were evidently directed to the building and equipment of a naval force that should one day overawe our territorial possessions in the East; and it is by no means certain that the attempt will not be renewed, and that Imperial France may not accomplish what Monarchical France had only in contemplation. Their complete exclusion from the coasts of Hindostan will render that of Cochinchina the more inviting, especially as from this station our valuable trade to China, as well as our possessions in India, may most effectually be injured and annoyed. But independent of the mischief which the possession of this place might enable an active enemy to meditate against our concerns in the East, the advantages, on the other hand, which it holds out to our naval and commercial interests in this part of the world ought alone to entitle it to a higher degree of consideration than has yet been bestowed on it. I would not here be understood as speaking of this part of Cochinchina in a colonial or territorial point of view. We may perhaps already possess as many colonies as we can well maintain, and as much territory as is rendered useful to the state; but we never can have too many points of security for our commerce, nor too many places of convenience and accommodation for our shipping. To dwell upon the necessity of keeping up our commerce, and the policy of adding facilities to the distribution of the fruits of our productive industry, would be wholly superfluous. The loss of commerce must inevitably be followed by the loss of that rank which England at present holds in the scale of nations. France, having a larger territory in proportion to its population, perhaps generally speaking, a more favourable climate, a more fertile soil,

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and more varied productions, may be excused when she affects to despise foreign commerce, and to speak with contempt of the nation who depends solely on its support. The miseries, the misfortunes, and the devastations, however occasioned in such a country, may certainly be repaired without the aid of foreign commerce. But this is not the case with regard to England. We need only cast a glance at the articles with which the numerous large and well-stocked shops and warehouses in the capital are stored, at the multitudes of shipping which frequent our ports, to make it obvious that the national industry is more employed, and consequently more productive, in manufacturing the raw material of foreign growth than in raising such as are congenial with our own climate and soil. From Tyburn turnpike or from Hyde Park Corner to Whitechapel almost every house is a shop or a warehouse, and two thirds at least of these shops and warehouses are stored with articles of foreign growth. Any check, therefore, to our commercial prosperity, and to that preponderancy which we now enjoy in foreign trade, could not fail to be attended with the most injurious consequences to the country at large. In fact, having advanced perhaps a little too far in this career to retreat with safety, every exertion must now be made to hold our own, to give protection and permanent security to that commerce which has hitherto enabled us to measure our strength with an enemy as implacable as he is powerful. It may be necessary even that the paws of the British Lion should yet be extended—that they should grasp every point which may add to the security of what British valour and the industrious and adventurous spirit of the

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British nation have acquired and annexed to her original dominions.

But beside the security which, on the one hand, the possession of the strong peninsula of Turon would afford to our valuable fleets employed in the China trade and, on the other, the annoyance it could not fail to give us if in the hands of an active and enterprizing enemy, the important advantages which would result to our Indian commerce by having in this part of the world a secure harbour, where water and every kind of refreshment may be procured, are not lightly to be appreciated. Considered in this point of view only, if the management of our China ships was less dexterous and the means of preserving the health of the crews less efficacious than they really are, the having of such a port to resort to, in the event of a ship being too late in the season and caught by the adverse monsoon, which sometimes happens, would be an invaluable acquisition. Many other considerations might be urged in favour of establishing an intercourse with Cochinchina, but I shall at present confine the few observations I have to make to a brief view of those advantages which the East India Company would derive in their commercial concerns with China, by establishing a factory on the peninsula of Turon bay.

That the China trade is the most important and the most advantageous of the Company's extensive concerns is, I believe, universally admitted; and that it is worthy of high consideration in a national point of view requires but little

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proof. It employs direct from England 20,000 tons of shipping, and nearly three thousand seamen; it takes off our woollen manufactures and other productions to a very considerable extent; and it brings into the Exchequer an annual revenue of about three millions sterling. It is the grand prop of the East India Company's credit, and the only branch of their trade from which perhaps they may strictly be said to derive a real profit. The reason of these superior advantages is pretty obvious. To India the Company trade as sovereigns; to China as merchants. Yet it is unquestionably true that the balance of the trade between England and China is greatly in favour of the latter, and that this balance is drawn from the former in hard money to the amount of about half a million sterling annually. The bullion, however, thus sent out for the purchase of teas is converted into a productive capital, and has hitherto been replaced with large profit by the continental nations of Europe. There is besides a very considerable trade carried on by British subjects between India and China, the balance of which is nearly as much against the latter as in the other case it is in its favour against England. With Europe in general the balance of trade remains, however, greatly in favour of China; and the Spanish dollars which are carried thither to pay this balance are never again returned into circulation, but, being converted into a new and totally different shape, remain locked up in the country. In all despotic governments, where the laws are not sufficient for the protection and security of property, land and houses are considered of a nature too tangible to represent wealth. The object of every one whose revenues exceed his expences is to secure the greatest possible value in the least possible

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space, which in the evil day can most conveniently be concealed. In such countries the profits upon trade are usually hoarded up in the precious metals. Such, I believe, is pretty much the case in India, and still more so in China: the latter may therefore be considered as a perpetual sinking fund for European specie.

This annual drain of hard money to China is of the less consequence to us, so long as, by our supplying the continent of Europe with a considerable part of the return cargoes, with our manufactures, and the produce of our colonies, the metals which are dug out of the mines of Potosi shall ultimately find their way up the Thames; or, in other words, so long as the general balance of trade of the whole world shall remain in favour of England. Notwithstanding, however, this may be the case at present, it would still be a desirable object to accomplish an equalization of the trade between this country and China, and thereby put a stop to the annual drain of specie required by the latter. An intimate connection with Cochinchina would, in my opinion, go a great way towards effecting this object. This country furnishes many valuable articles suitable for the China market, and would open a new and very considerable vent for many of our manufactures; and its situation in the direct route from England to China is an unexceptionable consideration. The forests of Cochinchina produce, for instance, a variety of scented woods, as the rose wood, eagle wood, and sandal wood; all of which are highly acceptable in the China market, and bear most extravagant prices. The Cochinchinese cinnamon, though of a coarse grain and a strong pungent flavour, is preferred by

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the Chinese to that of Ceylon. It is said to be a species of Cassia, and not of the Laurus. For rice there is a never-failing demand in the populous city of Canton, and sugar and pepper are equally acceptable; all of which are most abundantly produced in the fertile vallies of Cochinchina. The price of sugar at Turon was about three dollars for 133 lb., of pepper six or eight dollars for the same quantity, and of rice only half a dollar. To these productions may be added the areca nut, cardamoms, ginger, and other spices; swallows' nests, which are collected in great abundance on the large cluster of islands running parallel with the coast, and known in the charts by the name of the *Paracels;* the *Bichos do Mar*, or sea-snakes, more properly sea-slugs, and usually called *Trepan* in commercial language, which with sharks' fins, *Moluscas* or sea-blubbers, and other marine products of a gelatinous quality whether animal or vegetable, are at all times in demand by the Chinese. It furnishes besides many other valuable products, as gum lac, camboge, indigo, elephants' teeth, cotton, and raw silk; and there seemed to be no want in the country of gold, silver, and copper. The hilts of the officers' swords and the clasps of their belts were generally made of silver, but we frequently observed them of solid gold. It is said, indeed, that a very rich gold mine has lately been discovered near *Hué*, the northern capital. Silver is brought to market in bars about five inches long, in value about eleven Spanish dollars.

All these articles, so well adapted for the China market, might be taken by us in exchange for fire arms and ammunition, swords, cutlery and various manufactures in iron and

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steel, light woollen cloths, camblets, Manchester cottons, coarse Bengal muslins, naval stores, opium, and a few other drugs. Articles of this nature, when carried to the ports of Cochinchina, have usually been disposed of at an advance of from 20 to 30 *per cent.*, and their value paid for in ingots of silver.

There is another consideration which renders the possession of a port on the coast of Cochinchina, or at least a factory in some of them, extremely desirable for the concerns of the East India Company. It is well known that the Chinese government has more than once intimated a design of excluding foreign traders altogether from their ports, and very serious apprehensions have been entertained in consequence of it. In such an event, the trade might still be carried on, and perhaps with advantage, by means of Chinese junks bringing cargoes of tea and silks to Turon bay, or other parts of the coast; thus avoiding the exorbitant duties levied at Canton on foreign vessels. But if in such case we should have no establishment within the limits of Chinese navigation, the Spaniards at Manilla, the Portuguese at Macao, and the Dutch at Batavia, would be put into the possession of the whole commerce carried on by Chinese junks, and England would become in a great degree dependent on them for the share they might be disposed to allow her in their respective ports.

If, however, the Cochinchinese should not be disposed to cede any part of the coast or adjacent islands to a foreign power, which, after the fortunate turn of affairs in favour of

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the legitimate sovereign, will in all probability be the case, we might still derive important advantages from a mere commercial intercourse. The timber alone which this country is capable of supplying, suitable for the purposes of building ships, is an object highly deserving the consideration of government. The docks of Bombay and those intended to be established on Prince of Wales's Island must rest their dependence on a supply of teak and other timber on very precarious grounds. If in the former it be intended to encourage the building of ships of the line, it may be doubted whether, in a few years hence, the whole of the Malabar coast will afford a sufficient supply to keep a single ship on the stocks of seventy-four guns. Even now the greater part of what is valuable is exhausted, and such as would be fit for building large ships of war is not procurable without very considerable difficulties and delay. Equally precarious is the supply of teak timber, which is floated down the river Ayerwaddy from the dominions of Ava or, as it has lately been called, the Birman empire. Yet this is the grand source from whence the supplies are meant to be drawn for the docks of Prince of Wales's Island. We have little, however, to trust to or to hopé from the favourable disposition of the government of Rangoon. The French have obtained here, as well as in every other part of Eastern India, a decided superiority of influence beyond all other Europeans; and they will not fail to exert it to the utmost, in order to render nugatory our grand scheme of increasing our navy by establishing docks for building at Prince of Wales's Island, which they would most effectually accomplish by shutting up the Ayerwaddy

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against us, and thus cut off the grand supply of that timber which is best suited for the purpose.

The river *Sai-gong*, usually called Cambodia, flowing into the sea at the southern extremity of Cochinchina, runs through inexhaustible forests of stately trees, possessing every quality requisite for naval architecture, such as teak, iron-wood (*Syderoxylon*), and poon (*Callophyllum*); the last of which grows tall and straight as the Norway fir or the larch, and is extremely well adapted for ships' masts. In the forests of Cochinchina are also ebony (*Diosperos*), cedars, mimosas, walnuts, and indeed most of the timber trees that grow in India. Down this magnificent river all kinds of timber might be brought to Prince of Wales's Island, almost as conveniently as from Rangoon.

Having thus briefly stated some of the important advantages which an intimate connection with Cochinchina might be expected to produce, the next point to be decided is the mode in which such a connection would most effectually be established. With this view it may not be amiss to inquire whether any, and what, steps have hitherto been taken for the accomplishment of so desirable a purpose. The first attempt to open a friendly intercourse with this country appears to have been made by Mr. Hastings, in the year 1778, when, on his receiving some favourable representations of the advantages that would probably result from such a measure, he was induced to give permission to a mercantile house to send a couple of ships laden with merchandise, entrusting, at the

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same time, a sort of demi-diplomatic commission of a public nature to a gentleman connected in the firm of the house. Whatever the motives were which influenced the conduct of Mr. Hastings in this instance, the result of the mission might easily have been foreseen. The character of merchant is here, as well as in China, held in very low esteem, and the government is equally jealous of admitting an indiscriminate introduction of foreigners into its ports. How much soever, therefore, the monopolizing system of the East India Company may be deprecated, and the wisdom of that policy questioned which prohibits English ships from doubling the Cape of Good Hope, whilst those under the flags of every other nation profit by such restriction, I am decidedly of opinion that the trade to China and to Cochinchina ought never to be thrown open to individual merchants. The Chinese, in particular, are so averse to their subjects trading promiscuously with foreigners, that the government appoints an united body of merchants who exclusively are allowed to deal with strangers; and one of whom is obliged to become security for the fair dealing and the good conduct of the Captain and crew of every ship which visits the port of Canton. All trade is considered by these nations as a species of gambling, in which the number of foul players far exceeds the number of those who play fair. The temptations indeed of large profits, which commerce sometimes presents, are difficult to be resisted; and when individual interest comes in competition with the public service, the latter is very apt to give way to the former. Hence, without adopting the illiberality of the Chinese maxim, the impolicy is obvious of committing the affairs of government into the hands of those

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who are in any shape connected with the concerns of trade. However honourable a merchant may be in his dealings, he cannot be responsible for the good conduct of a whole ship's company; nor, with the cargo which he transfers to the management of another, can he transfer at the same time character and principle. But independent of the frauds and tricks that are too frequently connected with trade, there is something in a commercial intercourse which is inconsistent with diplomatic agency. There is every reason to believe that all those employed on Mr. Hastings' mission conducted themselves with a proper degree of forbearance and circumspection; yet, having called at different ports on the coast of Cochinchina, and traded with different parties then struggling for the government of the country, they were suspected by all of them, and were unfortunately drawn into actual hostilities with the ruling power at *Hué*, where they had a narrow escape from having their vessel seized, and themselves in all probability put to death; and although they were obliged to leave behind them unsold a part of their merchandize, they contrived to bring away a large sum of specie or bullion in ingots of silver. An interesting narrative of the whole transaction is published in the Asiatic Annual Register for the year 1801.

The second and last attempt to open a public intercourse with Cochinchina was made about two years ago, when, from representations communicated to the Directors of the East India Company of the advantages which might be derived from a connection with this country, and of the favourable disposition of its present Sovereign towards the

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English nation, from which reasonable hopes of success might be entertained, a resolution was taken by the Court to send back to China one of its servants, who had retired from the factory at Canton, with instructions to proceed from that port on a secret mission to the King of Cochinchina. This gentleman, on his arrival at Canton, finding the state of his health would not permit him to go through the fatigue of a voyage to Cochinchina, transferred his instructions to one of the supracargoes in the Company's employ at that factory, who lost no time in proceeding to the Court of Cochinchina. The King saw him, it is true, but received him in so cool and distant a manner as to point out very clearly that the shorter he made his visit the more agreeable it would be to the Cochinchinese government. In fact, he found the Sovereign *Caung-shung* completely surrounded by Frenchmen; and as he knew nothing himself of the language of the country, nor had any one with him who did, every proposition he had to offer, and every explanation regarding his mission, were necessarily made through the French missionaries. That these men are but little disposed to be friendly to the English nation might have been known without sending to Cochinchina for the information, and the consequence of making overtures through them to the King easily foreseen. The very reserved, not to say contemptuous, conduct of every one about the Court to the Company's Ambassador makes it probable that the proposals he had to offer on the part of his employers were wholly misrepresented: they might indeed be interpreted by the French into insults. The conclusion drawn by the East India Company from the complete failure of this mission, is

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that the King of Cochinchina is not favourably disposed towards the English nation.

The correctness of this conclusion may, however, in my opinion fairly be called in question. However well qualified the gentleman might be who was sent on this embassy, in every respect except in his not knowing a single character of the written or one syllable of the spoken language, the want of the indispensable means of communication seems quite sufficient to have rendered the object of the mission completely abortive. As far as the joint testimonies of several English gentlemen, who a few years ago were at the Cochinchinese Court, and of French officers in the service of that Court, can be allowed to have weight—as far as any confidence is to be placed in professions declared in public edicts—as far as actions may be considered to develope sentiments—and as far as we were enabled to judge of the disposition of the people during our stay at Turon, I should be inclined to conclude that the contrary is the case, and that neither the King of Cochinchina nor the people would be in the smallest degree averse to an intimate connection with the English, provided suitable overtures were made to them in a direct manner from the British government, and not through those Frenchmen to whom the Sovereign owes so many personal obligations, nor through the medium of the East India Company. Where the prejudices of the people will not admit of any honourable distinction being annexed to the profession of merchant, whilst the utmost deference is paid to a royal commission, official rank and literary acquirements, it is neither politic nor expedient to fly in the face of

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opinions so long and so deeply rooted. I have heard it was once in contemplation, shortly after the truce of Amiens, to follow up the communication with the Court of Pekin, so favourably opened by the Earl of Macartney, with a splendid embassy to proceed from the Governor-General of Bengal. Those who flattered themselves with the successful issue of such a measure must have known little of the temper and character of the Chinese government. I have no hesitation in saying, that all the splendour and magnificence of the East, unless accompanied by a royal commission, would not have secured for the Ambassador more respect and consideration than the fine velvet dresses trimmed with broad gold lace were able to procure for *Mynheers Titsing* and *Van Braam*. Without such a commission, the great *Bahadur* from Bengal, like these two compliant Dutchmen, would infallibly incur the risk of being lodged in a stable. Whether, therefore, it may be found advisable to keep up the communication with the Court of Pekin, or endeavour to establish an intercourse with the Cochinchinese, it will in either case be politic and expedient that the Ambassador be furnished with the King's commission, and that he proceed on his mission in a King's ship.

The state of the commerce of Cochinchina, in the year 1793, did not appear to be an object of much importance to any country. The late revolution and the unsettled state of affairs that for many years had prevailed in this unfortunate country could not fail to interrupt the pursuits of agriculture and of commerce. A few Chinese junks that annually arrived at *Fai-foo*, an accidental neutral ship or English under neutral colours from

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Europe, and one or two country ships from India, with as many Portugueze from Macao freighted with the refuse of goods sent out to the China market, constituted then the extent of its trade. But under its present settled government, so fertile a country, situated in so fine a climate, will speedily recover its once flourishing state. What the extent of its commerce was, not many years ago, may partly be collected from the accounts of the early European navigators. In the extraordinary piratical voyage of Mendez Pinto, who sailed for India in 1537, an account is given of the proceedings of his comrade, Antonio de Faria, along the coast of Cochinchina. "After passing Pulo Campello, an island in fourteen "degrees and twenty minutes, they came," says he, "to "Pulo Capas, where a fleet of forty great junks of two or "three decks a-piece was seen in the river Boralho (Varella "in the charts), which Faria had sent to discover; and after "that another fleet, seeming two thousand sail great and "small, and a walled town of some ten thousand houses." In fact, just before the late rebellion in Cochinchina, two hundred Chinese junks are said to have traded annually to *Fai-foo*, which in all probability was the walled town of Faria. The decline of the Chinese trade and navigation to Cochinchina may in part be attributed to the grand change which was occasioned in the commercial relations of countries situated in the eastern hemisphere by the discovery of a passage to them round the Cape of Good Hope; but it is also probable that the operation of another powerful cause contributed, in no small degree, to drive the industrious Chinese from their ancient channels of trade. The commander of every Portugueze, Spanish and Dutch ship,

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which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, conceived himself authorized to capture or to plunder all vessels that came in his way, whether navigated by Arabs, Malays, or Chinese. His voyage to the East he considered as a sort of crusade in which, under his piratical commission, he waged war with the peaceable natives as infidels and pagans. The Chinese junks being the most richly laden were, on that account, the most liable to be pillaged. The master or owner was usually thrown overboard for a heretic, because he did not immediately fall down before the cross; and though perfectly innocent of having refused what was required of him, his ignorance entitled him to no consideration. Such a conduct, systematically pursued, drove at length the timid Chinese from their usual trading voyages; and I am sorry to observe that the early navigators of our own country were not by any means exempt from disgraceful acts of this nature, and in some instances were guilty of most unwarrantable and unnecessary cruelties towards this inoffensive people. There is in the records of the English factory, which was established at Bantam in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an account of the execution of a Chinese after having been condemned to death in a summary manner, without any trial, the particulars of which are marked with features of such horrid barbarity as to render it almost incredible. The whole transaction, however, is minutely described in Mr. Scott's narrative, who was chief of the English factory at the time; and as he appears to be ambitious of being thought an able and expert executioner, it would not be doing justice to the reputation of Mr. Scott to give it in any words but his own. "We tortured him," says he, "because when we had laid down the iron he denied

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" all; but, being tortured, made a second confession. The " next morning I sent him to execution. As he went out of " our gates the Javans (who do much rejoice when they see " a Chinese go to execution, as also the Chinese do when " they see a Javan go to his death) reviled him; but he " would answer again, saying, The Englishmen were rich " and the Chinese poor, therefore why should they not steal " from the English if they could? The next day the Admiral " (Sir James Lancaster) took another of them, and sent him " to me, who knew there was but one way with him, and " therefore he resolved with himself not to confess any thing " to us. He was found hid in a privy, and this was he that " put fire to our house. He was a goldsmith, and confessed " to the Admiral he had clipped many rials, and also coined " some counterfeits: some things he confessed to him con- " cerning our matter, but not much; but he would tell *us* " nothing. Wherefore, because of his sullenness, and that " it was he that fired us, I caused him to be burned under " the nails of his thumbs, fingers, and toes, with sharp hot " irons, and the nails to be tore off; and because he never " blinked at that, we thought that his hands and legs had " been numbed with tying, wherefore we burned him in the " hands, arms, shoulders, and neck, but all was one with " him: then we burned him quite through the hands, and " with rasps of iron tore out the flesh and sinews. After that " I caused them to knock the edges of his shin bones with " hot searing irons; then I caused cold screws of iron to be " screwed into the bones of his arms, and suddenly to be " snatched out; after that, all the bones of his fingers and " toes to be broken with pincers: yet for all this he never

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" shed tear, no nor once turned his head aside, nor stirred " hand nor foot; but when we demanded any question, he " would put his tongue between his teeth, and strike his chin " upon his knees to bite it off. When all the extremity we " could use was but in vain, I caused him to be put fast in " irons again; when the amits or ants, which do greatly " abound there, got into his wounds and tormented him " worse than we had done, as we might well see by his " gesture. The King's officers desired me he might be shot " to death. I told them that was too good a death for such " a villain; and said more, that if, in our countries, a gentle- " man or a soldier had committed a fact worthy of death, " then he was shot to death, and yet he was befriended too: " but *they* held it to be the cruellest and basest death that is. " Wherefore, they being very importunate, in the evening " we led him into the fields and made him fast to a stake. " The first shot carried away a piece of his arm, bone and " all. The next shot struck him through the breast up near " to the shoulder; then he, holding down his head, looked " upon the wound. The third shot that was made one of " our men had cut a bullet in three parts, which struck upon " his breast in a triangle, whereat he fell down as low as the " stake would give him leave: but, between our men and " the Flemings, they shot him almost all to pieces before " they left him."

If then Englishmen, who with all their vices have at all times and in all places established their character for humanity, could be guilty of such excessive barbarity towards unprotected strangers, who among the nations of the East

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may be compared with the Jews of the West, what may we not suppose their treatment to have been by those Europeans who have little claim to such a character? No wonder then that their ships of commerce have been chased, by the terror of such outrageous proceedings, from off the ocean. But though their trade may, from this and other causes, have been diverted from its usual channel, and probably much diminished, yet it has not wholly been annihilated. That part of it whose object was to seek, among the clusters of islands which skirt the coast of Cochinchina, an article of luxury in very high demand in China, the *Trepan* or *Bichos da Mer* of which I have already spoken, soon discovered a fertile source in another quarter of the East which for many years has been conducted wholly unknown to Europeans, notwithstanding their researches in almost every part of those seas. Captain Flinders, who was sent out in the Investigator on a voyage of discovery, in skirting the northern coast of New Holland with the view of exploring the gulph of Carpentaria, fell in with, very unexpectedly, at the bottom of this gulph, six Malay proas from Macassar, whose object it seemed was to procure cargoes of sea-slugs or, as Captain Flinders calls them, sea-cucumbers. He learned from the chief of the squadron that they were a part only of sixty sail, with which he had made an annual voyage for this sole purpose regularly for the last twenty years. These cargoes, it appeared, he carried to the island of Timor, where he was met by Chinese traders who, after purchasing the cargoes, transhipped them into their own junks and carried them to the southern ports of China. The price paid for them by the Chinese to the Malays was twenty Spanish dollars the

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pecul, weighing 133⅓ pounds English. It was calculated that one thousand slugs on an average weighed a pecul, and that one hundred peculs were equal to the cargo of a proa. It appeared also that, for the purpose of navigating the vessels and collecting the animal, each proa was required to carry from sixteen to eighteen men. Some are employed in detaching them from the rocks; some in splitting them open, washing in fresh water and boiling them; and others in collecting green wood, in the smoke of which they are dried pretty much in the same manner as our red herrings are usually prepared.

That the Chinese do not themselves proceed to the coast of New Holland and collect the Trepan is no proof of their ignorance of the navigation of this coast. It appears, on the contrary, that they are well acquainted with the disadvantages with which such a voyage would be attended, by the necessary and unavoidable protraction of a whole monsoon or six months. It may besides be fairly questioned whether, from their aversion to cold water which in another work I have had occasion to notice, they were ever themselves the fishers for these animals, at the time they resorted for them to the coast of Cochinchina, as divers not much less expert than those who, on the coast of Ceylon, descend for the pearl muscle, or oyster as it is usually supposed to be, are equally required to detach the slugs from the rocks to which they adhere at the bottom of the sea.

There can be little doubt, indeed, that the Chinese are and have long been acquainted with every part of the Eastern world; and that in ancient times, while the greater

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portion of Europe was yet in a state of barbarous ignorance, this extraordinary people was carrying on an extensive commerce in the Eastern hemisphere, and navigating their ships far beyond the limits within which modern Europeans would confine their voyages. By their early knowledge of the peculiar qualities of the magnet, and their application of those qualities to the purposes of navigation, they possessed advantages which no other nation that we are acquainted with on the face of the globe had the good fortune to enjoy, till in later ages. When Vasco de Gama encountered the Mahommedans on the coast of Africa, who in those days were the most enlightened people in many of the sciences, they had their charts, and their astrolabes, and their astronomical tables; but they had no compass. That the Arabs had it not at that time, and that it did not originate with themselves, nor was borrowed by them from any nation in the East, may almost safely be inferred from the name it still bears in their language, *El Boussola*, and from its European form. It has appeared to many an extraordinary and an unaccountable circumstance that, if the Chinese, who are known to have traded with the Arabs, had been in the practice of using it, the latter should neglect availing themselves of an instrument which conferred on navigation such incalculable advantages. It is not, however, by any means impossible that the Arabians, learned and ingenious as they undoubtedly were, might have long continued a very intimate connection with the Chinese, without discovering the virtues of the magnetic needle. In the first place, the Chinese are not a communicative people: they carry with them their national contempt of foreigners wherever they go, avoiding all familiar

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intercourse beyond what may be necessary for attaining the object of their pursuit. Secondly, a Chinese navigator not only considers the magnetic needle as a guide to direct his track through the ocean, but is persuaded that the spirit by which its motions are influenced is the guardian deity of his vessel; and, conformably with this opinion, the sacred instrument is always, when in port, carefully shut up in the little cabinet on the stern part of the ship, in which the other sanctified utensils of his religion are deposited, and from which he is always anxious to exclude strangers. With equal care is the magnetic needle guarded when the vessel is ready to depart from port, and for a reason still better grounded than on its sacred character. When a voyage is once determined and the direct course to the intended port ascertained, the compass box is placed in sand in such a position that the character denoting the quarter of the horizon in which the port lies may coincide with the direction of the needle. So long as this coincidence continues, the ship will be on her right course; and it is the object of the pilot, under all circumstances, to preserve this position as nearly as possible and to note down the deviations from it, in order, by making the proper allowances, to bring the ship again into the right course. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that no intruders should approach the place in which the compass box is arranged. In the third place, it may be observed that such is the nature of the magnetic needle, that the most scrupulous examination could never enable the most ingenious mechanic to make another from it, unless he had a previous knowledge of communicating the magnetic quality

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to iron; and independent of the backwardness of the Chinese to shew their inventions to strangers, we may easily imagine that the Chinese mariner was equally ignorant of the nature and principles of magnetism with the Arab. Besides, it can scarcely be supposed that the proud and haughty Arabian, pluming himself in his superior skill in astronomical science and, by the use of his charts and his astrolabe, able to find his way through the pathless ocean, would regard with any other feeling than that of disdain the little insignificant rusty needle of the Chinese, swinging on its pivot, and surrounded with circles, signs, and hieroglyphics; and that in all probability he would consider it only as a part of the religious lumber which a foolish superstition had rendered sacred, and with which his little cabin is generally encumbered.

That the use of the magnetic needle among the Chinese is of a very remote antiquity, I have had occasion to notice elsewhere; and I again repeat, what I consider to be alone sufficient to establish the fact, that if any other argument were wanting to prove the originality of the magnetic needle, as used in China for the purposes of navigation, the circumstance of their having engrafted on it their most ancient and favourite system of mythology, their constellations and cycles and, in short, the abstract of the elements of their judicial astrology, goes a great way towards settling that point; that a people so remarkably tenacious of ancient custom, and thinking so very meanly of all other nations, would never have submitted to incorporate their rooted superstitions, by engraving on its margin the sacred and mystical characters of

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Fo-shee, with an instrument of recent introduction and barbarian invention.

I have been induced to say thus much on the subject of the Chinese compass, from knowing that an objection has been urged against some former remarks I had occasion to offer with the view of proving, if not its originality, at least its great antiquity. This objection was taken on the ground, that if the Chinese had been in the constant use of such an instrument in or before the ninth century, when they carried on an extensive trade with the gulph of Persia, it must necessarily have been known to, and if known would certainly have been adopted by, the Arabian navigators; whereas these people were entirely ignorant, as before observed, of the polarity of the magnetic needle, when Vasco de Gama first led the way into the Oriental Ocean.

I have only farther to observe with regard to the importance of the commerce with Cochinchina, that if the Chinese, before being chased by Europeans from the ocean, and before the calamitous state of this country occasioned by rebellion and usurpation, could employ in it many hundreds of their largest junks, there is every reason to suppose that Great Britain, by proper address and management, might succeed in reviving and conducting this extensive commercial intercourse which anciently subsisted between the two countries, and which, under the present vigorous government of Cochinchina, could not fail to rise to as high a pitch as it ever reached at any former period.

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The beneficial effects produced on the sick in the squadron by the plentiful supplies of fresh provisions, fruit, good water, a clear sky and a dry atmosphere, soon enabled us to proceed on our voyage. Accordingly on the 16th June we set sail from Turon bay, and on the 19th came in sight of the *Ladrone* islands and the continent of China. Under one of these islands we anchored for two days, in order to communicate with the commissioners of the East India Company at Macao; after which we made sail for the strait of Formosa and the Yellow Sea. Of the voyage up this sea, navigated for the first time by European ships, and of our subsequent travels on the continent of China, I have had occasion to enter into a detailed account in another volume.

END OF THE VOYAGE.

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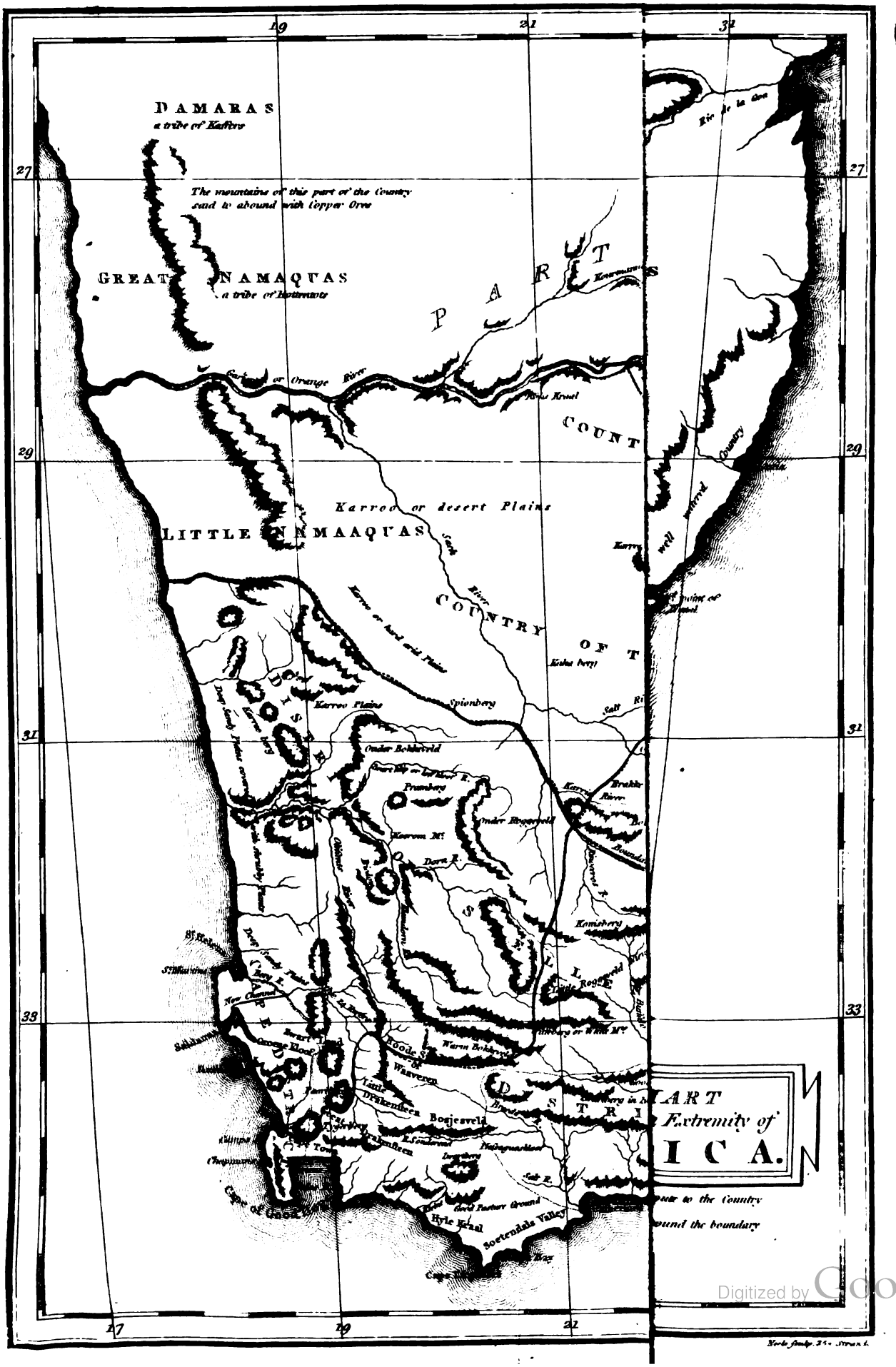
19
21
32
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29
31
33
DAMARAS
a tribe of Kaffers
The mountains of this part of the Country
said to abound with Copper Ores
GREAT NAMAQUAS
a tribe of Hottentots
PART
Orange or Gariep River
COUNTRY
Karrod or desert Plains
LITTLE NAMAAQUAS
COUNTRY OF T
Karroo Plains
Spionberg
Onder Bokkeveld
Roggeveld
Warm Bokkeveld
Waveren
Boojesveld
Hantam
Tulbagh
Cape Town
Table Mountain
Hyle Kraal
Soetendals Valley
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Lagullas
Bay
Table Bay
Saldanha
St Helena
Kamiesberg
Brukkaros
Fish River
Great Fish River
Keiskamma River
Great Kei River
Country well watered
Country
Extremity of
AFRICA.
Coast to the Country
round the boundary
17
19
21

AN

ACCOUNT

OF A

JOURNEY TO LEETAKOO,

THE RESIDENCE OF THE CHIEF OF THE

BOOSHUANA NATION,

BEING THE REMOTEST POINT IN THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA TO WHICH EUROPEANS HAVE HITHERTO PENETRATED.

THE FACTS AND DESCRIPTIONS TAKEN FROM A MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL.

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF A

JOURNEY TO THE BOOSHUANAS.

After passing the Boundary of the Colony, the Strength of the Expedition is mustered—They meet with two Bosjesmen on the Desert—With a Dutch Boor and his Family—Pass the Karree-bergen, and meet a Party of armed Bosjesmen—Salt Lakes—The Gariep or Orange River—Horde of Kora Hottentots—Missionary Kicherer's Kraal—Contrast between the Gospel and the Moravian Missionaries—Bosjesmans—Several new Characters join the Party—The Iron Mountain—Effect produced on the Compass—Wild Buffalos—Giraffe or Camelopardalis—Source of the Kourmanna River—Arrival of a Party of Booshuanas from the King—Mimosa or Umbrella Tree—Arrival at Leetakoo—Interview with the Chief—Situation, Size, and Population of Leetakoo—Some Account of the Booshuanas, their Character, Possessions, Resources, Amusements, free and happy Condition, Origin, &c.—The Barroloos—Slavery unknown in the interior Parts of Southern Africa—The Palla Antelope—Face of the Country—Mimosas loaded with Nests of the gregarious Loxia—The Kokoon apparently a Species of Gnoo—A new Species of Quacha—Opinion of the Ancients respecting new Animals incorrect—Return to the Kourmanna River—A Lion shot while striding over a Hottentot—Booshuana Villages—Patanie—Abundance of large Game—The Takheitsé, a new Species of Antelope or Cow—Buffalo hunting—This Creature and the Elephant resent Injuries—

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The latter supposed to bury their Dead—Giraffe hunting—A large Rhinosceros killed—Arrive at the Orange River, and skirt its Banks to the North-Westward—Pass several Kora Villages—Kok's Kraal—Extraordinary Character and Adventures of one Stephanos, a Polish Greek—Expedition against a famous Robber of the Name of Africaaner—Extraordinary Flight of Locusts—Critical Situation of the two Secretaries—Pithing of Cattle—Decisive Experiments to prove the Fallacy of its being the most expeditious and least painful Mode of slaughtering Cattle—Return of the Expedition to the Colony.

"HAVING received from his Excellency Lieutenant-General "Dundas, acting Governor and Commander in Chief of the "castle, town, and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, "our credentials and instructions, examined the invoice of "the several articles intended to be given in exchange for "cattle, and arranged the contents of our six waggons, we "this day," says Mr. Truter, "the first of October 1801, "commenced, under God's good providence, our long and "interesting journey." After a minute detail of every particular circumstance that occurred and a relation of the ordinary events of such a journey; the names of the several farms and their occupiers where they halted for the night, or for obtaining refreshment or a change of draught oxen; the little interruptions and mortifications they met with, owing to the want of punctuality in the boors in bringing their fresh relays of oxen, to the breaking of axle-trees, yokes, and traces; the difficulty of ascending *Roode Sand Kloof;* the impracticability of passing the *Witsenberg* or *Mostaert Hoek*, which compelled them to take the circuitous route over the *Hex* River Kloof (in their progress through which, Mr. Truter observes, they crossed the rapid stream of the same name

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rushing down its rocky channel no less than seven times); their passage of the *Bokkeveld*, and that corner of the Great Karroo or desert between it and the *Roggeveld*, where the absence of all human habitations compelled them to sleep for several nights in their tents and waggons; their ascent, from those plains, up the steep and lofty mountains called the Roggeveld:—after surmounting these and many other difficulties they arrived, on the evening of the 14th, on the south bank of the *Great Riet* river, opposite the *Bonteberg*, where they pitched their tents for the night, the weather being extremely cold, boisterous and rainy. In this river they caught an abundance of a particular species of fish, the flavour of which was tolerably good; but the bones being something of the same kind as in the herring, and the fish small, made it the less acceptable to hungry travellers. Here also, for the first time, they observed the fresh prints of the paws of a lion.

Pursuing their journey from hence, after crossing the river several times, they halted at a deserted farm house called the *Ganna-Kraal*, which place had previously been appointed as the rendezvous for the escort of boors that were summoned to attend the expedition, as well as for the relays of fresh oxen to draw the waggons over the desert. But having waited here for two days without receiving any intelligence either of the boors or the oxen, they resolved to proceed without them; and accordingly, on the 18th, after crossing the *Karree* river, which is here considered to be the boundary of the colony, they made a short day's journey and encamped

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for the night near the *Brakke fontein*, where they presently had the great satisfaction to perceive, at some distance, a party of boors and Hottentots and cattle hastening towards them over the plain. Their joy, however, was of short duration, and followed by vexation and disappointment; for, on examining the oxen, the greater part were found to be very young, totally unaccustomed to the yoke, and not a single good team could be selected from the whole drove.

Determined, notwithstanding this grievous disappointment, to prosecute the journey they had undertaken, and being now advanced beyond the limits of the colony, it was deemed expedient, in the first place, to muster the party, to ascertain the strength of the expedition, and to prescribe certain regulations for their conduct, which were rigidly to be adhered to during the journey before them, whose distance and duration were equally uncertain.

The account of the whole expedition was found to stand as follows:

Mr. Truter,
Mr. Somerville, } Commissioners.
Mr. Daniell, secretary and draughtsman.
Mr. Borcherds, assistant secretary.
Mr. Scholtz, superintendant of the waggons.
Seven Dutch Boors, inhabitants of the Roggeveld.

Making in the whole twelve Christians.

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24 Hottentots and *Bastard* Hottentots
4 Slaves
120 Draught oxen
18 Saddle Horses, and
20 Large muskets.

" With the blessing of God," observes Mr. Truter, " we " considered these our numbers and our means of defence " to be fully sufficient for our protection and preservation; " and, confiding in his goodness, we launched upon the " Karroo or desert plains on the 20th October." Little occurred in their journey over these dreary solitudes to engage the attention, except their uncommon sterility, and now and then a few *quachas* or wild horses, a solitary *gemsbok*, an *eland*, a *hartebeest*, or a pair of ostriches, which might perhaps be observed grazing at a distance, or scouring away to avoid the party, when they happened to approach them unperceived. In the course of the third day they passed the ruins of an earthen building of considerable dimensions, surrounded by a number of demolished huts, which they were informed were the remains of an establishment attempted to be formed by the two gospel missionaries Kicherer and Edwards, under the direction of the society for sending missions into Africa and the East. Proceeding slowly till midnight, they halted on the bank of the *Sack* river, near which the next morning they observed another kraal or hamlet in ruins, where these missionaries had held a temporary residence. At this place two miserable looking wretches, of the tribe of men usually called Bosjesmen by the colonists, perfectly naked, and apparently perishing with hunger, advanced towards the encampment, and

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accosted the party in a language wholly unintelligible; but the signs they made use of could not easily be mistaken. They gave them something to eat, which, with a little tobacco, had an instantaneous effect on their spirits, and caused them to dance for joy. They were just able to make the party understand that their names were *Jacob* and *Jeptha*, and that they had been disciples of the two missionaries above-mentioned.

Pursuing their journey over these dreary and desolate plains, where few living creatures except a *quacha*, a *hartebeest*, or an ostrich were occasionally seen browsing at a distance, the party arrived on the evening of the 23d at a brack or saltish river, where they pitched their tents for the night. Here they were again accosted by a solitary Bosjesman, who called himself *Wildboy*, indicating by signs, for not a creature could comprehend the meaning of a single syllable he uttered, that he was extremely hungry. Having ordered as much food to be given to him as was sufficient to satisfy the craving of his appetite, he stole away in the course of the night, and they saw no more of him.

At a little distance from the next halting place, the *Lion's fontein*, one of the party had the good fortune to shoot a *quacha* of a larger size than what any of the boors had ever recollected to have seen, of which Mr. Daniell made a very accurate drawing. It was the first wild quadruped they had procured. In the midst of so extensive and dreary a desert they were not a little surprized, though by no means an unusual thing, to meet with a Dutch boor of the name of *Kok*,

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who, with a waggon and his whole family, his slaves, his Hottentots, his cattle and his sheep, was travelling leisurely from the Orange river towards the skirts of the colony. The disinclination of these people to establish themselves on a particular spot, and to live in any sort of comfort, is very remarkable, and can only be explained on the principle of an irresistible charm which unbounded liberty and unrestrained possession exert on the human mind, and which operates most powerfully on him who has never known the pleasures of social life. It is a well known fact, that numbers of the French officers in America, led by the impulse of this principle, retired into the Indian settlements, threw aside their clothing, painted and tatooed their bodies and became, in every respect, savages of a much worse description than the natives, by uniting with their new condition all the vices of civilized life. To rove about the desert wilds of Africa, to harass and destroy the harmless natives, to feast on game procured by their Hottentots, and to sleep and loiter away the day while jolting in his waggon, are to the Dutch boor among the most exquisite pleasures he is capable of enjoying. By indolence and gluttony, from the effects of a good climate and a free exposure to air, these people usually grow to a monstrous size; and if suffered to continue their present uncontrolled mode of life, they may ultimately give birth to a race of Patagonians on the southern extremity of Africa, not inferior in stature to their tall brethren on the opposite coast of America.

Continuing their journey on the 28th and 29th over a rugged country and a constant succession of hills, whose surfaces were strewed with a greater abundance of stones.

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than of vegetation and on which two or three of their waggons broke down, they were under the necessity of halting on both nights, without finding the least grass or any kind of food for the cattle and without a drop of water. This hilly part of the country was called by the boors the *Karree bergen.* From the feet of these hills a plain of vast extent stretched out to the northward, of a nature altogether different from the Karroo desert over which they had just passed : the latter being a solid bed of clay on which little vegetation appears, except a few straggling weak and sickly succulent plants; but the former was thickly covered with long withered grass. On the skirts of this plain our travellers observed at a distance a party of natives intending apparently to approach them. It consisted of eight persons, some partially covered with skins, and others naked; but all of them armed with bows in their hands, quivers on their backs, and arrows stuck in a fillet bound round the head forming a kind of coronet. Having advanced pretty near the waggons they stopped short; and on being beckoned to come forwards, they made signs, by pointing to the ground, that somebody should first go to them. Accordingly some of the party proceeded towards them, on which they betrayed evident marks of fear. They were presented with some lacquered brass medallions, a couple of grenadiers' caps, a few gilt rings, a little tobacco and, as they appeared to be greatly in want of food, with a whole sheep, which they immediately killed by cutting the throat; and having divided it among them in shares as nearly equal as they could contrive, including both the skin and the entrails, they walked off with great satisfaction. Shortly after this three others of the same tribe made their appearance; but all the endeavours of the

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party to bring them to a conversation were unavailing. Two of them retired, and the third, after much persuasion by signs, advanced near enough to receive a ration of tobacco for himself and two for his companions, when he also instantly vanished.

On the midst of this grassy plain our travellers came to an extensive lake, the water of which was so very salt as to be wholly unfit for use either by man or beast. At the distance of five miles beyond this lake they came to a second, and farther on to a third, all of the same description. Rising by a gentle ascent from this plain to one of much greater elevation, they arrived on the 1st November at the entrance of a *poort* or chasm in a ridge of high hills where, for the first time since leaving the mountain of the Roggeveld, a distance not much short of two hundred miles, they had met with any species of plant which could be said to bear the resemblance of a tree. From these lonely wastes of Africa, "where," as Dr. Johnson observes of part of Scotland, "the traveller has nothing to contemplate but grounds that have no visible boundaries," nature seems to have withheld her bountèous hand, and doomed them to cheerless, irremediable, and consequently perpetual, sterility. On the spot, however, where the travellers were now arrived the sides of the hills were enlivened by shrubby plants and straggling trees, and whole forests appeared in many of the vallies. The face of the country began now to assume a pleasing and an interesting aspect, and still more so towards the middle of the same day, when the party arrived on the southern bank of a river of very considerable magnitude, called by the natives the *Gariep*, but by the

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colonists the *Orange* river. Numbers of Hottentots came forward to meet them; and on the opposite bank they could perceive an extensive village, composed of decent looking huts. After passing the long and dreary Karroo desert, it was an interesting and a cheerful event to mix with a very considerable population, apparently of a much superior class of beings, though probably of the same race, to those few miserable wretches which had hitherto occasionally shewn themselves in the course of the journey.

A river of such unusual magnitude in this quarter of the globe was also a subject which afforded them no small degree of pleasure. At this spot it was divided into two branches by an island in the middle, each of which was not less than six hundred yards in width. The water, by sounding, was found to be deeper than the height of the bottom of the waggons; it became necessary, therefore, to raise their contents, by means of billets of wood, in order to keep them dry. The whole cavalcade got safely over the two streams, except one waggon, the oxen of which, having by some accident turned their heads down the stream, got into deeper water, where they soon lost their legs; and the whole machine being swept away with great violence, both oxen and waggon would inevitably have been lost, but for the active exertions of the native Hottentots who, by cutting the yokes and traces, freed the oxen and brought all except one safe to the shore; and afterwards succeeded in dragging out the waggon, which was overturned by the stream. "The Dutch "boors," observes Mr. Truter, "were as helpless as children, "and of no manner of assistance whatever."

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Drawn by S. Daniell

Engraved by T. Medland

An African Woman.

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The native inhabitants which are settled on the banks of the Orange river, where our travellers crossed it, (namely in latitude 29° N. and longitude between 23° and 24° E.) are a variety of the Hottentot race, whose particular horde, in their own language, is called the *Koras*. In estimating their comparative condition with the different tribes of this nation, they may fairly be reckoned to rank much higher than any of the others that are known on the southern extremity of Africa. The wide desert Karroo between them and the colony has hitherto protected them in a considerable degree, though not altogether, from the oppression of the Dutch boors, under whose lash their brethren less remote from the colony have so severely suffered. Their abode being stationary on the banks of the Orange river, their huts were constructed with greater care, and with a view of being more durable; in their persons they were more cleanly, and in their dress and domestic utensils neater, than the Hottentots usually are. This superiority may probably be owing, in a certain degree, to the advantages of local situation. A running stream in South Africa is a great rarity. To the want of water may probably be attributed the origin of the custom of greasing the skin, which this grand river renders unnecessary. The *Koras* accordingly exhibit none of that filthy and squalid appearance which characterizes the Hottentots on the skirts of the colony. Their features are also of a superior cast. What the *Gonaquas* were on the eastern coast the *Koras* seem to be to the northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffer. The annexed figure of a *Kora* woman, drawn from nature, may serve to convey a better idea than can be given by verbal description.

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Their dwellings, in the shape of hemispheres, generally about six feet high and eight in diameter, are constructed on the same principle as those of the *Namaqua* Hottentots, and covered with several folds of neat matting made of rushes or coarse grass. They used vessels of wood, hollowed out from blocks of willow, for containing milk and water. They seemed to have no knowledge of agriculture, but had considerable possessions of horned cattle, sheep, and goats. They had also plenty of dogs. Like the Kaffers they live in a great measure on curdled milk, on berries and roots, and like those also are particularly attentive to their cattle, which they train in habits of strict subordination and command. When a cow is supposed to withhold her milk, they practise the method which the ancient Scythians, as we are told by Herodotus, made use of to force the milk out of the udders of their mares. Indeed both the Kaffers and Hottentots have recourse to this method, when the animal is stubborn and supposed to refuse giving her milk. One of the old writers on South Africa, by way of convincing his readers of the truth of the practice, has embellished his work with a print on this elegant subject, exhibiting a Hottentot in the act of blowing up a cow.

Their dress consisted of skin cloaks, like the other Hottentot tribes; and the women wore square ornamented aprons suspended from the waist, with copper chains and beads of glass round the neck, the wrists, and legs. These chains were probably procured from the *Damaras*, a nation of Kaffers to the north-westward, dwelling at the foot of the copper mountains. This metal, indeed, is said to be found in many

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places near the banks of the Orange river, and the party picked up what appeared to be a specimen of native gold: but mines are of little value in a country where there are no materials necessary for working them, no navigable rivers nor passable roads, by which their produce can at any reasonable expence be transported to a market. Those who set any value on this part of Southern Africa for the mines it contains know very little of the nature of the country.

Some of the men among the *Koras* were observed to be *Monorchides;* but whether the defect was in consequence of some operation submitted to while young on superstitious grounds, or occasioned by accident, or the sport of nature, does not appear to have been ascertained.

In swimming across this wide and rapid river, and transporting at the same time their sheep or other articles, the *Koras* make use of a curious contrivance. They take a log of wood from six to eight feet in length, and at the distance of a few inches from one of its ends fix a wooden peg. On this log the person intending to cross the river stretches himself at full length, and holding fast by the peg with one hand, whilst with the other and occasionally with his feet he strikes to keep the end of the log in a certain direction (which is that of an angle of about 45 degrees with the stream) the obliquity of the log opposed to the current causes it, in floating down the stream, to push gradually over to the opposite side in the hypothenusal line of a triangle, whose base is the width of the river.

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Both the banks of the Orange river were at this part of it thickly covered with mimosas and willows and a great variety of other trees, whose names and descriptions are not mentioned. A little beyond the right bank the great quantity of a species of shrubby mimosa, seldom higher than seven or eight feet, with a small white leaf, was very remarkable. It was the prevailing feature on the surface of the country for twenty or thirty miles, though not a single plant of the kind had appeared on the Cape side of the river. Here also they found, growing in great abundance, a species of wild onion, of a taste as strong and pungent nearly as that of garlic; notwithstanding which it was so highly acceptable to the travellers, that they laid in an ample supply for future use on the journey. The leaves, flowers and seeds resembled those of the common cultivated species. On the margin of the river they found, in great plenty, a small and delicate orange-coloured poppy; and, creeping over a great extent of surface, a very fragrant species of *Clematis* or Virgin's bower. The agate, onyx, sardonyx and chalcedony abounded on the pebbled bed of the river, of which they collected some very beautiful specimens. Several *hippopotami* were observed rolling about, blowing and snorting in the deep parts of the river, at a little distance below the ford; and one was severely wounded by a musket ball, but it escaped.

Leaving the river on the 6th, they travelled till the 8th before they met with any water when, after pushing their way where neither traces of waggons nor tracks of any kind

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appeared, and in constant anxiety and doubtful suspense whether they might not be entangled and finally stopped by mountains, deep chasms, or thickets, they came to a village of *Kora* Hottentots, situated in a deep defile of the mountains; and a little farther on, to a second horde of Bastaards and Bosjesmans, under a chief of the former description whose name was Kok. This man was a kind of volunteer missionary who, to the great astonishment of our travellers, delivered a very able discourse to his people in their presence, from a text out of the gospel of St. John, on the subject of regeneration, which was preceded and followed by an extemporary prayer and by singing of hymns. The missionary Edwards and his wife and a boor of the name of Kruger had joined the party on the right bank of the Orange river; and a little beyond the kraal of Kok was the *Aakaap* or *Rietfonteyn*, the then residence of Mr. Kicherer. On their arrival at this place on the 8th, being Sunday, they found this zealous teacher of the gospel engaged in the duties of his office. His church was a temporary building of poles, wattled with twigs, plaistered over with clay and cow dung both within and without, and covered with a thatch of reeds. A smaller hut of the same construction served for a school, and a third for his habitation. A number of other huts of an inferior kind, shaped like beehives and consisting chiefly of grass matting, were scattered over the plain; but on the strangers approaching towards them, their inhabitants, men, women and children all fled and hid themselves in the bushes. Mr. Kicherer received the travellers with great kindness and affability. He was assisted in the labours of his mission by two other missionaries of the names of Anderson and Cramer, all of them sent out by the

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African Society in London for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen. How far the subjects of faith, of regeneration, of the Trinity and other mystical doctrines, can consistently be preached with advantage, either temporal or spiritual, to a race of men the most savage and the most miserable perhaps on the face of the earth, the missionaries themselves ought to be the best judges; but from their own account of them it would appear that their zeal is wofully misapplied, and that the benevolent intentions of the society at home, after an enormous expence, can only end in disappointment. The condition, indeed, of the poor wretches which compose the congregation of these missionaries is such as to require worldly comforts rather than spiritual consolation. "They take no great care of their "children," says Mr. Kicherer, "and never correct them "except in a fit of rage, when they almost kill them by se-"vere usage. In a quarrel between father and mother, or "the several wives of a husband, the defeated party wreaks "his or her vengeance on the child of the conqueror, which "in general loses its life. The Bosjesmans will kill their "children without remorse on various occasions, as when "they are ill-shaped, when they are in want of food, when "the father of a child has forsaken its mother, or when "obliged to fly from the boors or others; in which case they "will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the "desert, or bury them alive. There are instances of parents "throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who "stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till "some peace-offering be made to him. They also frequently "forsake their aged relations, leaving the old person with a

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" piece of meat and an ostrich egg-shell full of water: as " soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor deserted " creature must perish by hunger or become the prey of wild " beasts. Many of these wild Hottentots live by plunder " and murder, and are guilty of the most horrid and atro- " cious actions. Such," says he, " are the people to whom " the providence of God has directed our course."

Setting aside the sheer nonsense of the lion roaring before the cavern, which the easy credulity of Mr. Kicherer led him to believe as a fact, it is evident on the face of the above statement that the chief, and perhaps the sole, motive for destroying or abandoning the helpless and the destitute, the infants and the aged, is their extreme indigence. Without any covering to protect his body from the vicissitudes of the weather, without possessions or property of any kind except his bow and his quiver of arrows, the Bosjesman exists from day to day on what the fortune of the chase may throw within his reach, on a few bulbous roots which the barren soil scantily supplies, on the eggs of ants and the larvæ of locusts; and when these all fail, he is glad to have recourse to toads, mice, snakes, and lizards. To satisfy the present craving of the stomach is his grand object; and this accomplished in its fullest extent, he seems to enjoy a short-lived species of happiness, which either shews itself in an exhilaration of spirits not unlike that which usually attends the first stage of intoxication, or throws him into a profound sleep. Among such a people it is not surprizing that infants and aged persons should be left to perish. If the dread of pinching poverty and the horrors of absolute want are sufficient to urge the

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civilized Chinese to the commission of infanticide on their own offspring, it is the less surprizing that a similar or a still more hopeless condition should operate similar effects on the savage Bosjesman. Human nature is every where the same. When the Moravian missionaries first landed in Labrador, the same inhuman practice, though with the most benevolent intention, prevailed among the natives of putting to death the widows and the orphans; not because it was an ancient custom, or that the shedding of human blood was agreeable to their nature, but for a much stronger reason: improvident of their own families, they could not be supposed to supply the means of support for the helpless orphan or the desolate widow of another. And here the superior advantages resulting from the system of the Moravians over that of the Gospel missionaries are most forcibly demonstrated. Instead of encouraging the natives in their rambling disposition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one spot; instead of preaching to them the mysterious parts of the gospel, they instructed them in useful and industrious habits; instead of building a church, they erected a storehouse. They caused this common store to be divided into as many compartments as there were families, leaving one at each end larger than the rest to be appropriated solely to the use of the widows and the orphans; and having taught them the process of salting and drying the fish caught in vast multitudes in the summer months, the produce was collected into this general depository of their industry, to serve as a provision for the long and dismal winter which reigns in this inclement climate; deducting, however, from the compartment of every family a tenth of the produce, to be deposited

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in those of the widows and the orphans. Their labours were crowned with complete success. From this time a provision was made sufficient for the preservation of these desolate and helpless creatures. Thus the Moravian Society has been the means of converting the inhabitants of Labrador into useful citizens as well as good Christians, whilst the African Society has not reclaimed a single Bosjesman from the wild and savage state in which its zealous missionaries first discovered him.

If zeal alone was sufficient for the conversion of these miserable creatures to Christianity, and consequently to a state of civilization, no man has more merit nor better deserves success than the missionary Kicherer. He is in every respect a truly worthy character, but he is an enthusiast; and he feels and assumes to himself more merit in being able to relate some little anecdote of a savage applying or quoting a scripture passage, than if he had accomplished all that the Moravians have done for the Hottentots (and they have done much) at Bavian's Kloof. He observes, for instance, in one of his reports to the Society, that the Bosjesmans make a fire by twirling the point of a stick on the surface of another: that one of his people in a rainy night, not being able to succeed, bethought himself of calling on Jesus, when he was immediately answered, and struck up a good fire notwithstanding the rain.

Every account that has been given of the Bosjesmans tends to confirm the opinion of their being among the most miserable of the human race, and in their present condition wholly

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incapable of profiting by the doctrines of Christianity. Their number is, however, very inconsiderable. In travelling through the heart of the desert occupied by them, the present party did not in the whole journey see fifty persons, and of course had but little opportunity of making and comparing their observations on their character and condition. Of the few they saw it was remarked that several had attained a very considerable age; that the oldest had not lost a single tooth, but that in many instances they were worn down in a remarkable manner to mere stumps; that out of the number seen at least half a dozen were blind in one eye, which they pretended to have been occasioned while young by accidents from fire; that the greater part wanted the first joint of the little finger, which they said had been taken off as a charm against misfortunes, or to stop an incipient disorder; that the sting of a scorpion, which to Europeans or colonists is always attended with dangerous consequences, and by which one of the present party suffered severely, has no ill effect on this people, which they endeavoured to explain by saying that while children being accustomed to be stung by these insects, the poison in time ceases to have any effect on them, as the small-pox virus loses its action on a person who has had the disease.

In their persons they were all diminutive, but well made; of the colour of a faded leaf; the joints and prominent parts of the body almost black with a thick coating of hardened dirt; their hair clotted, which with the face was smeared over with red ochre and fat; their little eyes, scarcely visible, were always in motion, and ever on the watch.

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Their whole property was very portable, consisting generally of a bow and quiver of arrows, a belt of skin, and sometimes half a cloak, two or three thin grass mats which, when fixed between two sticks over a round hole dug in the ground, serve for a dwelling, and a wild gourd or an ostrich egg-shell to carry a little water. Sometimes they are accompanied by little dogs not unlike a species of jackall, having a ruff of long hair round the lower part of the neck. Two or three of these people were also, like the *Koras, monorchides;* and the women had those peculiar conformations of certain parts of the body, which are so general in the Hottentot race, to a very remarkable degree. It appeared indeed that the elongation of one part and the protuberance of the other were generally in the inverse proportion of the stature of the individual.

In this mixed society the party had the good fortune to meet with two persons who had it in their power to render them essential services. The one was a native *Booshuana*, of the name of *Miklango*, who spoke a little Dutch, and who willingly engaged to accompany them as interpreter; but he was wholly unacquainted with the road which led to his own country. The other was his comrade *Makauta*, who was well acquainted with the country, and readily undertook to be their guide. A Dutch boor of the name of Kruger also joined the expedition at this place: he had been pointed out to them as a man of great resource, and likely to be of use. At an early period of life his brother and himself, having exercised their ingenuity in forging the paper currency of the colony, were banished for life to Robben Island in the mouth

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of Table bay; but before they had remained long they contrived, by means of a boat made of dried skins, to escape to the continent, and to fly into the country of the *Booshuanas*, where the elder brother was trodden to death by an elephant; and the present man had been living among the savages on the skirts of the colony, an outlaw and a vagabond, for nearly twenty years. Informed of his situation, the party had carried with them a conditional pardon from the Court of Justice at the Cape, to which his long sufferings and his willing services on the present occasion amply entitled him.

Having at this place, beside the above-mentioned persons, added twelve *Kora* Hottentots to the strength of the expedition, and procured forty-eight head of draught oxen in lieu of seventy-six already worn out with fatigue, the party proceeded on the 12th; and, after separating in the dark and losing their way on the desert, the whole fortunately rejoined at a spring of water on the evening of the 15th. The next day they were accosted by six naked Bosjesmans craving, as usual, a little food. This night they halted at the *Makatanie* or Duck-spring, near which their attention was attracted by a singular cone-shaped hill, where they discovered a deep cavern occupied by whole flocks of turtle doves, whose nests loaded the bushes that nearly choaked up its mouth. The bottom of the cavern was strewed over with a reddish brown ochraceous earth, abounding with mica, which is used both by the *Koras* who are brown, and the *Booshuanas* who are black, for painting their bodies, after which the skin has a glossy appearance not unlike the surface of a bronze statue.

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A little beyond this hill they came to the *Magaaga fontein* or the Spring of the Iron Mountain, the name of which induced some of the party to ascend the heights and examine the rocks and stones on the surface, taking with them a pocket compass. The masses of rock were composed generally of a ponderous stone, which evidently abounded with iron; and they found that the compass was very materially affected. By placing the needle on some of the iron-stones it appeared completely to have lost its polarity, pointing differently on different stones, sometimes in an opposite direction, vibrating at one time with great violence, and again whirling entirely round; from which they concluded that the mountain contained native iron, or other substances that were impregnated with magnetic matter. It does not appear, however, that they discovered any specimens which could be considered as containing iron in its native state.

After chasing in these mountains, and in the passes through which their route led them, a variety of the larger kind of game, as *hartebeests*, *springboks*, and ostriches, the travellers came in the dusk of the evening to the banks of a lake called the *Koussie*, whose extent was several thousand feet in circumference. A belt of tall reeds surrounded its margin, in several parts of which were growing very beautiful knots of the Karroo mimosa. Near the brink of the water they observed a number of holes that had been made by the Bosjesmans, with a view to entrap the wild beasts of the desert coming thither to quench their thirst; and in one of them they found a dead *steenbok*, which had apparently fallen in

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not many hours before. Just as they were leaving the lake a herd of wild buffaloes were observed at a distance, advancing towards the place where they were posted, on which preparations were immediately made to receive them. When these huge animals had approached sufficiently near, the party fired a volley among them, and had the satisfaction to see three of them fall to the ground, of so large a size that the carcase of one was found to be more than sufficient to feast the whole company. Continuing the journey till night without finding any water, they were nevertheless compelled to halt from the fatigued state of the oxen. In the morning before day-break they resumed their journey over a wide and desert plain, on which, however, a few trees were thinly scattered. In the course of this day our travellers, it seems, were highly gratified with the sight of a novel and interesting object. It was a *giraffe* or *camelopardalis* trotting before them, at no great distance, in a very singular and awkward manner, apparently at a slow pace; but on being chased, it was found to clear the ground with such celerity as to leave its pursuers far behind. Presently after this a herd, consisting of nine full grown animals and two young foals, made its appearance; upon which the whole party immediately gave chase, in the hope of being able to take at least the foals; but their speed was so great that they presently outstripped the fleetest horse and vanished out of sight.

Having now travelled eighteen hours without halting, and more than thirty hours without the cattle having tasted water, they at length arrived, to their inexpressible joy, at the most

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copious, transparent, and delightful spring of water that had occurred in the whole journey; and two miles beyond this they discovered another still superior, which indeed is probably not to be matched in the whole of Southern Africa, as far as it is hitherto known. It not only gushed from a cavern of rocks as from the sluice of a mill-dam, but in innumerable springs spouted up out of an extensive bed of white crystallized pebbles and quartzose sand, forming, at not more than a hundred paces from its source, a stream of at least thirty feet wide and two feet deep, called the *Kourmanna* or *Booshuana* river, whose direction was to the northward.

Being now arrived on the confines of the *Briequa* country, the commissioners conceived it would be proper to send forward the guide *Macauta* to the first village, to apprize them of the approach of the expedition, and to desire them to send forward notice thereof to the chief of the nation. Before it was dark he returned to the waggons, bringing back with him four of his countrymen who passed the night in the camp very contentedly. From these our travellers were informed that though their tribe was by the *Koras* usually called *Briequas*, yet that the name which they bore among themselves was *Booshuanas*. In the course of the morning four more advanced, one of which was pointed out as a chief and brother to the King. His name was *Serakotie*. The party having entertained them with a sheep and plenty of tobacco, for which they seemed to have a high relish, they became so exhilarated that they sung and shouted and danced the whole night long.

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Having remained some time for the purpose of refreshing their almost exhausted cattle on the delightful banks of the *Kourmanna* river, they again set forwards on the 23d, and, having passed through straggling thickets of a new species of *Mimosa*, which was the only tree that appeared in this part of the country, and said to be that on which the *camelopardalis* is particularly fond of browsing, they halted in the evening at another clear and copious spring called *Mapoolie*. Here they were met by a deputation from the King, to say that he was anxiously expecting their arrival. The face of the country now began to assume a very different appearance to what it had hitherto done. It was tolerably well clothed with grass, and with thickets of shrubby plants; and the *Mimosa Camelopardalis*, spreading its branches like a large umbrella, was a remarkable and a distinguished feature. Game of all kinds was very abundant, and every hour brought in sight considerable herds of *gnoos* and *quachas*.

A short *skoff* or day's journey carried the expedition, on the 25th, to another copious spring called the *Gataikamma*, the country still improving as they proceeded, and abounding with every sort of wild beast peculiar to this part of Southern Africa. Being now informed by the guides that the distance to the residence of their Chief was only a short day's journey, it was considered expedient to halt the waggons, while the two commissioners should proceed on horseback. Accordingly having selected a present for the Chief, which they carried in knapsacks and their pistol holsters, they set out with an interpreter; and about the middle of the day, after

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passing through open fields that for a very considerable extent were under a rude sort of cultivation, they entered a large town composed of cottages or huts, not laid out in streets, but placed in an irregular manner, and each hut enclosed within a sort of palisade. The sight of so great an assemblage of human habitations, after so long and dreary a journey, was equally as unexpected as it was agreeable. In a country so desolate as Southern Africa, where so few human beings are met with, and these few in the last stage of misery, the pleasure must be doubly felt of encountering a large society of mankind whose condition has the appearance of something like comfort. Riding at a quick pace among the houses, preceded by the interpreter and those which had been sent to invite them, the commissioners soon came to the spot where the Chief had assembled the elders of the people to receive them. This venerable man, whose name is *Mooliahaban*, was sitting in the midst of his council in a circular space, surrounded with wooden paling. He received the commissioners without the least embarrassment, and in the most friendly manner; accepted their present, which excited the curiosity of the elders, and of the crowd that by this time had assembled in vast numbers round the enclosure. They examined every article with minute attention, and were desirous of being made acquainted with their respective uses. In return they presented the commissioners with thick curdled milk. The ceremony of introduction being ended, the Chief invited the commissioners to his own house, where he presented them to his two wives and twelve children. Great crowds of people pressed after them, but the women

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appeared to be the most eager to satisfy their curiosity. They examined their hair with the closest scrutiny, scarcely being able to persuade themselves that it was of natural growth, but supposing it rather to be the tail of some animal fixed close to the head.

On the arrival of the waggons towards the close of the day, they pitched their tents at six hundred paces to the southward of the town, on the bank of the river which runs through it. Here they were visited by several hundreds of people, who all seemed to be highly delighted in getting a sight of the strangers; many of them were extremely curious, but without being troublesome, and all of them perfectly good humoured. The women brought milk in leathern bags, in wooden bowls, and in earthen pots, sufficient for the use of the whole expedition. As the night approached the people gradually left the encampment, and our travellers retired to rest with as much composure, and as free from any anxiety as to their personal safety, as when in the midst of the deserts to which they had so long been accustomed.

The town of *Leetakoo*, according to the direction and the distance travelled by the expedition from the Roggeveld, is situated in latitude 26° 30′ south, and longitude 27° east. A river, which from the width of the channel must occasionally be of considerable size, runs through the midst of it. The town, in its circumference, was estimated to be fully as large as Cape Town, including all the gardens of Table Valley; but from the irregularity of the streets, and the low-

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ness of the buildings, it was impossible to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the number of houses; it was concluded, however, that they could not be less than two nor more than three thousand, all nearly of the same size and construction, and differing in nothing from that of the Chief except that his was a little larger than the others. The whole population, including men, women and children, they considered to be from ten to fifteen thousand persons. Round numbers are rarely exact. The two commissioners, it seems, at the end of fifteen days, on comparing notes, found that the estimate of one was ten, of the other fifteen thousand. The truth may probably lie in the middle. The ground plan of every house was a complete circle, from twelve to fifteen feet in diameter; the floor of hard beaten clay, raised about four inches above the general surface of the enclosure. About one fourth part of the circle, which was the front of the house and observed generally to face the east, was entirely open; the other three fourths were walled up with clay and stones, to the height of about five feet. By an inner circular wall passing through the centre, and described with the same radius as that of the first circle, and consequently cutting off one third of the circumference, an apartment is formed for the depositing of their valuables, as skin clothing, ivory ornaments, hassagais, knives and other articles which to them are of essential use. In this apartment, also, the elder part of the family take their nightly rest. The children sleep in the half-closed *viranda*, which comprehends two-thirds of the circumference of the circle.

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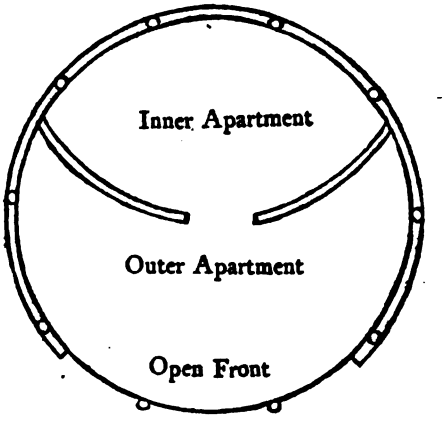
The annexed print will convey a tolerably good idea of a *Booshuana's* establishment, and the ground-plan of the cabin will be understood from the following sketch.



The whole is covered with a tent-shaped roof, supported on poles built into the wall, and forming in front an open colonnade. The roof is carefully and compactly thatched with reeds, or the straw of the *holcus*, and bound together with leathern thongs. All the houses were enclosed by a fence made of strong reeds, of the straw of *holcus*, or twigs of wood; and within this enclosure, contiguous to the dwelling-house, there stood a large clay vessel erected upon a raised floor of the same material, which served as a store for containing their grain and pulse. These granaries had the appearance of large oil jars, the capacity of some of them being not less than 200 gallons. They are raised from the ground on three legs, are from six to nine feet high and, like the dwelling-houses, are covered with a pointed roof of thatch.

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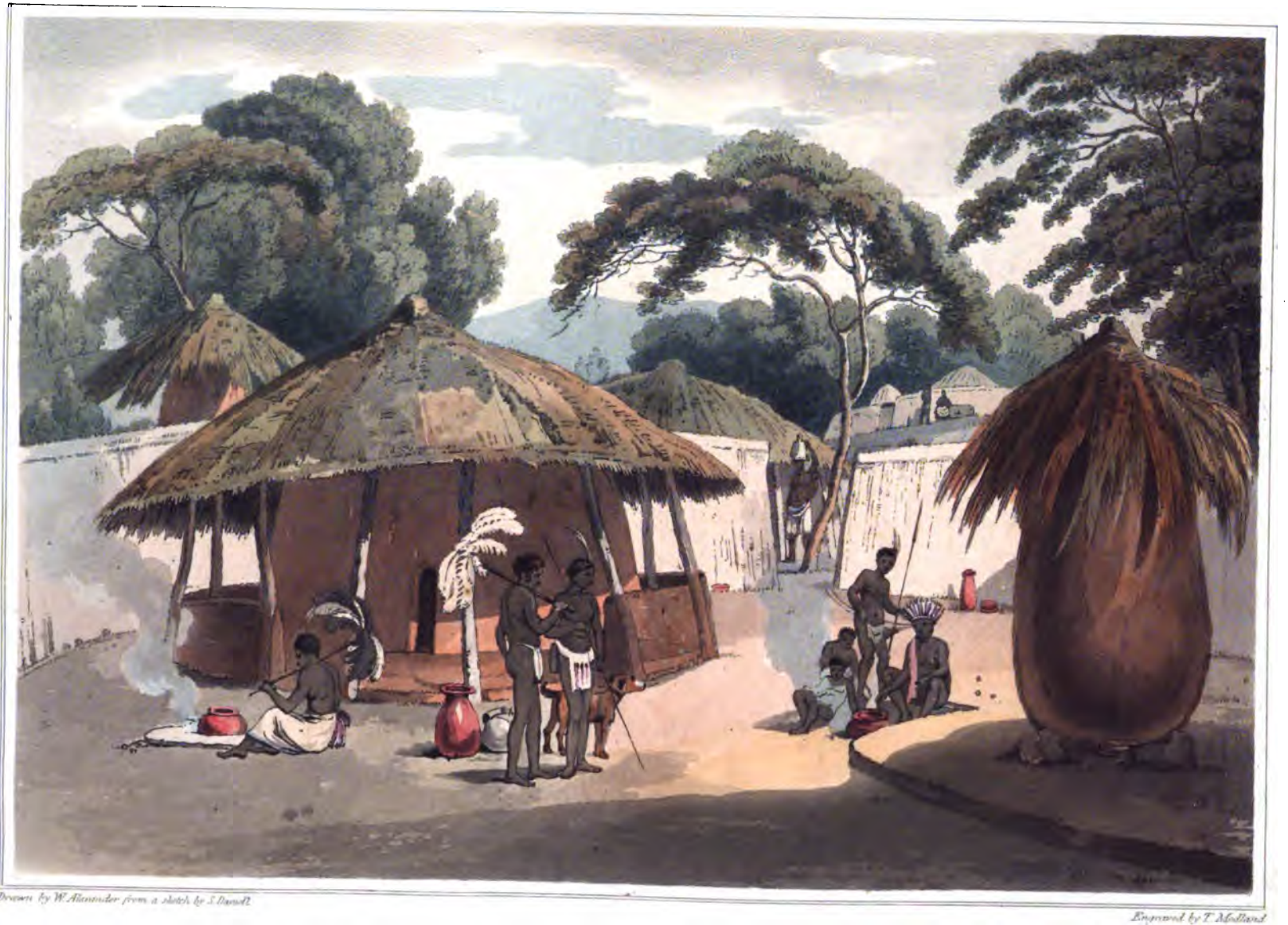

Drawn by W. Alexander from a sketch by S. Daniell.

Engraved by F. Medland.

Bootshuana Village.

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The dwelling of a *Booshuana* is not ill calculated for the climate. In elegance and solidity it may probably be quite as good as the *Casæ* or first houses that were built in imperial Rome, and may be considered in every respect superior in its construction and in comfort to most of the Irish cabins, into which the miserable peasantry are oftimes obliged to crawl through puddles of water. The hut of a *Booshuana* is not only raised upon an elevated clay flooring, but the ground of the whole enclosure is so prepared that the water may run off through the gateway; and the whole of their cookery being carried on in this open area, the inside of the dwelling is free from smoke and soot. So well is he acquainted with the comfort and convenience of shade, that his hut is usually built under the branches of a spreading mimosa, every twig of which is preserved with a religious care, and not a bough suffered to be broken off on any emergency, though the article of fuel must sometimes be sought at a very considerable distance.

So large a population collected together on one spot, surrounded by barren deserts occasionally inhabited by a few savages, and cut off from all communication with other civilized societies, necessarily implies the adequate means of subsistence within themselves. One great source from which they draw their support is their cattle, whose flesh, however, they eat but very sparingly; milk is mostly used in a curdled state, which they keep not in grass baskets, like the Eastern Kaffers, but in leathern bags and clay pots. Every part of the country abounds with almost all the various kinds of antelopes that are found in Southern Africa, with the *rhinosceros*, the *buffalo*, and the

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quacha; and all these they contrive to take by exertion or by stratagem. In their choice of animal food they are not remarkably nice. They will eat the wolf, the hyæna, and the *myrmecophaga* or ant-eater; the leopard, the tyger-cat, and the *camelopardalis;* and the country abounds with ostriches, bustards, grous, Guinea fowls, and partridges. But all these, plentiful as they are, would furnish but a precarious supply for so considerable a population; and necessity has therefore, in all probability, compelled them to call in aid the never-failing source of plenty and provision which agriculture affords. The grain chiefly cultivated, as appeared by the samples brought back by the commissioners, consisted of the *holcus sorghum*, a smaller species of the same genus which from the reddish coloured seed appeared to be the *Saccharatus*, a *Dolichos* not unlike the *cadjan*, and a small spotted *Phaseolus* or kidney bean. These different kinds of grain and pulse appear to be sown promiscuously and, when reaped, to be thrown indiscriminately into their earthen granaries; from whence they are taken and used without selection, sometimes by broiling, but more generally boiling in milk. It will readily be supposed that the art of agriculture among this people is yet in its lowest stage. In fact, the only labour bestowed on the ground is performed by the women, and with a rude instrument something like the hoe. It is a flat piece of iron fixed into the knob of the Kaffer *keerie*. When its horizontal edge is so fitted that it stands at right angles with the handle, it serves as a hoe; when turned round so as to be parallel with the handle, it is then a hatchet. One of these instruments appears lying on the ground, in the print of the two annexed figures.

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Drawn by W. Alexander from a Sketch of a Bushwoman

Engraved by T. Medland

Bushwoman & Man & Woman

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But the *Booshuanas* are arrived at that stage of civilization which is not satisfied with the mere necessaries of life supplied to them abundantly from the three sources of agriculture, grazing, and hunting; they are by no means insensible of its conveniencies and its luxuries. Their skin cloaks for the winter are pliant, soft and warm, being frequently lined with the fur-skins of tyger-cats, *viverras* and other small animals; and when in summer they go without clothing, they rarely expose their bodies to the rays of the sun, but carry umbrellas made of the broad feathers of the ostrich fixed to the end of a stick. They vary their mode of dressing both animal food and grain, occasionally boiling, broiling, or roasting the former, and simply broiling the latter, or bruising it into flour and boiling it up with milk. Among the luxuries of the appetite tobacco seems to hold the highest estimation. Both men and women are passionately fond of drawing the smoke of this narcotic herb through water, poured usually into the horn of the cow or the *eland*, through the side of which the tube of the tobacco-pipe is inserted. Of snuff they are equally fond. This article is composed of a variety of stimulant plants dried and rubbed into dust, which is usually mixed with wood ashes; of this mixture they take a quantity in the palm of the hand, and draw it into the nostrils through a quill or reed till the tears trickle down their cheeks. Children even of four or five years of age may be observed taking snuff in this manner. Their bodies they carefully ornament with devices painted with white pipe-clay and red ochre; their hair they sometimes cut in a peculiar manner, leaving a high tuft on the crown of the head, not unlike the

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fashionable crops of the present day, to which is frequently appended the tail of a hare, or a distended bladder of this or some other small animal; or the wings of the Numidian crane are fixed erect on each side of the head. A triangular plate of copper is almost invariably suspended from one ear, and the teeth and the claws of lions and leopards are worn as necklaces. To these spoils of the chase the men add rings of ivory, cut from the elephant's tusk, round the upper part of the arm; and the women use thongs of leather, sometimes plain and sometimes decorated with beads and bits of copper, round the legs and arms. Every man had a knife slung about the neck by a leather thong, and fitted into a scabbard. The blade is generally about six inches long, an inch broad, rounded at the end, and brought to an edge on each side; the handle sometimes of wood, and sometimes of ivory; in the latter case, it is usually carved into the shape of the elephant's proboscis. The party had with them a quantity of common knives intended for barter, but the *Booshuanas* held them very cheap, observing that their own were at least twice as good, because they were made to cut with two edges, whereas those of the white people only cut with one. The knife, in fact, is so useful an instrument to such as live by the chase and on roots, that it may almost be considered as an article of the first necessity, and is valued accordingly. A *Booshuana* is accounted wealthy according to the number of cattle, knives and beads he may possess: these are the money and the currency of *Leetakoo*.

The *Booshuana* women not only performed the task of hoeing the ground, reaping the grain, clearing it from the

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husk, and bearing it into the granaries, which with all the other inferior earthen vessels were the work of their own hands, but they collected most of the materials, and in a great measure prepared them for the construction of the dwelling-houses. The men employ a considerable portion of their time in hunting, in preparing skins and hides for cloaks and shoes; and they have the sole care of the cattle and of the dairy.

A few days after their arrival the party had an opportunity of being present, by invitation, at a marriage ceremony, and of witnessing the festivities that took place on the occasion. At the time appointed they were conducted to a spacious enclosure of a circular form, surrounded by a palisade of wood. Here the venerable Chief received them with great kindness, in the midst of the elders of the place. On their right stood a group of young women, and on the left about an equal number of men, dressed in a very fantastical manner. A crowd of spectators stood in a ring round the circle, leaving the central space free. The men who had been selected for the performance of the ceremonies on the occasion advanced into the area, and began to display their feats of agility. The effect of their dancing was singular enough. Some of them were dressed in a kind of petticoat which reached from the waist to the knee, composed of black and white ostrich feathers arranged in alternate rows; and others had several belts of leather fixed round the body, from the neck to the calf of the leg, to which were stitched by one end the tails of the jackal, the tyger-cat, and a species of *viverra*.

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Their bodies were painted with white, red and yellow clay. As the dancers whirled round, their tails and the ostrich feathers flew out at right angles with the body, and their great object seemed to be that of preventing them from collapsing, and of keeping them extended horizontally in every attitude and motion of the body. Their movements were accompanied with a rude and boisterous song, which ceased at intervals, when the women who did not dance responded in a softer kind of antistrophe, which was not by any means void of melody. The same women bestowed also on the dancers frequent marks of applause, by the clapping of hands. The dancing being ended, a refreshment consisting of boiled beef and Kaffer corn (*holcus*) boiled in milk was served round to the guests; after which the bridegroom, who was one of the dancers, led home his bride, and the company retired to their respective dwellings, apparently well satisfied with the diversions of the day.

The regularity and decorum with which they conducted themselves at this ceremony, and indeed on all occasions, impressed the commissioners with a very favourable opinion of the character of the *Booshuanas*, which was not diminished by the uninterrupted harmony that seemed to prevail in this happy society. *Moolihaban* and the elders of the town occasionally met to settle any little disputes that might sometimes happen, and which are unavoidable in so large a community.

The system on which their government is founded appears to be completely patriarchal, and the Chief must of course

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be a man idolized by the people; and the consequence is, that he has the nomination of a successor. From the elders of the society he is informed of the general sentiments of the people; and with their advice such rules and regulations are framed or altered as are best calculated to give general satisfaction, and consequently to make himself popular. No young man can be admitted into the King's council, which is established on the principles of true primitive simplicity, when, in almost every nation and language, age and authority were synonymous terms. If any man in the society feels himself aggrieved, and is not satisfied with the decision of the council, he is at full liberty to settle his affairs and leave the horde with his whole property.

It does not appear that they have any particular form of religious worship, in the strict sense of the term as applied by Europeans, though, as a custom handed down from their forefathers, they religiously observe the practising of circumcision on all male children, and of dancing in a circle the whole night of the full moon. Few nations are so savage as not to be conscious that there is a power which directs the operations of nature, which is infinitely superior to themselves, and to whose influence they are subject. Some nations have ascribed to this power a variety of attributes in the same individual, and others have supposed a distinct person presiding over each attribute. Most have acknowledged a good and an evil spirit: the one recognised in the cheering warmth of the sun, in the soft silvery light of the moon, and in fertilizing showers; the other in the terrific roar of thunder,

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and the destructive shafts of lightning, in storms of wind and torrents of rain. And as fear is the parent of superstition, the evil spirit is usually found to be venerated in preference to the good one. This appears to be the case with the *Boqshuanas*, and was in all probability the same in the early stages of all nations. The vices of Jupiter and his evil actions were most likely recorded before his virtues; just as his thunder terrified before his paternal protection inspired confidence.

The *Booshuanas* may, in every respect, be considered to have passed the boundary which divides the savage from the civilized state of society, and to have arrived at that stage of moral refinement which is not incompetent to the reception of the sublime yet simple precepts of the Christian religion. It is here the missionary might employ his zeal to some advantage; here a plentiful harvest is offered to the first reapers who may present themselves.

The friendly and peaceable disposition which generally prevails among this people may perhaps be attributed in a great degree to the almost perfect equality of their condition. The houses of *Leetakoo* are nearly all alike, differing only in the degree of labour and of neatness which each individual owner is disposed to bestow on the shed that protects him. Every man has as much land as he may chuse to cultivate. The number of his cattle will chiefly depend on his attention and management, and the quantity of clothing he provides for the use of his family in winter on his skill and activity in hunting. To the condition of this happy race of Kaffers in Southern Africa

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the beautiful lines of the poet will equally apply as to that of the once happy peasantry of Switzerland :

> " Though poor the *Kaffer's* hut, his feasts though small,
> " He feels his little lot the lot of all,
> " Sees no contiguous palace rear its head
> " To shame the meanness of his humble shed."

That the *Booshuanas* are of the same race of people as the Kaffers on the sea-coast is a position that will scarcely admit of a doubt; but though they are not by any means so fine a body of men in point of personal qualifications, they seem to have stepped beyond them in the arts and habits of civilized life. They are not, like the eastern Kaffers, invariably black; some being of a bronze colour, and others of nearly as light a brown as the Hottentot. Their hair grows to a greater length and is more inclined to be straight; some of the women wore their locks combed over the forehead. Their houses are totally different from those of any other tribe yet discovered in Southern Africa; and the pointed tent-shaped roof may perhaps be considered as an additional argument in favour of their Arabic origin. Their pastoral life, their feeding principally on milk, their hospitality to strangers, their practice of circumcising male children, and the general cast of the countenance, are all Arabic. Little stress, however, is to be laid on the features of a single horde on a vast continent, abounding with natives of every tint of colour. When a party of Dutch boors, in the year 1790, undertook a journey to the eastward for the purpose of discovering the spot where the Grosvenor Indiaman was supposed to have been lost, they met with a tribe of people situated on the sea-coast, in the very same parallel of latitude with some of the

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Booshuanas, of a light yellow complexion, with long coarse hair, which they frizzled on the top of the head in the shape of a turban. It appeared that this horde, to the amount of about four hundred persons, was the offspring of three European women, who had been wrecked when infants on this part of the coast, whom the boors saw and conversed with through an interpreter, but who could neither inform them of what nation they were, nor how or when the accident happened. In the opinion of the travellers they were French. Had these three old women died before this journey was undertaken, the origin of the *Hamboonas* would have been as unsatisfactorily conjectured as that of the Hottentots, and their descent from the French deemed fully as improbable as that of the latter from the Chinese.

From whence the *Booshuanas* originally sprang, or for what length of time they had occupied their present situation in Southern Africa, they themselves were wholly incapable of communicating the least information to the inquiries of the commissioners. They were not even able to give any satisfactory account of the ruins of a town as large as that of *Leetakoo*, which at no very remote distance of time had stood on the heights commanding the valley. The foundations of the houses were of stone, and of the same circular plan as those of the *Booshuanas*. Having no written language, the tradition of these ruins once being lost, their real history can never be revived.

The commissioners having remained fifteen days among this peaceable and happy people, and finding that, although the

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aggregate number of their cattle was very considerable, and no unwillingness appeared on their part to transfer them in exchange for such trinkets and baubles, and such proportion of each, as the Chief and his council should determine, they must very seriously distress the individuals were they to take the number they wanted; and having understood from *Moolihaban* that his people had scarcely recruited the losses by the plunder and devastation which a man of the name of Bloom a half-cast, with his horde, had committed after setting fire to the town and murdering the inhabitants, they determined to proceed to the northward to the chief residence of another tribe of natives of the same description, called the *Barroloos*. On communicating this intention to *Moolihaban*, and requesting him to furnish them with proper guides, he was evidently much disturbed, and put them off for the time with an evasive answer. The next morning he sent for the commissioners and, after assuring them that he had not been able to rest the whole night since they had communicated their design of proceeding to the *Barroloos*, advised them by no means to think of visiting these people; observing that they were of a suspicious and ferocious disposition; and that if any accident should befal them, the English government at the Cape would certainly attribute it to him and his horde; that none of his people knew the way thither, there being between them an impassable desert entirely destitute of water. Although this friendly communication did not probably develope the real motive of *Moolihaban* for discouraging the further progress of the expedition, yet there can be little doubt he had sufficient grounds for wishing to prevent its

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continuance in that line. His more powerful neighbours might feel disposed to quarrel with him for having suffered so small a party of white men, which he might have prevented, to pass through his territory into theirs. Whatever the motive might have been, the Chief was so earnest in his remonstrances that the commissioners considered it prudent to desist from their original design; and although they had obtained little more than 100 head of cattle, at the rate of two and three pounds in weight of coloured porcelaine and glass beads for each, they resolved to prepare for their return. It was not without extreme regret that they afterwards discovered, when they had returned as far as to the Orange river, that the *Barroloos* were in fact a numerous, wealthy, and friendly people. A *bastaard* Hottentot, who had travelled into that country, assured Mr. Truter that there was not in all Africa so perfectly good-humoured and so well-disposed a people as the *Barroloos;* that they had many towns, the largest of which was so extensive that it required a whole day to walk from one extremity to the other; that their houses were of the same kind as, but much better built than, those of the *Booshuanas;* their gardens and grain lands better cultivated; that the whole surface of the country was covered with trees and shrubs; water and rivers abundant, and the soil every where productive; that the *Barroloos* were a very ingenious nation, and skilful in carving wood and ivory; that he had seen their furnaces for melting iron from a brown earth and stone, and copper from a grey earth; that the distance from *Leetakoo* did not exceed ten days' journey of the common rate of travelling. This information was, however, obtained too late; and the country of

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the *Barroloos* is still untrodden ground for the European traveller, who may in future be inclined to prosecute further discoveries in Southern Africa.

To know that such societies exist in this miserable quarter of the globe, as those above described, must be peculiarly interesting to those who have long been exerting their eloquence and their influence to meliorate the condition of the suffering African. They furnish a complete refutation of an opinion that has industriously been inculcated, and which unfortunately is but too prevalent, that slavery is his unalterable lot; and that it would still exist, as it always had existed, were Europeans to discontinue their abominable traffic in these unhappy creatures. Such an opinion, in justification of a crime against humanity, is just on a level with that of a Dutch boor who told Governor Jansen, on remonstrating with him on his cruelty towards the Hottentots, that there could be no harm in maltreating those heathens, as the women evidently carried about with them the mark which God set upon Cain. Not one of the tribes of natives between the Cape of Good Hope and the extreme point that has hitherto been discovered in the interior of Southern Africa—not a single creature, from the needy and savage Bosjesman to the more civilized *Booshuana*, has the most distant idea of a state of slavery. On the contrary, they have all been found in the full enjoyment of unbounded freedom. There is no compulsion used among these people to oblige an individual to remain even in the horde to which he belongs, contrary to his inclination; being always at liberty to depart with his property, and join another society that may suit him.

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better. Even in war the only booty is the cattle of the enemy.

How far to the northward the country continues to be inhabited by free Kaffer tribes remains yet to be determined; but the extent, it is to be feared, is not very great. It appears that the Portugueze slave-merchants have at length effected a communication across the continent, from Mosambique to their settlements of Congo and Loango on the opposite coast; from which it may be inferred that the line of slavery extends at least as far to the southward as the twentieth degree on the eastern, and to the fifteenth or sixteenth on the western coast. It is probable, however, that in the central parts of Southern Africa the land of freedom may stretch much beyond the parallels where slavery prevails on the coast. The *Barroloos*, from the above account, cannot be placed to the southward of the tropic of Capricorn; and it is not very probable that a nation having made such progress as they are represented to have done, should border immediately on a nation of slaves. Thus though Soffala, Mosambique, Quiloa, and Melinda, on the eastern coast, and Congo, Loango, Benguela, and Angola, on the western, have long been doomed to all the evils and horrors of slavery, yet it is possible that the *Biri* and *Baroras* of the charts, in the heart of the continent, may be a continuation of the same free and happy people as the *Booshuanas* and *Barroloos*, the former of whom extend easterly even to the bay of De la Goa, where the Portugueze have in vain endeavoured to introduce among them a traffic in slaves. Luckily for the Kaffer nation, neither the Portugueze on one side, nor the Cape boors on the

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other, have yet been able to convince them that one set of men were created to be sold like cattle, for the pleasure and the profit of another.

The boors, who found little amusement in passing the time among the *Booshuanas*, went out daily in parties to shoot game. Among other species of antelopes which were well known to them, they one day brought home a pair of animals belonging to this genus, which were perfectly new to the whole party. This species of deer was called by the *Booshuanas* the *Palla*. In its general shape and appearance it bore some resemblance to the *springbok*, but was considerably larger. Its height was three feet three inches, and the length of the body from the head to the root of the tail four feet three inches; horns sixteen inches long, lyre-shaped, and annulated nearly to the points; ears eight inches, edged and tipped with black hairs; lips white; a black stripe down the middle of the face, and a white spot over each eye; tail sixteen inches, of a brownish colour, with a brush of white hairs at the extremity; feet white, and on the hind legs a remarkable callous spot surrounded with a tuft of black hair just above the fetlock joint; the colour of the body of a deep glossy brown, passing into a brighter tint on the sides, and the belly and interior parts of the legs clear white. This beautiful antelope is nearly as swift as the *springbok*, but its gait is altogether different. Its habits are extremely mild, and it is easily rendered as tame and tractable as any domestic animal. The party brought with them to the Cape a young female, but it died soon after its arrival from the fatigues of the journey. The *Palla* may be said to be gre-

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garious; but, although abundant in every part of the *Boo-shuana* country, it rarely happens that more than three or four are seen grazing together in one herd.

On the 12th December the expedition took its departure from *Leetakoo*, not without feeling some regret in bidding adieu to this friendly and hospitable people, numbers of whom accompanied the waggons to a considerable distance, and many thousands were collected on the occasion upon the neighbouring heights. On the second day of their departure they were overtaken by two messengers from *Leetakoo*, bringing with them a present of two fat oxen from *Moolihaban*, and two stray oxen belonging to the commission, which had been left behind. They were charged, at the same time, with a message from the Chief, expressive of the great satisfaction he should feel on receiving another visit the following year, when, he observed, the yearlings of their cattle would be grown up, and they would be able to spare them a greater number than they had now the power of doing.

Returning by the same route, and being in no particular haste, the party had now more leisure to observe the face of the country. It was well clothed with grass and shrubs and trees of various kinds, particularly of the spreading mimosa, on which the *camelopardalis* delights to feed. Some of these trees were completely disfigured by the nests of a certain small bird of the genus *Loxia* or Grossbeak, which in large bodies dwell together, constituting a sort of commonwealth. Under one common roof, consisting of the dry stems of a harsh

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serrated grass, are compactly arranged some hundreds of nests, to each of which is a small tube by way of entrance on the underside; and those narrow passages are so well protected by the sharp points of the dried stems as to make it difficult to introduce the hand without injury.

The plains abounded with ostriches, *springboks*, *hártebeests*, and *quachas*; and a party of the Dutch boors had the good fortune to shoot an animal that was totally unknown to any person in the expedition, and hitherto apparently undescribed by any naturalist. It was called by the *Booshuanas* the *Kokoon*. In its general appearance it bore a resemblance to the *gnoo*, but was of a much larger size. It measured in height four feet eleven inches; in length from the head to the rump five feet; the head was one foot ten inches long; ears ten inches; tail of long black hair three feet three inches, resembling that of a horse; neck uncommonly thick in proportion to the body. It had a mane very unlike that of the *gnoo*, flowing over its shoulders, and continuing to the middle of the back. The forehead, like that of the buffalo, was covered with an osseous excrescence, being in fact the roots of the horns, which were terminated in fine pointed extremities like those of the *gnoo*. From the centre of the forehead to the nose was an arched or convex protuberance, covered with a ridge of long black hair; and on each cheek, a little below the eye, was a remarkable spot of a circular form, rather more than an inch in diameter, naked, and apparently glandulous, the surface being made up of bundles of fine vessels, out of the orifices of which oozed a white viscous matter. Close under these glands grew tufts of black hair; a long black

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beard, like that of the *gnoo*, covered the throat from the chin to the breast. The nose and mouth were like those of an ox, but more broad and flat. The general hue of the body was that of an ash-coloured grey. It had neither the speed, the activity, nor the spirit of the *gnoo*. Of this extraordinary animal Mr. Daniell made an accurate drawing. Several beautiful *gnoos* of the common kind were shot by the party in the course of their excursions; and the above-mentioned gentleman made an observation in more than one instance, that when this animal was wounded, and while holding its pursuers at bay, it generally snorted from its nostrils a considerable quantity of small white maggots, of the size and appearance of such as are sometimes found in hazel nuts.

The same shooting party had also killed a curious cream-coloured *quacha*, the whole body of which was completely covered with dark brown stripes. At first this individual was considered only as an accidental variety of the common *quacha*; but several of the same kind being afterwards obtained, and in one day a stallion and a mare both fully striped, there remained little doubt of their being individuals of a new and distinct species. Under this idea they endeavoured to take one alive, for the purpose of bringing it up to the Cape, but were not fortunate enough to succeed. The boors on the skirts of the colony sometimes take the common *quacha* in the same manner as the Spaniards of Buonas Ayres catch the wild horses, by galloping after them and throwing over their heads a ream or thong of leather, with a running noose at the end.

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The near resemblance of some species of the animals of Africa to others, the participation of the same qualities or the same external form and appearance, the frequent introduction to Greece and Rome of animals that were unknown before, gave rise to the maxim that "Africa was always producing something new." And the reasoning employed for explaining this fertile source of novelty is recorded by Pliny in his Natural History. "*Africa hæc maximè spectat, inopia aquarum ad paucos amnes congregantibus se feris. Ideo multiformes ibi animalium partus, variè fœminis cujusque generis mares aut vi aut voluptate miscentes. Unde etiam vulgare Græciæ dictum, semper aliquid novi Africa afferre.*" Thus the leopard was supposed to be the mixed breed of a lion and a panther; the *giraffe*, of the camel and the leopard; the *quacha*, of the *zebra* and the ass. And although this opinion has long been set aside, and the fact fully established, that animals in a state of nature will never violate the laws of nature, and that, although hybrids are sometimes produced, no new race can be propagated even by the arts of domestication, the opinion was at least entitled to as much respect as the conjecture of a celebrated French naturalist, that the branching horns of the stag might originally have been produced by the new moulding of the branches of trees on which he feeds. Had this whimsical theory, worthy the adoption of the Darwinian doctrine, (stolen in fact chiefly from Buffon,) been actually realized, the scarcity of trees in Africa might be offered as a satisfactory explanation of the want of stags on this continent; not a single deer with branched horns being known to exist between the Mediter-

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ranean and the Cape of Good Hope, a tract of country embracing both the torrid and the temperate climates.

On the 14th the party struck off to the north-westward, travelling over a country tolerably well clothed with grass and frutescent plants, and abounding with *quachas*, *pallas*, *harte-beests*, and a great number of wild buffalos; and in the evening they arrived at a village of *Booshuanas*, consisting of about forty houses, situated upon the banks of the *Kourmanna* river, which as far as the eye could reach were beautifully skirted with large trees, the most remarkable and the most abundant of which was the mimosa of the *camelspardalis*. The following day they fell in with the missionary Edwards who, with his wife and family accompanied by his half-cast companion and assistant Jan Kok and a few Hottentot attendants, were rambling about the country, apparently without any determinate object. One of the Hottentots was still smarting under the recent wounds received from a lion, which he had the misfortune to encounter, and from whose voracious fangs his escape was little less than miraculous. Having observed the fresh traces of a lion's paws leading into the kraal where his master's sheep were pent up by night, the Hottentot had placed what the Dutch call a *stell-roer* or trap-gun in the passage leading into the kraal, with a view to destroy this nightly despoiler. The following morning, on going to the spot, he found the gun discharged and, from the quantity of blood sprinkled on the ground, concluded that the contents must have been lodged in the body of the animal. Following the traces of blood on the

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ground, he incautiously approached too near to a neighbouring thicket, out of which, before he had time to present his musket, the wounded lion burst forth and, pouncing upon the poor Hottentot, laid him flat on the ground with a single pat of his paw. The royal brute bestrode the Hottentot with great composure and, as if conscious of having obtained his enemy within his clutches, seemed to be determined to prolong the sweet delight of revelling in his revenge. According to the poor fellow's statement, he pawed him just as a kitten is wont to play with a mouse; and that whenever he attempted to stir, he was sure to receive what the lion might consider a gentle tap, but which, however, generally carried away with it a piece of flesh. Both his arms, indeed, had been lacerated in a shocking manner by this lion's play, with which he continued to amuse himself and to torment his vanquished enemy for a considerable length of time, without the least apparent intention of speedily making a meal of him. The master of the Hottentot, having by accident discovered the traces of blood, followed them to the scene of action and, casting his eyes to the spot, saw with terror the critical situation of his Hottentot. He possessed, however, sufficient presence of mind to level his piece and, taking a cool and steady aim, he shot the lion dead upon the Hottentot; the skin of which he carried with him as a trophy of one of the most fortunate but critical shots that perhaps was ever made as, had he missed his aim, his own fate was involved in that of the Hottentot.

Continuing their journey along the banks of the *Kourmanna* river, they passed a succession of *Booshuana* villages, plea-

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santly situated among groves of the umbrella-like mimosa. On every side was abundance of large game, as *pallas*, *springboks*, and ostriches whose eggs occasionally supplied them with an agreeable repast. On the 17th they arrived at the large village of *Patanie*, the residence of the *Boothuana* chief *Serakootie*, brother of *Moolihaban*. Having approached too near the town before they perceived that the waggons were passing over garden grounds and fields planted with corn, which was at this time a considerable height above the surface, they turned back and pitched their tents on the bank of the river. *Serakootie* presently came down to welcome their arrival; but while he endeavoured to express the pleasure he felt on the occasion, he could not forbear remarking that their having first advanced to the town and then retired to encamp at a distance from it seemed to betray a suspicion on their part, which was by no means favourable to the good opinion and confidence which he had hoped his brother's conduct would have inspired towards him. Their motive, however, was soon explained to his perfect satisfaction. He introduced the party to his family, which consisted of four wives and five children, loaded them with civilities during their stay, supplying the whole expedition with as much milk as it could make use of. The village was pleasantly situated on the rising banks of the *Kourmanna* river, which they now discovered to be a branch of the *Gariep* or Orange river. It consisted of about fifty houses, of the same kind, but not quite so well built, as those of *Leetakoo*.

A remarkable change of temperature took place during one of the days the party remained at this village. At three

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o'clock in the afternoon the mercury of Fahrenheit stood at 97° in the shade; and the same evening, at eight, it was down to 62°. The weather was now generally too hot for the exposure and the exertion which hunting requires; but the larger kinds of game are at such times proportionably tamer, and they were not therefore prevented from continuing this diversion. In the neighbourhood of *Patanie* a party of sportsmen killed an old stallion and a mare of the large yellowish-coloured *quacha*, striped over the whole body, and precisely the same as that above described; which may be considered as a corroborative proof of this animal being a distinct species of the horse kind, and not merely a variety of the common *quacha*. The same party brought home also a couple of the *palla* antelopes.

On the 21st, as they proceeded on the journey, a large bull buffalo was shot near the waggons. The face of the country was now literally covered with game, among which a new and remarkable animal presented itself. The head resembled that of a cow, but the body and legs were those of an antelope. The *Booshuanas* called it the *Takheitsé*, or, as the Hottentots interpreted the name, the *Wicked Creature*. Being remarkably swift, they did not succeed in obtaining an individual of this species; but Mr. Daniell, it seems, took great pains to get near enough to one of them to make a drawing, of which he has given a representation in his valuable and interesting publication of African scenery and animals. It seems this creature is very dangerous to approach when wounded, and particularly so in the rutting season, when the *Booshuanas* are extremely careful not to

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come too near them. They are represented indeed to be so wild and ferocious, that this people seldom venture to attack them like other deer with the *hassagai*, but take them generally by digging pits in the ground and covering them over with sticks and earth. This animal appeared to be near five feet high, the colour a cinereous blue, and shape not unlike that of the *Nil-ghau* of India, the *Antelope picta*. Its mane is black, long, and flowing over each shoulder; its beard is long and pointed; the tail short and naked; the horns from fifteen to eighteen inches long, pointing backwards, and bent into a circular curve, embracing about a fifth part of a whole circumference, annulated from the root to about two thirds of the length. Several of these horns were brought by the party to the Cape. The *Takheitsé* is generally found in pairs, and when disturbed they usually take to the wooded heights, which were here very finely covered with the common mimosa and that on which the *camelopardalis* feeds. Numbers of both kinds were loaded with the nests of the gregarious finch.

The woods and thickets being well stocked with buffalos, whose flesh is savoury and good and hide particularly valuable to the boors, as being the best and toughest for traces and other waggon furniture, a party went out with a determination to spend the day in the chase after these huge animals. They presently started a whole herd, and at the first volley succeeded in bringing down a large cow. The herd dispersing in every direction, three of an enormous size with a young calf were observed to rush into a thicket close to the spot where the waggons and the tents were placed. Daniell the secretary and Schultz the overseer of the waggons having marked the

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exact spot where they had retreated for shelter and, thinking the opportunity too favourable to allow them to escape, crept close to the thicket with their dogs and their muskets. Schultz having the same day shot an ostrich had ornamented his hat with its waving plumes. Elate with the hope of success, he hastened without stopping towards the opening into which the animals had retired, when suddenly, and quite unexpectedly to him, a huge bull buffalo came rushing out of the thicket and, eying for a moment the white plume waving in his hat, bolted directly towards him. Schultz petrified with fear remained motionless on the spot; and the buffalo, taking him up on the points of his horns, tossed him over his head many feet into the air, from whence he fell among the branches of a thorny mimosa. Daniell, having observed the fate of his companion, had just time enough to escape a similar encounter by climbing into a tree. The buffalo being baited by the dogs, and observing the whole party coming up, thought fit to retire. Poor Schultz returned to the waggons, bloody, pale, and almost lifeless with terror; persisting, however, that he was not in the least hurt nor intimidated at what had happened; but while he was speaking he fainted, and it was several days before he recovered from the effects of his wounds and his fright. This, says Mr. Truter, was the last attempt he made to be thought a sportsman, having now learned by experience that it was not the province of every one to turn buffalo hunter.

On this occasion the buffalo, as well as the lion which bestrode the Hottentot, seems to have been actuated by a sense of injury and a spirit of retaliation. The elephant,

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which is perhaps the mildest of all large animals, appears likewise, when provoked, to be more prone to resentment than those of the most ferocious disposition. Of the great sagacity and reasoning powers of this animal very extraordinary stories have been related, from the time of Pliny down to Buffon; some of which may perhaps be true, but many of them are notoriously false. An instance, however, of the vindictive spirit of the elephant occurred to some Dutch boors, who travelled to the eastward in search of the place where the Grosvenor Indiaman was cast away, which is remarkable in this respect, and the authenticity of which cannot be called in question. This animal, after having received into his body several large musket balls, and twice fallen on the ground, crept with difficulty into a thick thorny coppice. "Conceiving him to be done for," says Jacob Van Reenen, "Tjaart Vander Walt, Lodewyk Prins, and Ignatius Mulder, "rode up to the thicket; when, rushing furiously out from "his hiding-place, he lashed his proboscis round the body of "Prins who was on horseback, dragged him off to the "ground, and trod him to death; then driving one of his "tusks into his body, he threw him to the height of thirty "feet into the air. The other two dismounting hid themselves in the thicket. The elephant looking round him "and perceiving only the horse of Vander Walt began to "follow it, but, presently turning about, walked up to the "spot where the corpse of Prins was lying. At this instant "our whole party renewed the attack, when, after receiving "several bullets, he again escaped into the thicket. Thinking that we should now see no more of him, we began to "dig a grave for our unfortunate companion, when the "elephant, again rushing furiously upon us, drove the whole

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" party away, and remained triumphant over the dead body. " At the distance of an hundred paces Tjaart Vander Walt " put a bullet into his carcase, after which we all fired, when, " having staggered for some time, he fell to the ground and " was put to death by the Hottentots." These natives pretend to say that whenever an elephant is provoked to kill his enemy, he tears the carcase in pieces and devours it: at least, such is their conclusion, as no vestige of the remains is ever found on the spot. Perhaps, however, it is more consistent to suppose that he carries it away to some place of concealment. It is a common observation that, numerous as these animals are in many parts of Southern Africa, neither the tusks nor any part of their skeletons are ever found above ground, which has led to the conclusion that the elephants must bury their dead. Vander Kemp is inclined to believe the fact to be true. One of his party having shot an elephant, they went the following morning with a view of taking out its tusks, when they found from fifteen to twenty of these animals busily employed in removing the dead corpse with their snouts.

On the 25th the expedition fell in with a party of Bosjesmans, accompanied by their women and children, who drove along with them a few small spotted goats. These were the first party of this wretched race of men they had met with who possessed any living property. They gave them, as usual, a little food and tobacco, when they proceeded quietly on their journey. As the part of the country they were now in was better covered than is commonly the case with good sweet grass, they determined to halt for twenty-four hours, in order to

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refresh their way-worn cattle. And as the plains abounded with the *camelopardalis*, almost the whole party resolved to make a day's sport, in order to procure, if possible, one or more of these extraordinary creatures. In the course of the day they saw and chased a great number, some alone and others in herds of five or six; but all their exertions were in vain, and they were obliged to quit the field without killing a single beast, though several were supposed to be wounded. One of the party, however, shot a rhinosceros of an extraordinary size. It measured from the head to the root of the tail ten feet seven inches, and its height exceeded five feet six inches. But its size was less the subject of remark than the peculiarity of its horns, which were pretty nearly of the same length; whereas in the common rhinosceros of Southern Africa the upper horn is a mere stump of about six inches in length. This variety of the two-horned rhinosceros is called by the *Booshuanas* the *Jeckloa*, and the common kind, of which the party killed one the following day on the *Magaaga* or Iron Mountain, the *Mogoué*. Here also they fell in with several of the *Kokoon*, the *palla*, and the common *gnoo*, beside a number of *hartebeests* and *springboks*. *Quachas* and *elands* were equally plentiful in this part of the country, of the latter of which three large bulls were shot by one of the Hottentots in the course of the day.

Keeping to the westward of their former track, and travelling over a country abundantly rich in almost every species of wild quadruped that frequents the plains of Africa, but almost destitute of a human being, except a few miserable Bosjesmen, who in parties of three or four, but never exceed-

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ing eight, occasionally approached the waggons, and always with great timidity, they arrived on the 7th at a *Kora* village, on the northern bank of the Orange river, where they found these civil creatures, who had been apprized of their return, all collected and prepared with their pack oxen to give the expedition every assistance in its passage across the river. Here they again fell in with the missionary Kicherer, from whose opinion, corroborated by that of the *Koras*, they were induced to believe that by making a journey to the north-westward, along the banks of the river, of twelve or fourteen days, to the horde of a well-known character of the *Bastaard* race named Kok, they had a fair prospect of collecting a very considerable number of cattle. They therefore determined to make this deviation from the direct route and, if practicable, to return by the *Namaaqua* country, along the western coast of Africa. In order, however, to lessen the consumption of provisions, and at the same time to get rid of a real incumbrance, they resolved to discharge from the service of the expedition all the Dutch boors which had joined them in the Roggeveld, and to depend in future entirely on the Hottentots. These boors had not been of the least service in any respect, from the first day they joined the expedition; but, on the contrary, were the cause of perpetual vexations. They were indolent, disobedient, refractory, and discontented; and so cowardly that, in the event of meeting with hostile tribes, they never could be looked on as any protection. They shewed even an aversion to their favourite occupation of shooting game, for no other reason but because they perceived it would be a gratification to the commissioners. As the absence of such people could neither

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be attended with regret nor disadvantage, a sufficient portion of provisions to carry them across the Karroo desert into the Roggeveld was allotted to them, and they were finally dismissed from the employ of the commission.

It was not till the 28th January that the river had sufficiently subsided to allow the waggons to pass with safety; and they had scarcely reached the opposite shore till it again swelled several feet in depth, though not a shower of rain had fallen; and the current continued to flow with such violence that they had very little prospect of again speedily crossing it, which, however, was necessary to be done at this place, to enable them to proceed on their intended journey. The *Kora* Hottentots, therefore, set to work in felling down trees, for the purpose of constructing rafts to float over the waggons; and they were proceeding with great activity and considerable skill in forwarding these rafts, when a ford was discovered a little lower down the river. Here they effected a passage without accident; and before they reached the place of their destination, they were under the necessity of crossing this broad and rapid river not less than six times; the last of which they were in considerable danger of being swept away, by a sudden rise of the waters to the height of five or six feet.

A considerable variety of surface presented itself in the course of this journey, which was sometimes along the banks of the river, and at other times at a distance from it. The common mimosa was every where abundant; and some of these trees were so much loaded with the straw-built edifices

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of the gregarious grossbeak, that at a distance they appeared like so many hay-ricks. Several species of large beautiful aloes and tall *euphorbias* appeared on the heights; and great abundance of that particular species of the latter, with which it is pretended the Hottentots poison the springs of water, in order to distress their enemies; but of which the commissioners met with no instance in the course of their long journey. Several *Kora* villages were situated in the route, the inhabitants of which appeared to be every where happy and contented with their few flocks and herds and humble sheds; always cheerful and in good humour; and from the first to the last quarter of the moon never failing to pass the greater portion of the night in dancing and singing.

On the 11th February the party arrived at the place of its destination, where they found a considerable village inhabited by a mixed society, consisting of Kaffers, Hottentots, and half-casts of a variety of kinds, under a chief of the name of Kok, who was one of those people usually distinguished in the colony by the appellation of *Bastaard*, that is to say, the offspring of a connection between a colonist and a Hottentot. To every appearance this horde was abundantly rich in cattle; but they complained that they had lately suffered to a very considerable extent, from the predatory attack of a certain free-booter of the name of *Africaaner*, of whose future visits they were under great apprehension, and the more so on account of his having lately enlisted into his gang a number of vagabonds of various descriptions, who had found the means of escaping out of the hands of justice from different parts of the colony. To

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this desperate gang of robbers had recently been added a person of so extraordinary a character, that a sketch of his history may not be uninteresting. The name of this man was *Stephanos*, by birth a Pole, but of Greek extraction. From the ranks in some of the German hired regiments, in which he completed the time of his enlistment, he had procured a situation in the Cape as an assistant to a shopkeeper, where he was tempted to exercise his ingenuity in forging the paper currency of the government, the accomplishing of which required no moderate share of skill. The card, in the first instance, is stamped in Holland, is there covered with painted paper of a particular pattern, the numbers and value are filled in by a public officer at the Cape, and each card is signed by three members of the Court of Justice, every one of whom has a particular flourish at the end of his name which is well known throughout the colony; yet all this was so closely imitated by *Stephanos* as to pass current for a length of time. At last, however, the forgery was detected. *Stephanos* was tried for his life, condemned, and cast into solitary imprisonment till the day of his execution should arrive. In this deplorable situation his genius, however, did not forsake him. By the help of a rusty nail which he found in the wall, and a little deal table on which he mounted, he worked out gradually a square hole through a three-inch plank of teak wood, which with a little plaster was the only cover to the room; and through this hole he effected his escape. In order to elude the suspicion of his keeper, it was supposed that he swallowed every morning the dust of the wood which he had worked out in the course of the night, and filled up the holes

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in the plank with crumbs of bread. Having passed the limits of the colony without being detected, or at least molested, he came to the establishment of Kicherer on the *Sack* river; and having made out some plausible story of an irresistible call of grace, by which he was impelled to preach the gospel among the heathen, he was received with open arms by this worthy but credulous missionary, who, however, as appears by his own statement, had soon sufficient reason to repent of his misplaced hospitality. The Greek, it seems, conceived the horrid design of murdering his host, for the sake of his little property; and for this purpose had one night stolen into his chamber, and was approaching his bed, when the missionary, being fortunately awake and not without some suspicion of the ill intentions of his guest, instantly sprung upon him in the dark, reproached him for his ingratitude and, with true Christian fortitude and forgiveness, sent him away unhurt when, at a single word, his faithful followers would have torn him in pieces. He furnished him with meat and tobacco for the journey, a flint and steel to strike a fire, a little gunpowder, and a bible, the perusal of which he strongly recommended to his serious attention. But the good intentions of the missionary were strangely perverted by this vagabond, whose character was not less remarkable for its depravity than ingenuity. He read the bible, it would seem, but the information he obtained therein was employed for no good purpose. On his arrival among the *Koras*, he announced himself as a prophet, assuring them that he had been sent many thousand miles expressly to promote their future consolation and happiness. He built a temple under the edge of a thick

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grove of mimosas; erected an altar on which he encouraged these silly people to make their offerings selected from the best of their flocks and herds; with solemn mummery he burned part of the victim, and appropriated the rest to himself; sometimes taking the advantage of a thunder-storm, or of the overflowing of the river, he was more exorbitant in his demands, and even found it expedient to require the young damsels to be brought to the temple. He carried this religious mockery still farther. At a little distance behind the wood there was a mountain of a considerable height, which this high priest of his own constituted religion regularly ascended every morning quite alone, on the summit of which he was generally seen wrapped in a volume of smoke, occasioned by his setting fire to the dry grass, or making a blaze with gunpowder. He ascended this mountain, as he pretended to the ignorant Hottentots, in order to receive his instructions from heaven; but the real fact was that, independent of the view he had of imposing on the simple *Koras*, he marched to the summit of this hill, commanding an extensive view over the plains to the southward, to ascertain whether the officers of justice were in pursuit of him, an event of which the appearance of waggons at a distance would have given him timely notice to effect his escape.

These impious proceedings being at length communicated to the missionaries of the gospel, they resolved, if possible, to seize the culprit, and to deliver him into the hands of justice; but this sly impostor being apprized of their design, abandoned his temple and his flock, and fled towards the western

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coast of the continent, where, on the confines of the colony, he was recognized by a Dutch boor and taken prisoner; to whom, indeed, he pretended to surrender himself, as being desirous to give himself up at the Cape. The boor allowed him to sleep in his own waggon, whose kindness he one night repaid by cutting the throat of his host with a razor, and stole away to the lower part of the Orange river, where he joined the noted marauder *Africaaner*.

Thus in all probability, had not the zeal and the exertions of the missionaries defeated his purpose, would this impious wretch have succeeded in establishing a new and motley religion, partly Hebrew and partly Greek, at the head of which, as the *pater Deorum*, the name of *Stephanos* might in after ages have been rendered eminent among the ignorant Hottentots: and to what learned speculations on the origin of this society might not the future discovery of so heterogeneous a mixture of religions have given rise? Such is the danger of being led astray, to which the unthinking multitude of all nations is exposed, if once they forsake the customs and opinions of their forefathers, and commit themselves to the impostures of artful and designing men.

At Kok's kraal the complaints and the execrations were so general against the two robbers, that the commissioners were induced to afford this society whatever assistance they were able to give in conducting an expedition against such notorious offenders, with a view, if possible, to get hold of them either dead or alive. Mr. Somerville and Mr. Daniell ac-

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companied this armed party for a short distance down the river, but returned at the end of three days. Two days after this the armed party of Hottentots and Bastaards also returned, with the booty of a few oxen, cows, and sheep; but the two robbers with their gang had escaped into the woods. Among other things they brought back with them a quantity of red copper balls, found among the ammunition of the enemy, which he had been under the necessity of leaving behind.

Having remained at this spot a whole month, and collected what few cattle the inhabitants had to spare without distressing their families, the commissioners began to prepare for their return to the Cape; and as, from their present position on the river, the nearest route appeared to be that through the *Namaaqua* country, they engaged two Bosjesmans to proceed in that direction over the Karroo plains, who, having ascertained whether it was practicable to undertake the journey by that route with their numerous cattle, were directed to return and report for their information. After some days these people returned, bringing back the unpleasant intelligence that all the springs and rivers were completely dried up; that they had themselves nearly perished for want of water; and that it was utterly impracticable for man alone, much more so for cattle, to proceed over the plains that intervened between their present situation and the western coast. They were, therefore, reduced to the necessity of measuring back the road to the spot where they had first crossed the Orange river, in order to get into the old track of the waggons.

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And having satisfied the whole horde, the *Koras*, the Bastaards, and the Bosjesmans, who had so willingly and so essentially assisted them on all occasions, they took their leave on the 11th March, returning up the river and crossing it occasionally at the same places as in their journey downwards. Nothing particular occurred till the 19th, when they encountered a swarm of locusts so immensely great that, on all sides as far as the eye could reach, the whole surface of the ground, the trees, the bushes, and the smaller plants were entirely covered with them. Numbers of Bosjesmen were observed to be busily employed in collecting these insects, which, after being dried in the sun, serve them for food when other resources fail them.

In various parts of the Orange river they had met with the huge hippopotamus, but had not hitherto been fortunate enough to kill one of these creatures. The two secretaries Daniell and Borcherds, determined on having at least a fair chance, left the waggons and proceeded along the banks of the river at an early hour in the morning, taking with them a Hottentot and a pack or saddle ox. Towards the close of the day they thought of striking off from the river, in order to fall in with the waggons; but the weather suddenly became so bad, the wind blew so violently, the rain descended in such torrents, and the thunder and the lightning were so severe, that they found it utterly impossible to proceed. The night was excessively dark, and they were on the midst of a barren plain, without a bush or even a rock to afford them the smallest degree of shelter. To those who have never experienced a thunder-storm on the deserts of Africa it is impossible to con-

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vey a just idea of its awful and terrific appearances. On this uniform surface of perpetual sterility, on which nor tree nor bush nor building nor any prominent point rises above the dreary level to catch and conduct silently into the earth the electric fluid, the flashes of lightning dart from cloud to cloud in constant succession, filling the whole horizon with a blaze of vivid fire, whilst the thunder, not deep but constant, hisses and rattles without intermission. At the Cape of Good Hope it is just the reverse. There lightning is rarely seen and thunder scarcely heard; the lofty and nearly perpendicular mass of rock, the Table mountain, carries off the electric shock silently and almost imperceptibly to those who dwell on the plain at the foot of its base. After this stormy and comfortless night passed on the naked earth, wet, hungry, and dejected, the two travellers fell in with a small horde of Bosjesmans feasting on locusts, which they broiled in a square hole made in the ground, heated with hot ashes of wood. They were not, however, sufficiently hungry to be induced to partake of the repast, and these poor creatures had nothing in the world besides to offer them. They therefore proceeded on their march. The Hottentot who attended them had departed in the night, in order to find out the waggons. Having travelled the whole day, weary and fatigued and fainting with hunger, they at night again laid down on the bare clayey surface, without the least shelter, exposed to heavy and incessant rain. In the morning, being the third day in which they had not tasted food, the gnawing pains of hunger became so severe that they bethought themselves of killing the beast of burden for their support. Their muskets, however, would not give fire, nor could they draw them on account of

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the wetness of the powder. They had no other instrument but a small penknife which, though useless to them, would have been quite sufficient for the purpose had the Hottentot been present, as these natives are well acquainted with the palsied state into which an animal falls by having the spinal marrow pierced with a pointed instrument. The two secretaries happened, however, to be ignorant of this operation; and the delay occasioned by suggestions as to the best mode of accomplishing their point led to many grievous and melancholy reflections: as the torment that must necessarily ensue to the poor animal which had so frequently carried them and their baggage;—the inefficacy of the expedient, as they were unable to carry much of the flesh with them;—and the great danger of their remaining near a dead carcase on a desert abounding with wild beasts as hungry as themselves. They therefore determined to give up the attempt; and tying their handkerchiefs tight round the belly, after the manner of the Hottentots, in order to allay in some degree the gnawing pain of hunger, they wandered hopeless and disconsolate over a wide and desolate plain, surrounded on all sides by dreary solitude and cheerless sterility, without a trace to guide their steps, or distant point to direct their course. While thus they were silently and slowly marching along entirely at random, young Borcherds fancied he heard a distant noise produced by the cracking of a whip. They directed their steps towards the quarter from whence he supposed it to proceed; and having travelled about a mile, they both distinctly heard a second crack. It was in fact a signal made by their companions, who fortunately had remained stationary the whole

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of this day in the greatest anxiety at the long absence of their fellow travellers. By degrees they recovered the effects of fasting and fatigue; but it required some caution in regulating the appetite, after not having tasted food for three days and two nights.

It was observed that had the Hottentot not forsaken them they would easily have succeeded even with so small an instrument as a penknife, these people being well acquainted with the mode of slaughtering cattle by what is technically called *pithing*. This mode is indeed in universal use among the Dutch in the colony, which they pretend to say was first received from the Hottentots; but as the practice is common on the continent of Europe, it is more probable the first settlers carried it with them to the Cape. The circumstance, however, to which they ascribe its origin is sufficiently plausible. A buffalo having rushed upon a Hottentot and fixed him between his horns against a large tree, the man in the midst of his terror, and unconscious of what he did, struck the animal a violent blow directly between the horns with an iron hassagai or spear which he happened to have in his hand; when, to his equal joy and amazement, the huge beast dropped instantaneously on its knees, completely paralysed. And it is remarkable enough that the tool made use of in the Cape for *pithing* cattle is precisely of the same shape and size as the iron part of a hassagai.

As the most expeditious and least painful method of taking away the life of animals destined for the food of man is a subject on which humanity is very intimately concerned, and

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as an opinion said to be founded on facts is circulated in many parts of England, that a pointed instrument thrust into the spinal marrow at the nape of the neck produces instantaneous death, it may not be amiss to mention here the substance of a report of several experiments made at the slaughtering-house at Deptford, under the direction of the Victualling Board, in consequence of an application to that effect from the Bishop of Durham to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

In this report the chief clerk of the cutting-house states that, having requested the attendance of Mr. Mellish, his foreman, and a gentleman of the faculty, "on the knife being thrust "into the spine up to the hilt, it was evident the creature "suffered very considerably; and so far from its producing "instant death, on the contrary, it continued alive and apparently in great pain. Two out of ten thus treated were, "after their throats were cut, not less than ten minutes in "dying; and all of them, it was evident, retained their "senses, sight, breathing, and feeling to the last: two "groaned most piteously, from which and their violent "plunging it was but too obvious to what degree the animals "suffered. The people usually employed in slaughtering "oxen were so distressed that they could not help exclaiming, "*This is butchering indeed! This is downright murder!* For "the purpose of making a comparison between this and our "present practice, three beasts were slaughtered in the usual "way. The first fell with a single blow, the second with "two, and the third with one only: in all the breathing in-

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" stantly ceased, the eyes became fixed, and the animals " appeared to be perfectly devoid of sensibility. In oxen " that are knocked down the blood flows with great rapidity, " and in a few seconds is totally discharged; the reverse of " which appears to be the case in *pithing*, owing, perhaps, " to the convulsive contraction of the whole muscular sys- " tem." After some other experiments of driving an iron punch into the brain, the reporter observes, " that the general " mode of slaughtering cattle, for any thing that has yet " appeared to the contrary, is decidedly the most expe- " ditious and the most merciful of any that is known or " practised."

As, however, the practice of *pithing* has very generally been supposed to be employed both in this and other countries, so as to be less painful to the animal and less injurious in its consequences, the Lords of the Admiralty conceiving that the experiment made at Deptford might have failed from some mismanagement in the mode of operation, thought proper to direct that, after obtaining the best information on the subject, the experiment should be repeated. Accordingly the Chairman of the Victualling Office with two Commissioners, and the first Commmissioner of the Sick and Wounded Department, proceeded to the premises of Mr. Mellish, and there witnessed the killing of four oxen: two of them after the ordinary mode of knocking down with a pole-axe; and the other two after the new method of *pithing*, by the means of an iron instrument thrust into the spinal marrow at the nape of the neck. These gentlemen report " that the different operations of *pithing*

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" and knocking down appeared to be dextrously performed;
" and that in both instances the throats of the oxen were
" instantly cut, to the end that the blood might be properly
" discharged. The oxen which were *pithed* fell upon their
" knees the moment the knife was thrust into them, but
" from their violent struggles and convulsive contortions they
" seemed to experience excruciating torture: their eyes re-
" mained in an animated and susceptible state; their breath-
" ing was retained; and they continued apparently in great
" agony for upwards of ten minutes before they expired:
" whereas the oxen which were slaughtered in the ordinary
" practice of knocking down fell at the first stroke of the axe
" upon their foreheads; and the moment they were down,
" they were struck two or three more blows on the same part
" of the head with the same instrument, when their eyes
" immediately became fixed, they appeared insensible of
" further pain, and in the space of three minutes from the
" time of their being first struck all animation was com-
" pletely extinct. So far, therefore, as this experiment ex-
" tended it appeared evident that the common method of
" knocking down was preferable to the new mode of *pithing*,
" not only as it was more merciful to the animal, but because
" the blood flowed more freely from the throats of the oxen,
" and the flesh was thereby rendered in a better state."

The above experiments so ably conducted, and reported without prejudice or partiality, must set the question for ever at rest; and it is to be hoped, therefore, that while Britons have firmness of nerve to face an ox, and strength of muscle

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to grasp the pole-axe, a method will not be resorted to whose only recommendation is that of reducing an animal by intense pain into a helpless condition, for the greater convenience of taking away its life which, in fact, is all they pretend to accomplish by this method at the Cape of Good Hope; for though all slaughtered oxen there are brought to the ground by dividing the spinal marrow, yet none are killed by it.

The party having travelled sixteen days along the river, sometimes close to its bank, and at other times several miles distant from it, over a rough and almost impassable country, on the 27th they struck off to the southward, and on the 29th fell into their old track at the *Komatoo* spring, situated on the edge of the great Karroo which extends from hence to the skirts of the Roggeveld. On these desert plains few supplies of provisions are to be expected, not even of the most common and plentiful sort of game peculiar to Southern Africa; and a few straggling Bosjesmans which may chance to be crossing it, roving about in quest of food, are the only human creatures likely to be met with. About half a dozen of these wretches were seen in the whole journey, from two of whom the party received a very seasonable supply of delicious honey in exchange for some tobacco. It was contained in a bag made of the skin of a small antelope.

Little that is worthy of remark occurred on these dreary plains of Africa where, to use the words of Dr. Johnson, "the "night and the day are equally solitary and equally safe." The

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time employed in crossing them was thirteen days, at the end of which, on the 12th April, they arrived within the confines of the colony, not sorry to have brought so near to a conclusion a long and fatiguing journey, the novelty of which must necessarily have been purchased at the expence of much of the ordinary comforts and conveniencies of life. "We praised God," says Mr. Truter, "for his gracious "assistance and protection through our long and dangerous "journey over deserts wide and unfrequented, rivers deep "and rapid, into the midst of a strange nation inhabiting a "region hitherto unexplored."

END OF THE JOURNEY.

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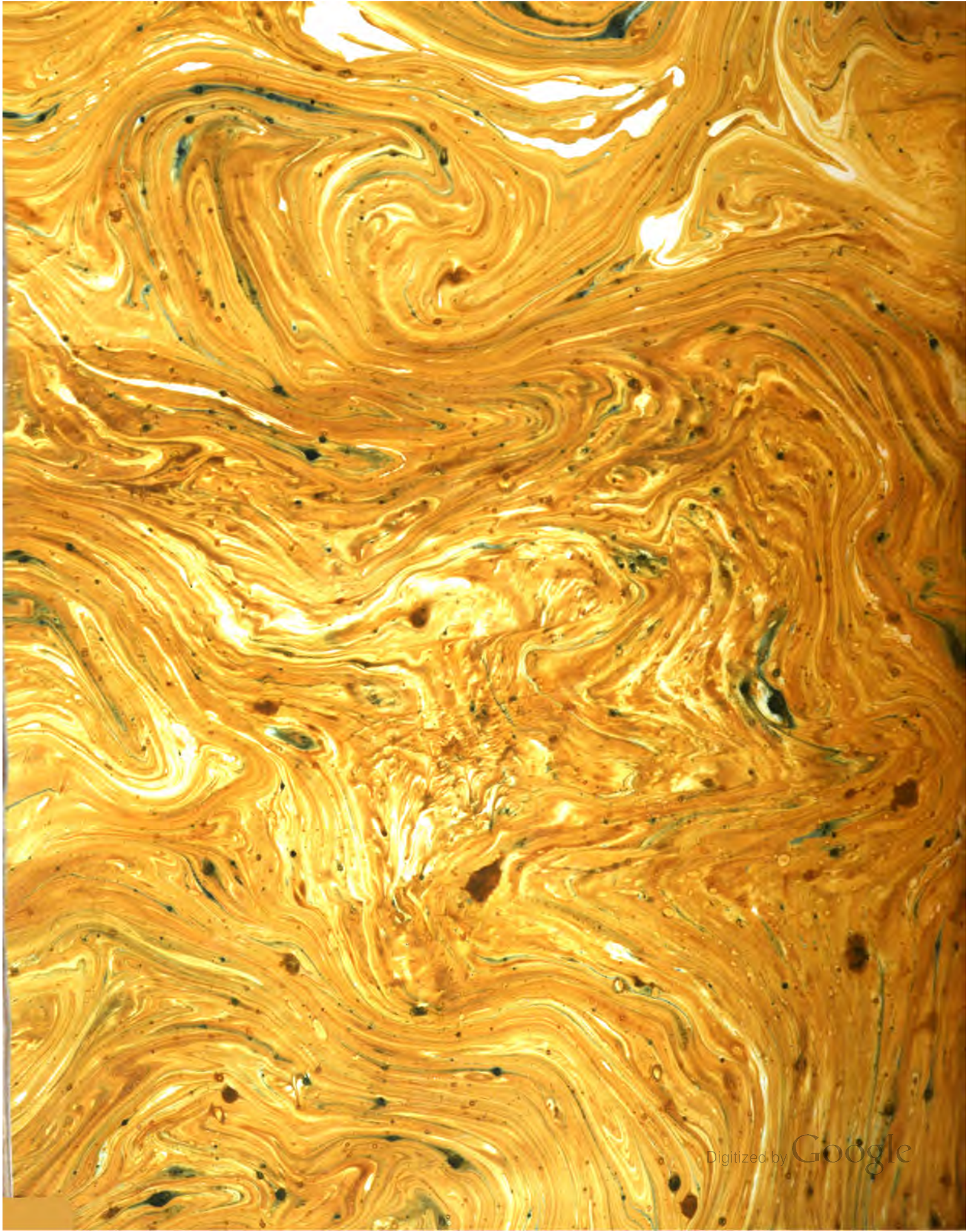
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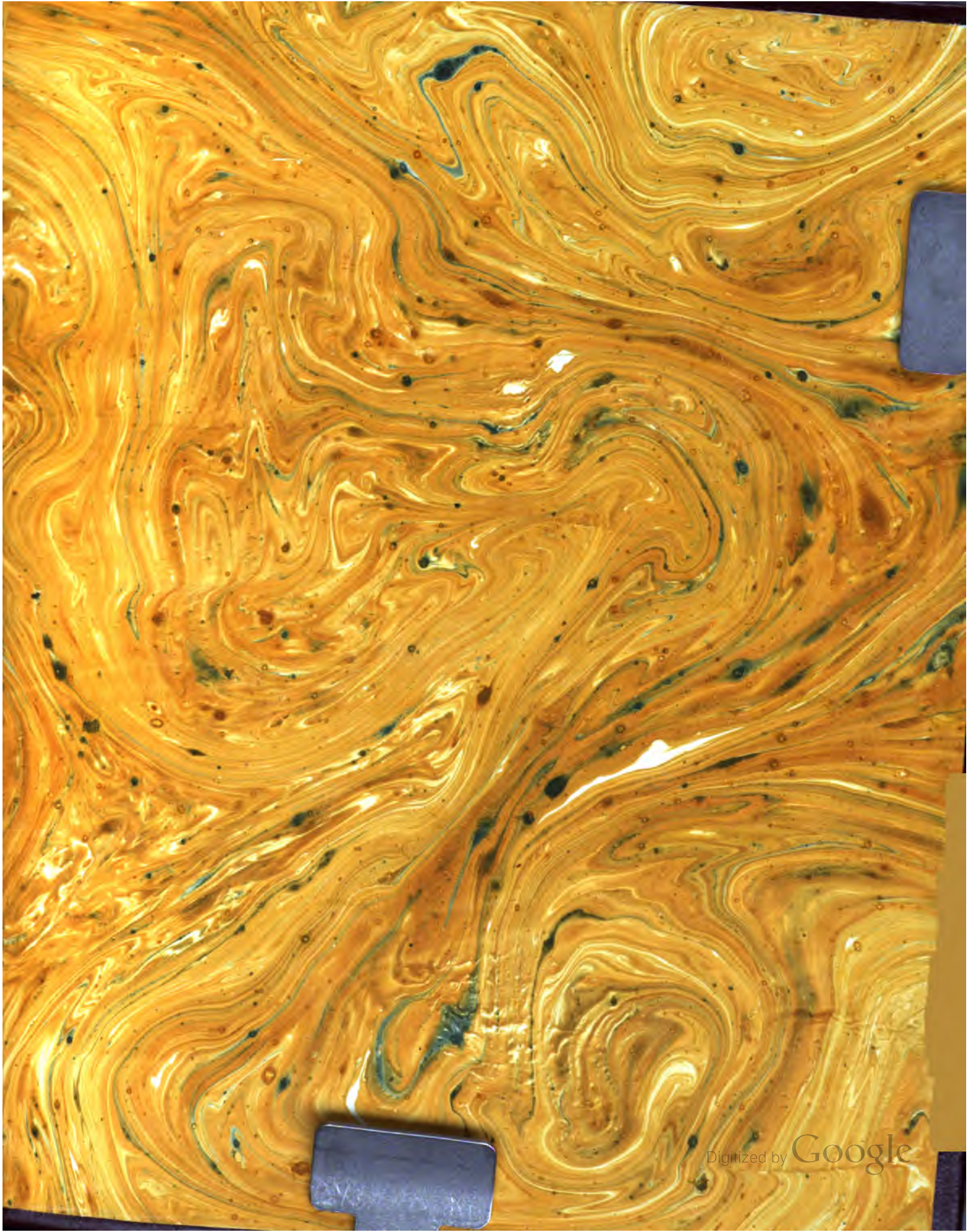
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