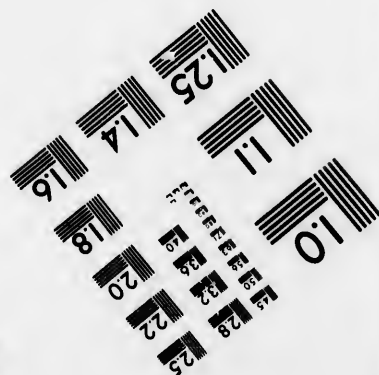
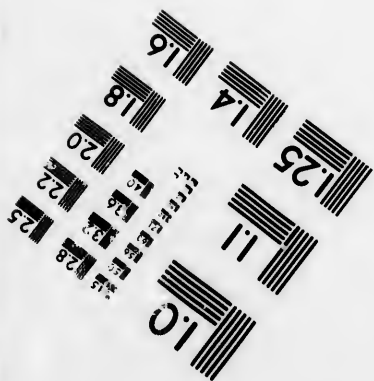
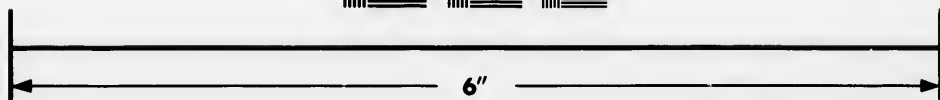
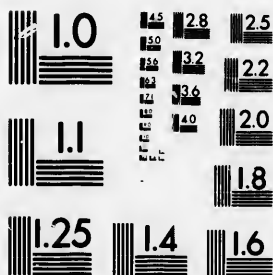


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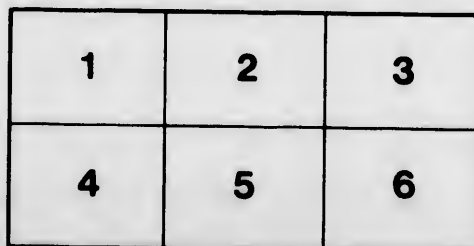
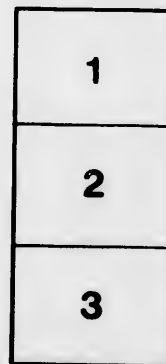
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TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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VOL. III.

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A  
COLLECTION  
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VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,  
FROM THE  
*DISCOVERY OF AMERICA*  
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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CONTINUATION OF MR. BRUCE'S TRAVELS.

**MR. BRUCE**, finding that things had come to a crisis at Sennaar, determined to leave it immediately, and visit Adelan, who had removed with his troops to some distance. But, being without money, he applied to Hagi Belal for assistance, shewing him the letter of the English broker at Jidda, and requesting him to advance 2,000 sequins. But this fellow, counterfeiting surprize, pretended he had not above 20 dollars. However, being intimidated by the threats of an officer of the court, who had conceived a friendship for Mr. Bruce, he advanced 50 sequins; and our traveller was compelled to abandon his gold chain. In the evening, the king sent for Mr. Bruce, and requested him to endeavour to procure Mahomet's pardon, the wretch that had attempted to assassinate him. This he promised, and was dismissed. He immediately got his camels ready and departed from Sennaar, as if to visit Adelan; but having sent a letter to this powerful

VOL. III.

A

chief, he travelled northward, in order to fly from this inhospitable kingdom as quickly as possible.

After travelling 10 days, with great diligence, he arrived at Herbagi, the seat of Wed Ageeb, a hereditary prince of the Arabs, but subject to Sennaar. He spoke contemptuously of the king, but informed Mr. Bruce, that a servant of Adelan had arrived with a letter and messages on his account. He also sent one of his people to protect him from the neighbouring Arabs, and gave him a letter to Sittira, his sister, who governed Chendi.

On the third day after leaving this place, our traveller and his party crossed the Nile; and, having travelled 12 days, mostly through woods and deserts, he reached Chendi, a village containing 250 houses. After resting a few day, he waited upon the princess, Sittina. 'She received me,' says he, 'behind a screen, so that it was impossible either to see her figure, or face; I observed, however, that there were apertures so managed in the screen that she had a perfect view of me. She expressed herself with great politeness, talked much upon the terms in which Adelan was with the king, and wondered exceedingly how a white man, like me, should venture so far in such an ill-governed country. "Allow me, madam," said I, "to complain of a breach of hospitality in you, which no Arab has been yet guilty of towards me." "Me!" said she, "that would be strange, indeed, to a man that bears my brother's letter. How can that be?" "Why, you tell me, madam, that I am a white man, by which I know that you see me, without giving me the like advantage. The queens of Sennaar did not use me so hardly; I had a full sight of them without having used any importunity." On this she broke out into a great fit of laughter; then fell into a conversation about medicines to make her hair grow, or rather to hinder it from falling off. She desired me to come to her the next day; that her son, Idris, would be then at home from the *howat* (the farm where he kept the flocks belonging to himself), and that he very much wished to see me. She that day sent us plenty of provisions from her own table.

‘ On the 13th of October, it was so excessively hot that it was impossible to suffer the burning sun. The poisonous simoon blew likewise as if it came from an oven. Our eyes were dim, our lips cracked, our knees tottering, our throats perfectly dry, and no relief was found from drinking an immoderate quantity of water. The people advised me to dip a sponge in vinegar and water, and hold it before my mouth and nose, and this greatly relieved me. In the evening I went to Sittina. Upon entering the house, a black slave laid hold of me by the hand, and placed me in a passage, at the end of which were two opposite doors. I did not well know the reason of this; but had staid only a few minutes when I heard one of the doors at the end of the passage open, and Sittina appeared magnificently dressed, with a kind of round cap of solid gold upon the crown of her head, all beat very thin, and hung round with sequins; with a variety of gold chains, solitaires, and necklaces of the same metal, about her neck. Her hair was plaited in 10 or 12 small divisions like tails, which hung down below her waist, and over her was thrown a common cotton white garment. She had a purple silk stole, or scarf, hung very gracefully upon her back, brought again round her waist, without covering her shoulders or arms. Upon her wrists she had two bracelets, like handcuffs, about half an inch thick, and two gold manacles of the same at her feet, fully an inch in diameter, the most disagreeable and awkward part of all her dress. I expected she would have hurried through with some affectation of surprize. On the contrary, she stopt in the middle of the passage, saying, in a very grave manner, “*Kif halec?*” (how are you?)—I thought this was an opportunity of kissing her hand, which I did, without her shewing any sort of reluctance. “Allow me as a physician,” said I, “madam, to say one word.” She bowed with her head, and said; “Go in at that door, and I will hear you.” The slave appeared, and carried me through a door at the bottom of the passage into a room, while her mistress vanished in at another door at the top, and there was the screen I had seen the day before, and the lady sitting behind it.



'She was a woman scarcely forty, taller than the middle size, had a very round, plump face, her mouth rather large, very red lips, the finest teeth and eyes I have seen, but at the top of her nose, and between her eye-brows, she had a small speck made of cohol, or antimony, four-cornered, and of the size of the smallest patches our women used to wear; another rather longer upon the top of her nose, and one on the middle of her chin.

'*Sittina*. "Tell me what you would say to me as a physician." *Yag*. "It was, madam, but in consequence of your discourse yesterday. That heavy gold cap, with which you press your hair, will certainly be the cause of a great part of it falling off." *Sitt*. "I believe so; but I should catch cold, I am so accustomed to it, if I was to leave it off. Are you a man of name and family in your own country?" *Yag*. "Of both, madam." *Sitt*. "Are the women handsome there?" *Yag*. "The handsomest in the world, madam; but they are so good, and so excellent in all other respects, that nobody thinks at all of their beauty, nor do they value themselves upon it." *Sitt*. "And do they allow you to kiss their hands?" *Yag*. "I understand you, madam, though you have mistaken me. There is no familiarity in kissing hands; it is a mark of homage and distant respect paid in my country to our sovereigns, and to none earthly besides." *Sitt*. "O yes, but the kings." *Yag*. "Yes, and the queens, too, always on the knee, madam; I said our sovereigns, meaning both king and queen.—On her part it is a mark of gracious condescension, in favour of rank, merit, and honourable behaviour; it is a reward for dangerous and difficult services, above all other compensation." *Sitt*. "But do you know that no man ever kissed my hand but you?" *Yag*. "It is impossible I should know that, nor is it material. Of this I am confident, it was meant respectfully, cannot hurt you, and ought not to offend you." *Sitt*. "It certainly has done neither, but I wish very much Idris, my son, would come and see you, as it is on his account I dressed myself to day." *Yag*. "I hope, madam, when I do see him, he will think of some way of for-

warding me safely to Barbar, in my way to Egypt." *Sitt*. "Safely! God forgive you! you are throwing yourself away wantonly. Idris himself, king of this country, dares not undertake such a journey. But why did not you go along with Mahomet Towash? He set out only a few days ago for Cairo, the same way you are going, and has, I believe, taken all the *hybeers* (guides) with him. But, while you stay, let me see you every day, and, if you want any thing, send by a servant of mine. It is a tax, I know, improperly laid upon a man like you, to ask for every necessary; but Idris will be here, and he will provide you better."

One day, sitting in my tent, musing upon the very unpromising aspect of my affairs, an Arab of very ordinary appearance, naked, with only a cotton cloth around his middle, came up to me, and offered to conduct me to Barbar, and thence to Egypt. He said his house was at Daroo on the side of the Nile, about twenty miles beyond Syene, or Assouan, nearer Cairo. I asked him why he had not gone with Mahomet Towash? He said, he did not like the company, and was very much mistaken if the journey ended well. Upon pressing him further if this was really the only reason; he then told me, that he had been sick for some months at Chendi, contracted debt, and had been obliged to pawn his clothes, and that his camel was detained for what still remained unpaid. After much conversation, repeated several days, I found that Idris (for that was his name) was a man of some substance in his own country, and had a daughter married to the *schourbatchie* at Assouan. He said that this was his last journey, for he never would cross the desert again. A bargain was now soon made. I redeemed his camel and cloak; he was to shew me the way to Egypt, and he was there to be recompensed according to his behaviour.

I prepared now to leave Chendi, but first returned my benefactress, *Sittina*, thanks for all her favours. She had called for Idris, and given him very positive instructions, mixed with threats, if he misbehaved; and hearing what I had done for him, she too gave him an ounce of gold, and said, at parting, that, for knowledge of the road through the desert,

she believed Idris to be as perfect as any body; but, in case we met with the Bishareen they would neither shew to him nor to me any mercy. She gave me, however, a letter to Mahomet Abou Bertran, shekh of one of the tribes of Bishareen, on the Tacazze, near the Magiran, which she made her son write from the howat, it not being usual, she said, for her to write herself. I begged I might be again allowed to testify my gratitude by kissing her hand, which she condescended to in the most gracious manner, laughing all the time, and saying, "Well, you are an odd man! if Idris, my son, saw me just now, he would think me mad."

On the 20th of October, Mr. Bruce left Chendi. He was still above 900 miles from the entrance into Egypt. Next day he saw a large island in the Nile, opposite to which are extensive ruins, and this, he conjectured, might be the ancient city of Mercè. On the 26th, he and his party committed themselves to the desert: they were nine in number, eight only of whom were effective, and were well armed. Five or six naked wretches joined them at the watering place. Here they parted from the Nile, doubting if ever they would see it again.

Having travelled three days in the desert, they were surprized and terrified by a sight, surely one of the most magnificent in the world. 'In that vast expanse of desert, from W. and to N. W. of us,' says Mr. Bruce, 'we saw a number of prodigious pillars of sand at different distances, at times moving with great celerity, at others stalking on with a majestic slowness; at intervals we thought they were coming in a very few minutes to overwhelm us; and small quantities of sand did actually more than once reach us. Again they would retreat so as to be almost out of sight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often separated from the bodies; and these, once disjoined, dispersed in the air, and did not appear more. Sometimes they were broken near the middle, as if struck with a large cannon shot. About noon they began to advance with considerable swiftness upon us, the wind being very strong at north. Eleven of them ranged alongside of us about the distance of three miles. The great-

est diameter of the largest appeared to me at that distance as if it would measure 10 feet. They retired from us with a wind at S. E. leaving an impression upon my mind to which I can give no name, though surely one ingredient in it was fear, with a considerable deal of wonder and astonishment. It was in vain to think of flying; the swiftest horse, or fastest sailing ship, could be of no use to carry us out of this danger, and the full persuasion of this rivetted me as if to the spot where I stood, and let the camels gain on me so much in my state of lameness, that it was with some difficulty I could overtake them.

‘The effect this stupendous sight had upon Idris was to set him to his prayers, or indeed rather to his charms; for besides the names of God and Mahomet, all the rest of the words were mere gibberish and nonsense. This created a violent altercation between him and Ismael, the Turk, who abused him for not praying in the words of the Koran, maintaining, with apparent great wisdom at the same time, that nobody had charms to stop these moving sands but the inhabitants of Arabia Deserta.

‘We went very slowly to-day, our feet being sore and greatly swelled. The whole of our company were much disheartened, (except Idris) and imagined that they were advancing into whirlwinds of moving sand, from which they should never be able to extricate themselves; but before four o’clock in the afternoon these phantoms of the plain had all of them fallen to the ground and disappeared. In the evening we came to Waadi Dimokea, where we passed the night, much disheartened, and our fear more increased, when we found, upon awaking in the morning, that one side was perfectly buried in the sand that the wind had blown above us in the night. From this day, subordination, though not entirely ceased, was fast on the decline; all was discontent, murmuring, and fear. Our water was greatly diminished, and that terrible death by thirst began to stare us in the face.

‘Two days after this, the same appearance of moving pillars of sand presented themselves, only they seemed to be more in number, and less in size. They came several times in a di-

rection close upon us; that is, I believe, within less than two miles. They began, immediately after sun-rise, like a thick wood, and almost darkened the sun: his rays shining through them for near an hour, gave them an appearance of pillars of fire. Our people now became desperate: the Greeks shrieked out, and said it was the day of judgment. Ismael pronounced it to be hell, and the Tucorories, (the name of the people that joined us) that the world was on fire. I asked Idris if ever he had before seen such a sight? He said he had often seen them as terrible, though never worse; but what he feared most was that extreme redness in the air, which was a sure presage of the coming of the simoon. I begged and entreated Idris that he would not say one word of that in the hearing of the people.

On the following day, continues our adventurer, 'while we contemplated with great pleasure the rugged top of Chiggre, to which we were fast approaching, and where we were to solace ourselves with plenty of good water, Idris cried out, with a loud voice, "Fall upon your faces, for here is the simoon!" I saw from the S. E. a haze come, in colour like the purple part of the rainbow, but not so compressed or thick. It did not occupy 20 yards in breadth, and was about 12 feet high from the ground. It was a kind of blush upon the air, and it moved very rapidly, for I scarce could turn to fall upon the ground with my head to the northward, when I felt the heat of its current plainly upon my face. We all lay flat on the ground, as if dead, till Idris told us it was blown over. The meteor, or purple haze, which I saw, was indeed passed, but the light air that still blew was of such heat as to threaten suffocation. For my part, I found distinctly in my breast that I had imbibed a part of it, nor was I free of an asthmatic sensation till I had been some months in Italy, at the baths of Poretta, near two years afterwards.

'An universal despondency had taken possession of our people. They ceased to speak to one another, and when they did, it was in whispers, by which I easily guessed their discourse was not favourable to me, or else that they were increasing each others' fears, by vain suggestions calculated to sink

each others' spirits still further, but from which no earthly good could possibly result. I called them together, and both reprimanded and exhorted them in the strongest manner I could; I bade them to attend to me, who had nearly lost my voice by the simoon, and desired them to look at my face, so swelled as scarcely to permit me to see; my neck covered with blisters, my feet swelled and inflamed, and bleeding with many wounds. In answer to the lamentation that the water was exhausted, and that we were upon the point of dying with thirst, I ordered each man a gourd full of water more than he had the preceding day, and shewed them, at no great distance, the bare, black, and sharp point of the rock Chiggre, wherein was the well at which we were again to fill our girbas, and thereby banish the fear of dying with thirst in the desert. I believe I never was at any time more eloquent, and never had eloquence a more sudden effect. They all protested and declared their concern chiefly arose from the situation they saw me in; that they feared not death or hardship, provided I would submit a little to their direction in taking a proper care of myself. They entreated me to use one of the camels, and throw off the load that it carried, that it would ease me of the wounds in my feet, by riding at least part of the day. This I positively refused to do, but recommended to them to be strong of heart, and to spare the camels for the last resource, if any should be taken ill and unable to walk any longer.

'This phænomenon of the simoon, unexpected by us, though foreseen by Idris, caused us all to relapse into our former despondency. It still continued to blow, so as to exhaust us entirely, though the blast was so weak as scarcely would have raised a leaf from the ground. At twenty minutes before five the simoon ceased, and a comfortable and cooling breeze came by starts from the north, blowing five or six minutes at a time, and then falling calm. We were now come to the Acaba, the ascent before we arrived at Chiggre, where we intended to have stopt that night.'

Here they found the water very foul, and two of the Arabs died on their arrival. On proceeding on their route they were

exposed to great hardships, and an attempt was made one night to steal their camels, which, had it succeeded, death would inevitably have been their fate. The poisonous wind, and pillars of moving sand, continued to menace destruction. One of the Arabs was seized with frenzy or madness, and was necessarily left in the desert; and the whole party was much disheartened, from seeing the bodies of several men, whom the Arabs had murdered, lying on the sand. Mr. Bruce also could scarcely walk, his feet being swelled, and full of wounds and sores; but his distress was completed when the camels became exhausted, and in the morning could not be raised upon their legs. 'This,' says he, 'the Arabs all declared to be the effects of cold; and yet Fahrenheit's thermometer, an hour before day, stood at 42 deg. Every way we turned ourselves death now stared us in the face. We had neither time nor strength to waste, nor provisions to support us. We then took the small skins that had contained our water, and filled them as far as we thought a man could carry them with ease; but, after all these shifts, there was not enough to serve us three days, at which I had estimated our journey to Syene, which still however was uncertain. Finding, therefore, the camels would not rise, we killed two of them, and took as much flesh as might serve for the deficiency of bread, and, from the stomach of each of the camels, got about four gallons of water, which the Bishareen Arab managed with great dexterity. It is known to people conversant with natural history, that the camel has within him reservoirs in which he can preserve drink for any number of days he is used to. In those caravans of long course, which come from the Nigre across the desert of Selima, it is said that each camel, by drinking, lays in a store of water that will support him for 40 days. I will by no means be a voucher of this account, which carries with it an air of exaggeration; but 14 or 16 days, it is well known, an ordinary camel will live, though he hath no fresh supply of water. When he chews the cud, or when he eats, you constantly see him throw, from this repository, mouthfuls of water to dilute his food; and nature has contrived this vessel



with such properties, that the water within it never putrifies, nor turns unwholesome. It was indeed vapid, and of a bluish cast, but had neither taste nor smell.

‘The small remains of our miserable stock of black bread and dirty water, the only support we had hitherto lived on amidst the burning sands, and our spirits likewise were exhausted by an uncertainty of our journey’s end. We were surrounded amidst those terrible and unusual phenomena of nature which Providence, in mercy to the weakness of his creatures, has concealed far from their sight, in deserts almost inaccessible to them. Nothing but death was before our eyes; and, in these dreadful moments of pain, suffering, and despair, honour, instead of relieving me, suggested still what was to be an augmentation to my misfortune; the feeling this produced fell directly upon me alone, and every other individual of the company was unconscious of it.’

It was indeed a mortifying circumstance to abandon all his instruments, drawings, and writings, relative to an enterprize which, for upwards of 2,000 years, had been considered as desperate and impracticable. This, however, he was obliged to submit to, and proceed on his painful journey with a heavy heart. Next morning, while sitting still, with his hands on his eyes, he distinctly heard the noise of waters, which he was satisfied was the cataract of the Nile. This joyful news was received by his companions with a cry of joy; and, next morning at 10 o’clock, after being three weeks in the desert, the whole party arrived at Syene, the frontier town of Egypt, where they were kindly received by the aga; and, after being refreshed for a few days, Mr. Bruce returned to the desert, and happily found his baggage untouched.

Thus ended one of the boldest and most interesting expeditions ever undertaken in any age or country. Yet, after the return of this spirited and intelligent traveller, many of his ungrateful countrymen, sitting snug in their closets, questioned the veracity of his narration, and caused him much vexation: but late travellers have done justice to his memory; and the truth of all the most material parts of his adventures has been confirmed beyond dispute.



TRAVELS  
IN THE  
INTERIOR OF AFRICA,  
BY  
MUNGO PARK.

THE travels now before us have justly attracted the notice of the public, and acquired no small degree of celebrity. The indefatigable pains which this traveller has taken to explore the interior part of Africa, and the success with which his unparalleled exertions were crowned, render the narrative of his route a most invaluable addition to geographical science.

The noblemen and gentlemen associated for the purpose of prosecuting discoveries in the interior of Africa, had long endeavoured to procure a person of eminent abilities to explore that continent. Mr. Mungo Park having arrived from the East Indies, was informed of the wishes of the society, and immediately made application to be employed. He was urged to this by a singular desire of examining a country so little known, and of becoming acquainted, experimentally, with the modes of life and character of the natives. No danger incidental to such a voyage, which to other men would have appeared insuperable, could damp the energy of his mind, or deter him from his grand design of rendering the geography of Africa more familiar to Englishmen, and opening to them new sources of wealth, and new channels of commerce. The offers of Mr. Park were most politely accepted by the committee of the association; and, after an examination highly flattering to his talents, he received the most liberal encouragement for prosecuting his intended journey. The secretary of

the association (the late Henry Beaufoy, esq.) honoured him with a recommendation to Dr. Laidley, a gentleman belonging to an English factory on the banks of the river Gambia, and furnished him with a letter of credit on him for 200*l*.

The instructions conveyed to Mr. Park were, 'To pass on to the river Niger, when arrived in Africa, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be found most convenient; that he should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of that river; that he should use his utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo and Houssa; and that he should return to Europe either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route as should appear to him to be the most adviseable.' Thus furnished with every necessary instruction, Mr. Park took his passage in the brig Endeavour, captain Richard Wyatt, a small vessel trading to Gambia for bees' wax and ivory. The vessel sailed from Portsmouth May 22, 1795: on the 4th of June it was in view of the mountains over Mogadore, on the African coast; and on the 21st of the same month, after a pleasant voyage of 30 days, it anchored at Jillifree, a town on the northern bank of the river Gambia, opposite to James's island, where formerly the English had a small fort.

The kingdom of Barra, in which the town of Jillifree is situated, produces great plenty of the necessaries of life; but the chief trade of the inhabitants is in salt, which commodity they carry up the river in canoes as high as Barraconda, and bring in return Indian corn, cotton cloths, elephants' teeth, small quantities of gold dust, &c. The king of Barra is more formidable to Europeans than any other chieftain on the river; and he has established exorbitant duties, which traders of all nations are obliged to pay at entry, amounting to nearly 20*l*. on every vessel, great and small. These duties are collected by the *alcaid* or governor of Jillifree, who, on these occasions, has a numerous train of attendants, among whom are many who, by their intercourse with the English, have acquired a smattering knowledge of that language. On the 23d, the vessel sailed from Jillifree, and proceeded to Vintain, a town

situated about two miles up a creek, on the southern side of the river. This place is much resorted to by Europeans, on account of vast quantities of bees' wax, brought there for sale. The wax is collected in the woods by the Feloops, a wild and unsociable race of people. Their country, which is very extensive, abounds in rice; and the natives supply the traders on the Gambia river with that article, as well as goats and poultry on very reasonable terms. Their honey is of a very intoxicating nature, similar to mead in Great Britain. The Feloops, in their traffic, employ a factor of the Mandingo nation, who speaks a little English, and is acquainted with the trade of the river: this broker makes bargains, and receives a certain part only in payment, which he gives to his employers as the whole; the remainder, which is called the *cheating-money*, he pockets himself, as a reward for his trouble. The language of the Feloops is appropriate and peculiar, and the Europeans have no inducement to learn it.

June the 26th, Mr. Park left Vintain, and sailed up the river, which is deep and muddy; the banks frequently covered with thickets of mangrove, and the whole of the circumjacent country flat and swampy. The Gambia abounds with fish, some species of which form excellent food, but are totally unknown in Europe. Sharks are found in great abundance, as are alligators and the hippopotamus, or river-horse. The latter might with great propriety be called the sea-elephant, being of an enormous bulk, and his teeth furnishing good ivory. This animal is amphibious, with short and thick legs, and cloven hoofs; it feeds on grass and such shrubs as the banks of the river afford, seldom venturing far from the water, in which it seeks refuge on the approach of man: it is of a very timid and inoffensive disposition.

Six days after leaving Vintain the vessel reached Jonkakonda, a place of considerable trade, and the captain dispatched a messenger to Dr. Laidley, to inform him of Mr. Park's arrival. The doctor arrived at Jonkakonda next morning, and gave Mr. Park an invitation to his house. Being furnished with a horse and guide, Mr. Park set out from this place on the 5th of July, and arrived at Pisania, where he was accom-

modated with apartments in the doctor's house. Pisania is a small village in the king of Yany's dominions, established by British subjects as a factory for trade, and solely inhabited by them and their black servants. It is situated on the banks of the Gambia, 16 miles above Jonkakonda. The English gentlemen resident there consisted solely of Dr. Laidley and two gentlemen of the name of Ainsley, but the domestics formed a numerous corps; they, however, enjoyed perfect security, and were highly respected by the natives; and the greatest part of the trade, in slaves, ivory, and gold, was in their hands. Mr. Park, while domesticated at Dr. Laidley's, applied himself to learning of the Mandingo tongue, in which he was greatly assisted by his friend. To collect information of the country he was to visit, Mr. Park consulted a certain class of traders, called *slatees*. These are free black merchants of great consideration in this part of Africa, who come down from the interior countries, chiefly with enslaved negroes for use. The slatees so far from affording any information to Mr. Park, gave very contradictory accounts, and earnestly dissuaded him from prosecuting his voyage. While thus occupying himself on those important subjects, which were the ultimate objects of Mr. Park's expedition, he unfortunately contracted an illness, by imprudently exposing himself to the night-dews, in observing an eclipse of the moon, with a view to determine the longitude of the place. He was attacked with a violent fever, attended with a delirium, which confined him to the house during great part of the month of August. His recovery was very lingering, and was still further retarded by an excursion which he made, longer than usual, on a very sultry day; the fever once more returned, and he was confined three weeks longer. The soothing attention of Dr. Laidley contributed greatly to alleviate the pains of sickness; his company and conversation beguiled the tedious hours, during that gloomy season, when the rain falls in torrents, when suffocating heats oppress by day, and when, during the darkness of the night, nothing is heard but what is frightful and terrific: the croaking of frogs, the shrill cry of the jackall, and the deep howling of the hyæna; a dismal concert, interrupted only by

such tremendous thunder as cannot possibly be conceived but by those who have heard it.

On the 6th of October, the waters of the Gambia were at the greatest height, being 15 feet above the high water-mark of the tide; after which they began to subside, at first slowly, but afterwards very rapidly, sometimes sinking more than a foot in four-and-twenty hours. By the beginning of November, the river had sunk to its former level, and the tide ebbed and flowed as usual. When the river had subsided, and the atmosphere grew dry, Mr. Park began speedily to recover from his indisposition, and arranged affairs for his departure. Dr. Laidley was at this time employed in a trading voyage to Jonkakonda. Mr. Park dispatched a letter to him, soliciting him to procure the protection of the first *coffe* (caravan) that might leave Gambia for the interior country; and, in the mean time, to purchase him a horse and two asses. Soon after, the doctor returned to Pisania, informing him, when the dry season commenced a caravan would certainly depart, but could not say at what time. Mr. Park resolved to wait, that he might prosecute his journey with safety. This resolution being formed, he took leave of his hospitable friend, and prepared for his journey to Pisania.

The natives of the country bordering on the Gambia, though distributed into many distinct governments, may be divided into four great classes. The Feloops, the Jaloffs, the Foulahs, and the Mandingoes. Among all these nations, the religion of Mahomet has made, and continues to make, considerable progress; but the body of the people still maintain the blind, but inoffensive, superstition of their ancestors, and are still stiled, by the Mahometans, *caffres* or infidels.

The Feloops are of a gloomy disposition, and are supposed never to forgive an injury: they are even said to transmit their quarrels as deadly feuds to their posterity; so that a son views it as incumbent upon him to revenge his deceased father's wrongs. If a man loses his life in one of those quarrels, which continually happen at their feasts, his son endeavours to procure his father's sandals, which he wears once a year, at the anniversary of his father's death, until a fit opportunity occurs

of revenging his fate, by sacrificing the object of his resentment. This fierce and cruel temper is, notwithstanding, counterbalanced by many good qualities. They possess gratitude and affection to their benefactors, and are singular in their fidelity in every trust committed to them.

The Jaloffs are an active, powerful, and warlike people; inheriting great part of the tract which lies between the river Senegal and the Mandingo states on the Gambia: yet they differ from the Mandingoes, not only in language, but likewise in complexion and features. The noses of the Jaloffs are not so much depressed, nor the lips so protuberant as among the generality of Africans; and, although their skin is of the deepest black, they are considered by the white traders as the handsomest negroes in this part of the continent. They are divided into several independent states or kingdoms, which are frequently at war, either with their neighbours or with each other. In their manners, superstitions, and form of government, they have a great resemblance to the Mandingoes, but excel them in their manufactures. Their language is copious and significant. The Foulahs (such of them as reside near the Gambia), are chiefly of a tawny complexion, with soft silky hair, and pleasing features. They are much attached to a pastoral life, and have introduced themselves into all the kingdoms on the windward coast as herdsmen and husbandmen, paying a tribute to the sovereign of the country for the lands which they hold. The Mandingoes constitute the bulk of the inhabitants of most of the districts of the interior of Africa. Their language is universally understood, and very generally spoken. They are called Mandingoes, having originally emigrated from the interior state of Manding; but, contrary to the present constitution of their parent country, which is republican, the government in all the Mandingo states, near the Gambia, is monarchical.

The Mandingoes are of a mild, sociable, and obliging disposition. The men are commonly above the middle size, well shaped, strong, and capable of enduring great labour; the women are good-natured, sprightly, and agreeable. The dress of both sexes is comprised of cotton cloth of their own manu-

facture: that of the men is a loose frock, not unlike a surplice, with drawers which reach down half the legs; they wear sandals on their feet, and white cotton caps on their heads. The women's dress consists of two pieces of cloth, each of which is about six feet long and three broad; one of these they wrap round the waist, which, hanging down to the ankles, answers the purpose of a petticoat; the other is thrown negligently over the bosom and shoulders. The head dress of the African women is diversified in different countries.

In the construction of their dwelling-houses, the Mandingoes also conform to the general practice of the African nations on this part of the continent; contenting themselves with small and incommodious hovels. A circular mud wall, about four feet high, above which is placed a conical roof, composed of the bamboo cane, and thatched with grass, forms alike the palace of the king and the hovel of the slave. Their household furniture is equally simple: a hurdle of canes placed upon upright stakes, about two feet from the ground, upon which is spread a mat or bullock's hide, constitutes their bed; a water-jar, some earthen pots for dressing food, a few wooden bowls and calabashes, with one or two low stools, compose the rest of the furniture. The Africans practise polygamy, and to prevent matrimonial disputes, each of the ladies is accommodated with a hut to herself; and all the huts belonging to the same family are surrounded with a fence, constructed of bamboo canes, split and formed into a sort of wicker work. The whole inclosure is called a *sark*; a number of these inclosures, with passages between them, form what is called a town; but the huts are generally placed without regularity, according to the caprice of the owner; the only rule attended to, is placing the door towards the south-west, in order to admit the sea-breeze. The Mandingo master cannot deprive his slave of life, nor sell him to a stranger, without first calling a palaver on his conduct, or bringing him to a public trial. Captives taken in war, and those condemned to slavery for crimes or insolvency, have no security whatever, but may be treated and disposed of in all respects as the owner thinks proper. It sometimes happens, when no ships are on the coast,



that a humane and considerate master incorporates his purchased slaves among his servants, and their offspring becomes entitled to all the privileges of nature.

On the river Gambia, iron, from its great utility, is considered the medium of exchange. For instance, 20 leaves of tobacco were considered as a bar of tobacco, and a gallon of spirits as a bar of rum; a bar of one commodity being reckoned equal in value to a bar of another commodity; but, at present, the current value of a single bar of any kind, is fixed by the whites at two shillings sterling.

On the 2d of December, 1795, Mr. Park left the hospitable mansion of Dr. Laidley, and set off for Pisania, attended by a negro servant, named Johnson, who spoke both the English and Mandingo tongue, and a negro boy of Dr. Laidley's, named Demba, a sprightly youth, who, beside the Mandingo, was acquainted with the Serawoolli nation. He was furnished with a horse, and two asses for his interpreter and servant; his baggage was light, consisting chiefly of provisions for two days, a small assortment of beads, amber, and tobacco; a few changes of linen, an umbrella, pocket sextant, magnetic compass, thermometer, two fowling-pieces, two pair of pistols, and other small articles. A free native, named Madibou, who was travelling to the kingdom of Bambara, and two *slatees*, or slave-merchants, of the Serawoolli nation, accompanied him as far as their journey extended, as did likewise a negro named Tami, a native of Kasson, who had been blacksmith to Dr. Laidley. All these men travelled on foot, driving their asses before them. Dr. Laidley himself, and Messrs. Ainsleys, with a number of their domestics, determined to accompany him the two first days. They reached Jindey the same day, and rested at the house of a black woman, who had formerly been the *chere amie* of a white trader, named Hewet, and who was distinguished by the title of *seniora*. Mr. Park visited an adjoining village belonging to a slatee, named Jemaffoo Mamadoo, the richest of all the Gambia traders; he was so much pleased with this visit, that he presented him with a fine bullock, which was immediately killed, and part of it dressed the same evening. The negroes do not sit down to supper until



late; and while the evening repast was preparing, a Mandingo amused Mr. Park and his company, by relating the following history:---

'The inhabitants of Doomasansa were much annoyed by a lion, that came every night, and made considerable depredations among the cattle. To put a stop to the ravages of this fierce animal, a party resolved to go and hunt the lion; they proceeded in search of him, and found him concealed in a thicket, and, firing upon him, they levelled him with the ground, after springing from his place of concealment. The animal, notwithstanding, appeared so ferocious, that no one dared to attack him singly, and a conference was held on the means of securing him alive. An old man proposed the following expedient: To take the thatch from the roof of a house, and to carry the bamboo frame (the pieces of which are well secured together by thongs), and throw it over the lion. If, in approaching him, he should attempt to spring upon them, they had nothing to do but to let down the roof upon themselves, and fire at the lion through the rafters. This proposal was agreed to; the thatch was taken from the roof of a hut, and the lion-hunters, supporting the fabric, marched courageously to meet the animal; but the lion was so formidable in his appearance, that they provided for their own safety by covering themselves with the roof. Unfortunately the lion was too nimble for them; for while the roof was setting down, both the beast and his pursuers were secured in the same cage, and the lion devoured them at his leisure, to the great astonishment and mortification of the inhabitants of Doomasansa; hence nothing can enrage an inhabitant of that town so much as desiring him to catch a lion alive.'

On the 3d of December, Mr. Park took leave of Dr. Laidley and Messrs. Ainsleys, and rode slowly into the woods. In the midst of a boundless forest, while reflecting on the danger of his situation, he was stopped by a body of people, who told him he must go with them to Peckaba, to the king of Walli, or pay customs to them. Mr. Park thought it prudent to comply: and presenting them with four bars of tobacco for the king's use, he continued until he arrived at a village near

Kootacunda. December 4, he passed Kootacunda, the last town of Walli, and stopped to pay the accustomed duties; and, on December 5, reached Medina, the capital of the king of Woolli's dominions. The kingdom of Woolli is bounded by that of Walli on the west, by the Gambia on the north, by Bondou on the north-east, and on the east by the Simbani wilderness. The country is every where covered with extreme woods, and the towns are situated in the intermediate vallies. Each town is surrounded by a tract of cultivated land, the produce of which is found sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants; the chief productions are cotton, tobacco, and esculent vegetables. The inhabitants are Mandingoes, and are divided into two sects, the Mahometans, who are called *bushreecs*, and the pagans, who are called *caffres*. The pagan natives are by far the most numerous, and the government of the country is in their hands.

Travellers, on going from the Gambia to the interior, pay customs in European merchandize; on returning, they pay in iron; these taxes are paid in every town. Medina, the capital of the kingdom, is a place of considerable extent, and may contain from 800 to 1,000 houses. It is fortified in the African manner, by a surrounding high wall, built of clay, and an outward fence of pointed stakes and prickly bushes; but the walls are neglected, and the fences have essentially suffered, from the active hands of busy housewives, who pluck up the stakes for firewood. Mr. Park obtained a lodging at one of the king's relations, who apprised him of an introduction to his majesty, but warned him not to presume to *shake hands with him*. It was not usual to allow this liberty to strangers. Thus instructed, he went in the afternoon to pay his respects to the sovereign, and ask permission to pass through his territories to Bondou. The king's name was Jatta. He was the same venerable old man of whom so favourable an account was transmitted by major Houghton. He was seated upon a mat before the door of his hut; a number of men and women were arranged on each side, who were singing and clapping their hands. Mr. Park saluted him respectfully, and informed him of the purport of his visit; the king graciously replied, that

he not only gave him leave to pass through his country, but would offer up his prayers for his safety. On this, one of his attendants began to sing an Arabic song, at every pause of which the king himself, and all the people present, struck their hands against their foreheads, and exclaiming with devout and affecting solemnity, 'Amen, amen.' The king told Mr. Park he should have a guide the day following, who would conduct him out of the kingdom.

December 6, Mr. Park went to the king, to learn if the guide was ready, and found his majesty sitting upon a bullock's hide, warming himself before a large fire; his majesty entreated him to desist from continuing his expedition, telling him that major Houghton had been killed in his route, and that if Mr. Park followed in his footsteps, he probably would meet with his fate. Mr. Park thanked the king for his affectionate solicitude, but told him he was resolved to proceed through all dangers; the king shook his head, but desisted from further persuasions.

About two o'clock, the guide appeared. Mr. Park then took leave of the good old monarch, and in three hours arrived at Konjour, a small village, where he remained the night. Here he purchased a fine sheep for a few beads, and his attendants killed it with all the ceremonies prescribed by their religion; part of it was dressed for supper; after which a dispute arose between one of the Serawoollie negroes and Johnson the interpreter, about the sheep's horns. The former claiming the horns as his perquisite, for having acted the part of the butcher, and Johnson opposed this claim. Mr. Park settled the dispute by giving a horn to each of them. It appeared on enquiry that these horns were highly valued, as being easily converted into portable sheaths, or cases, for containing certain charms or amulets, called *saphies*, which the negroes constantly wear about them. These *saphies* are prayers or sentences from the koran, which the Mahometan priests write on scraps of paper and sell to the natives, who suppose them to possess extraordinary virtues. Some wear them to guard against the attack of snakes and alligators: on such an occasion the *saphie* is inclosed in a snake's or alligator's skin,

and tied round the ankle; others have recourse to them in time of war, to protect their persons from hostile attacks; but the general use of these amulets is, to prevent or cure bodily diseases, to preserve from hunger and thirst, and to conciliate the favour of superior powers. The natives of this part of Africa consider the art of writing as bordering on magic; and it is not in the doctrines of the prophet, but in the arts of magic, their confidence is placed. On the 7th, Mr. Park left Konjour, and slept at a village called Malla; and on the 8th arrived at Kolor, a considerable town, near the entrance to which was a sort of masquerade-habit, hanging upon a tree, made of the bark of trees, which he was told belonged to MUMBO JUMBO.

This is a strange bugbear, common in all the Mandingo towns, and employed by the pagan natives in keeping the women in subjection; for, as they are not restricted in the number of their wives, every one marries as many as he can conveniently maintain; and it often happens that the ladies disagree among themselves: family quarrels sometimes rise to such a height, that the voice of the husband is disregarded in the tumult. Then the interposition of MUMBO JUMBO is invoked, and is always decisive. This strange minister of justice, this sovereign arbiter of domestic strife, disguised in his masquerade attire, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his coming by loud and dismal screams in the adjacent woods. He begins, as soon as it is dark, to enter the town, and proceeds to a place where all the inhabitants are assembled to meet him. The appearance of Mumbo Jumbo, it may be supposed, is displeasing to African ladies, but they dare not refuse to appear when summoned; and the ceremony commences with dancing and singing, which continues till midnight, when Mumbo seizes on the offender. The unfortunate victim, being stripped naked, is tied to a post and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amidst the shouts and derision of the whole assembly; and it is remarkable that the rest of the women are very clamorous and outrageous in their abuse of their unfortunate sister, until day-light puts an end to this disgusting revelry.

December 9, Mr. Park reached Tambacunda, and, on the 10th, Kooniakary; on the 11th, he arrived at Koojar, the frontier town of Woollie. His guide, being obliged to return, received some amber for his trouble; and, having been informed there was some difficulty in procuring water in the wilderness, Mr. Park made enquiry for men to serve both as guides and water-carriers. Three negroes, elephant-hunters, offered their services for that purpose, and were accepted, each being paid three days in advance. The inhabitants of Koojar beheld Mr. Park with great surprize, and in the evening invited him to a wrestling match at the *bentang*, or town-ball. This is an amusement common in all the Mandingo countries. The spectators arranged themselves in a circle, leaving the intermediate space for the wrestlers, who were strong and active young men. Being stripped of their clothing, except a short pair of drawers, and having their skins anointed with oil, or shea butter, the combatants approached each other on all fours, parrying with, and occasionally extending a hand for some time, till at length one of them sprang forward and caught his rival by the knee. Great dexterity and judgment were now displayed; but the contest was decided by superior strength; and few Europeans would have been able to cope with the conqueror.

During the wrestling, the combatants were animated by the music of a drum, by which, in some measure, their actions were regulated. The wrestling was succeeded by a dance, in which many performers assisted, all of whom were provided with little bells, which were fastened to their legs and arms. The drum also regulated the dancing; it was beaten with a crooked stick which the drummer held in his right hand, occasionally using the left to deaden the sound, and thus vary the music. The drum is also applied on these occasions for the preservation of order among the spectators, by imitating the sound of certain Mandingo sentences. For example, when the wrestling match is about to begin, the drummer strikes what is understood to signify, *Sit all down*; upon which the spectators immediately seat themselves, and when the combatants are to begin, he strikes, *Take hold! take hold!*

In the course of the evening, liquor was presented by way of refreshment, which tasted so much like English beer as to induce Mr. Park to enquire into its composition. It is actually made from corn which had been malted, much in the same manner as barley is malted in Great Britain; a root, yielding a grateful bitter, was used in lieu of hops; the corn which yields the wort, is the *holcus spicatus* of botanists.

On the 12th, one of the elephant-hunters absconded with the money he had received; in order to prevent the others from following his example, Mr. Park made them instantly fill their calabashes, or gourds, with water. They had not travelled far, before the attendants insisted upon stopping, to prepare a saphie or charm, to ensure a good journey: this was done by muttering a few sentences and spitting upon a stone which was laid upon the ground. The same ceremony was repeated three times, after which the negroes proceeded with the greatest confidence. At 8 o'clock at night, they arrived at a watering place, where a fire was kindled and the company, surrounded by their cattle, lay down on the bare ground, more than a gun-shot from any bush; the negroes agreeing to keep watch by turns, to prevent surprize. As soon as daylight appeared, they filled their skins and calabashes at the pool, and set out for Tallika, the first town in Bondou; where Mr. Park reached on the 18th of December.

December 14, he left Tallika, and rested the same night at a place called Ganado. The night was far advanced before any of the company thought of retiring to sleep, being amused by an itinerant singing-man, who told a number of diverting stories, and played some sweet airs by blowing his breath upon a bow-string, and striking it at the same time with a stick. Next day, about a mile from Ganado, they crossed a considerable branch of the Gambia, called Neriko. The banks were steep, and covered with *mimosas*; and in the mud were a number of large muscles, but the natives do not eat them.

They continued their journey till the 19th, when, having arrived at a large village, they proposed to lodge there: they found many of the natives dressed in a thin French gauze, which they call *byqui*, well calculated to display the shape of



the females. The manners of these ladies did not, however, correspond with their dress; they were rude and troublesome in the highest degree, surrounding Mr. Park in numbers, begging for amber, beads, &c. and were so vehement in their requests that it was impossible to resist them; they tore his cloak, and were proceeding to other outrages, when Mr. Park mounted his horse and rode off, followed, for half a mile, by a body of these harpies.

On the 21st, he passed the river Falemè, and at noon he arrived at Fatteconda, the capital of Bondou, and received an invitation to the house of a respectable slatce. The offer was accepted, and soon after a messenger from the king arrived, who desired his immediate attendance on his majesty. Mr. Park took his interpreter, and followed the messenger until he saw a man sitting under a tree. This he was informed was the king, who desired him to come and sit down by him on the mat, and, after a short conversation, asked him if he wished to purchase any slaves or gold? Being answered in the negative, he seemed surprized, but desired Mr. Park to come in the evening, when he would give him some provisions. This monarch was called Almami, a Moorish name, though he was not a Mahometan, but a pagan. In the evening, Mr. Park waited upon the king, and took with him one cannister of gunpowder, some amber, tobacco, and an umbrella.

All the houses belonging to the king and his family are surrounded by a lofty mud wall, which converted the whole into a kind of citadel. The interior is divided into different courts. At the first place of entrance, Mr. Park observed a man standing with a musket on his shoulder, and found the way to the presence very intricate. His majesty was sitting upon a mat, and two attendants with him. Mr. Park again stated the objects of his journey; the king thought it impossible that a man in his senses would undertake so dangerous a journey merely from motives of curiosity; he thought every white man must of necessity be a trader. The presents were highly acceptable, particularly the umbrella, which he repeatedly furled and unfurled, to the great admiration of him-

self and attendants, who could not at first comprehend the use of this wonderful machine. Being about to take his leave, the king desired him to stop while he began a long preamble in favour of the whites; he next proceeded to an eulogium on his blue coat, of which the yellow buttons seemed especially to strike his fancy, and concluded by entreating Mr. Park to present it to him. The request of an African prince, in his own dominions, comes little short of a command: he therefore immediately complied with the monarch's request, took off his coat, and laid it at his feet. In return for this compliance the king presented him with great plenty of provisions, and desired to see him again in the morning.

He accordingly attended, and found the king sick in bed, who desired Mr. Park to bleed him, but, when his arm was tied up and the lancet prepared, his courage failed, and he begged the operation might be postponed till the afternoon. He then observed that his women were very desirous to see the stranger; and an attendant was immediately ordered to conduct our traveller to the court appropriated to the ladies. The whole seraglio surrounded Mr. Park, some begging for physic, some for amber; and all of them desirous of trying that great African specific *blood-letting*. They were ten or twelve in number, most of them young and handsome, wearing on their heads ornaments of gold and bunches of amber. They rallied him, with a good deal of gaiety, on different subjects, particularly upon the whiteness of his skin, and the prominence of his nose. They insisted that both were artificial. The first, they said, was produced when an infant, by being dipped in milk, the latter by having his nose *pinched* every day, until it had acquired its present unsightly conformation. Mr. Park, in return, gallantly complimented these African ladies on the glossy jet of their skins, and the lovely depression of their noses; but they said that flattery (or, as they emphatically called it, *honey mouth*) was not esteemed in Bondou. In return for his compliments they presented him with a jar of honey and some fish, which they sent to his lodgings; and he was ordered again to wait upon the king before sun-set.



Mr. Park carried with him some beads and writing paper, it being usual to present some small present on taking leave of the king; he received in return five drachms of gold, the monarch observing, 'That it was but a trifle, and given out of pure friendship; but that it would be of use to him in travelling, for the purchase of provisions.' He seconded this act of kindness by one still greater; by politely telling him, 'That though it was customary to examine the baggage of every traveller passing through his country, yet, in the present instance, he would dispense with that ceremony;' adding, 'that Mr. Park was at liberty to depart when he pleased.'

On the 23d our traveller left Fatteconda, and about eleven o'clock came to a small village, where he determined to stop the rest of the day. In the afternoon he was informed that, as he was at the boundary between Bondou and Kajaaga, a place dangerous for travellers, it would be necessary to continue his journey by night, until he should reach a more hospitable part of the country. This proposal was agreed to, and two people were hired for guides through the woods. The stillness of the air, the bright shining of the moon, the howling of the wild beasts, and the deep solitude of the forest, made the scene solemn and pensive. Not a word was uttered but in a whisper; all were attentive, and every one anxious to shew his sagacity, by pointing out the wolves and hyænas as they glided, like shadows, from one thicket to another. Towards morning they arrived at a village called Kimmoo, where they stopped to give the asses corn, and roast a few ground-nuts for themselves; in the afternoon they arrived at Joag, in the kingdom of Kajaaga.

The air and climate of this kingdom are more salubrious than at any of the settlements on the coast: the face of the country is every where interspersed with a pleasing variety of hills and vallies, and the windings of the Senegal river, which descends from the rocky hills of the interior, make the scenery on its banks very interesting and beautiful. The inhabitants are called Serawoollies: their complexion is a jet black: they are not to be distinguished in this respect from the Jaloffs. The government is monarchical, and the regal authority for-

midable. The Serawoollics are a trading people; they formerly carried on a great commerce with the French in gold and slaves, and still maintain some traffic in slaves with the British factories on the Gambia.

December 24, Mr. Park arrived at Joag, the frontier town of the kingdom, and took up his residence at the house of the chief man, who is called Dooty. He was a rigid Mahometan, but distinguished for his hospitality. This town contains about 2,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded by a high wall, in which are a number of portholes for musketry to fire through, in case of an attack. Every man's possession is also surrounded by a wall; the whole forming so many distinct citadels, and answering the purposes of strong fortifications. To the westward of the town is a small river, on the banks of which the natives raise great plenty of tobacco and onions.

Mr. Park was invited in the evening to see the sports of the inhabitants, who were dancing, by the light of some large fires, to the music of four drums, which were beat with great exactness and uniformity. The dances consisted more in wanton gestures than in muscular exertion or graceful attitudes. The ladies vied with each other in displaying the most voluptuous movements imaginable.

A number of horsemen came into the town next morning, and having awakened the person at whose house Mr. Park was, dismounted and came to the bed on which he lay. One of them thinking he was asleep, attempted to steal a musket that lay on the mat; but finding he could not effect his purpose undiscovered, he desisted. Ten other horsemen soon after arrived, dismounted, and seated themselves with those who had come before, forming a circle round the astonished European, each man holding his musket in his hand. Mr. Park observed to his landlord that he hoped they would speak to him in Mandingo. To this they agreed, and a short man, loaded with a number of saphies, opened the business in a very long harangue, telling him that 'he had entered the town without having first paid the duties, or given any account to the king, and that, according to the laws of the country, his people, baggage, and cattle, were forfeited.' He added that

‘they had received orders from the king to conduct him to Maana, the place of his residence; and, if he refused to go with them, they were ordered to bring him by force;’ upon which all of them rose up and asked him whether he was ready. Mr. Park requested them to stop a short time, while he settled with his landlord, and his horse had a feed of corn. The poor blacksmith supposed Mr. Park was in earnest, and earnestly entreated of him not to go to Maana, as a war was likely to break out between Kasson and Kajaaga; and he should not only lose his property but be sold for a slave. Madiboo, the king’s son, being one of the party sent to apprehend Mr. Park, of him it was requested that the blacksmith should remain at Joag, while he accompanied him to the king. This was objected to; it being said, that as all had acted contrary to the laws, all were equally answerable for their conduct. Mr. Park now took his landlord aside, and presenting him with some gunpowder, asked his advice on the business: he was decidedly of opinion that he ought not to go to the king; but was fully convinced, that if any thing valuable was found in his possession, the king would not be over scrupulous in the means of obtaining it. Mr. Park now resolved to conciliate matters, and make friends with them if possible. After apologizing, he tendered them, as a present to the king, the five drachms of gold which the king of Bondou had given him; this they accepted, but insisted on examining his baggage. The bundles were opened, but the men were much disappointed in not finding in them so much gold and amber as they expected; they made up the deficiency by taking whatever they fancied, and, after wrangling and debating till sunset, they departed, having robbed him of half his goods.

The situation of Mr. Park and his company was very distressing, as it was impossible to procure provisions without money. Towards the evening of the ensuing day, as he was sitting chewing straws, an old female slave passing by, with her basket upon her head, asked him, ‘if he had got his dinner?’ Mr. Park gave her no answer; but his boy, who was sitting by, told her the king’s people had robbed him, and he had no money; on hearing this, the good old woman, with a

look of benevolence, took the basket from her head, and, shewing that it contained ground nuts, asked whether he could eat them; receiving an answer in the affirmative, she presented him with a few handfuls, and walked away before Mr. Park had time to thank her for so seasonable a supply.

The old woman had scarcely left him, when he received information that a nephew of Demba Segó Jalla, the Mandingo king of Kasson, was coming to pay him a visit; he soon arrived, and very kindly offered his protection, saying, that he would be the guide to Kasson (provided he would set out next morning), and be answerable for his safety. This gracious offer was gratefully accepted, and the African traveller, with his attendants, set off on the 27th of December. This prince, whose name was Dembo Segó, had a numerous retinue with him. The company together consisted of 30 persons and six loaded asses. While journeying on, Johnson the interpreter discovered a species of tree, for which he had made frequent enquiry. He tied a white chicken to the tree by its leg to one of the branches, and then said that the journey would be prosperous. He said the ceremony was an offering or sacrifice to the spirits of the woods, who were a powerful race of beings, of a white colour, with long flowing hair.

December 28, they arrived at Kayee, a large village, a little above which is a considerable cataract, where the river flows over a ledge of whin-stone rock with great force; below this the river is remarkably black and deep, and here it was proposed to make the cattle swim over. After hallooming and firing some muskets, the people on the Kasson side brought over a canoe to carry the baggage. It appeared scarcely possible to get the cattle down the bank, which is here more than 40 feet above the water; but the negroes seized the horses, and launched them one at a time down a sort of trench or gully that was almost perpendicular. After the terrified cattle had been plunged in this manner to the water's edge, every man got down as well as he could. The ferrymen then taking hold of the most steady of the horses by a rope, led him into the water, and paddled the canoe a little from the brink; upon

which a general attack commenced upon the other horses, who, finding themselves kicked and pelted on all sides, unanimously plunged into the river, and followed their companion. A few boys swam in after them, and, by laving water upon them when they attempted to return, urged them onwards, and in about 15 minutes they were all safe on the other side. It was a matter of greater difficulty to manage the asses; their natural stubbornness of disposition made them endure a great deal of pelting and shoving before they would venture into the water; and, when in the middle of the stream, four of them turned back, in spite of every exertion to get them forwards. Three hours were employed in transporting the baggage and cattle, and it was near sun-set when Demba Segó and Mr. Park embarked on this dangerous passage. The king's nephew thought this a proper time to have a peep into a tin box of Mr. Park's, that stood in the fore part of the canoe, and, in stretching out his hand for it, he unfortunately destroyed the equilibrium, and overset the canoe. It happily was not far from the shore, and having reached land and wrung the water from their clothes, they took a fresh departure, and had a safe passage to Kasson.

As soon as Mr. Park had arrived in Kasson, Demba Segó told him that he was now in his uncle's dominions, and hoped he would be grateful for the services he had rendered him; upon which Mr. Park gave him seven bars of amber and some tobacco. After a long day's journey, our travellers arrived at Teesee, and were accommodated in Demba Segó's hut. The next morning he was introduced to Tiggity Segó, brother to the king of Kasson, chief of Teesee. This old man received Mr. Park with great earnestness; having never, he said, beheld but one white man before, who by his description appeared to be major Houghton. He told him he must go to Kooniakary, to pay his respects to the sovereign. In the afternoon, one of the slaves to this chieftain eloped; a general alarm was given; every person who had a horse rode into the woods to apprehend him, and Demba Segó borrowed Mr. Park's horse. The slave was brought back, severely flogged, and put in

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irons. December 31, Dembo Segoe again requested the horse, to go to a town in Gedumah, promising to return at the end of three weeks. This request was complied with. Teesee is a large unwallled town, having no security except a sort of citadel, in which Tiggity and his family reside. The inhabitants, though possessing cattle and corn in abundance, are not very delicate in the choice of their food. They eat rats, moles, squirrels, snakes, locusts, &c. Some of Mr. Park's attendants were *feasted* upon a large *snake*. A singular custom prevails here, that no woman is allowed to *cat an egg*. This prohibition is rigidly adhered to, and nothing will more offend a woman of Teesee than to offer her an egg. The men eat eggs without any scruple.

Tiggity Segoe held a palaver, which Mr. Park attended, and the debates on both sides displayed much ingenuity; the case was this: a young man, a Pagan of considerable wealth, having married a young and handsome wife, applied to a Mussulman priest to procure him saphies for his protection during the approaching war. The priest consented, and, in order to render the saphies more efficacious, enjoined the young man to avoid any nuptial intercourse with his bride for the space of six weeks. Severe as the injunction was, the husband obeyed, and without telling his wife the cause, absented himself from her company. In the mean time, it was whispered that the priest made frequent visits to his bride, who, upon being interrogated, confessed that he had seduced her. The husband immediately confined her, and called a palaver to examine into the conduct of the priest. The fact was proved, and he was sentenced to be sold into slavery, or to find two slaves for his redemption, according to the pleasure of the plaintiff. The injured husband was unwilling to punish the culprit too severely, and desired to have him publicly flogged before Tiggity Segoe's gate. This was agreed to, and the sentence immediately executed. The priest was tied by the hands to a strong stake, and, a long black rod being brought forth, the executioner, after flourishing it round his head for some time, applied it with such force and energy to his back, as to make him roar until the woods resounded with his screams.



The surrounding multitude, by their hooting and laughing, manifested how much they enjoyed the punishment of the old gallant, and it was uncommonly singular that the number of stripes was precisely the same as enjoined by the law of Moses: *forty, save one*. As Teesee was liable to be exposed, during the war, to the excursions of the Moors of Gadumah, Tiggity Sego sent round to the neighbouring villages, to beg or purchase as much provisions as would afford sustenance for the inhabitants for one year, independent of the crop on the ground. This project was well received by the country-people, and they fixed a day on which were to be brought all the provisions they could spare. January 4, 1796, Mr. Park went in the afternoon to meet the escort with the provisions. It consisted of about 400 men, marching in good order, with corn and ground-nuts in large calabashes, on their heads. These were preceded by a strong guard of bow men, and followed by eight single men. As soon as they approached the town, the latter began a song, every verse of which was answered by the company, by a few large strokes on their drums. In this manner they proceeded till they reached the house of Tiggity Sego, where the loads were deposited; and in the evening they all assembled under the Bentang-tree, and spent the night in dancing and merriment.

January 5, an embassy of ten people from Almami Abdulkader, king of Foota Torra, a country to the west of Bondou, arrived at Teesee, and desired Tiggity Sego to call an assembly of the inhabitants, to whom they declared, "that unless all the people of Kasson would embrace the Mahometan religion, and evince their conversion by saying eleven public prayers, the king, their master, would certainly join the enemies of the king of Kasson." After a long consultation, the inhabitants agreed to the proposition, and publicly offered up eleven prayers, which were considered a sufficient testimony of their having renounced Paganism, and embraced the doctrines of Mahomet.

Mr. Park proposing to set out for Kooniakary, Demba Sego, with a number of people, came and informed him that they were sent by Tiggity Sego for a present, and wished to know

what goods were intended for the king. Mr. Park offered him seven bars of auiber and five of tobacco. After surveying these articles, Dembia laid them down, and said, "It was not a fit present for a prince;" he added, "that if the offering was not increased, he would carry all the baggage to the king, and let him choose for himself." Demba and his attendants immediately began to open the bundles, and spread the different articles upon the floor. Every thing that pleased them they took without scruple, and, amongst other things Demba seized the tin box which had caused the canoe to upset. Mr. Park found himself divested of almost all the little he had remaining. January 10, he left Teesee and ascended a ridge, from whence he had a view of the hills round Kooniakary; soon after which he arrived at Jumbo, the native town of the blacksmith. His brother came out to meet him, accompanied by a singing-man; he brought a horse for the blacksmith, that he might enter the town in a dignified manner, and desired each of the travellers to put a good charge of powder into their guns. The singing-man now led the way, followed by the two brothers, and Mr. Park and his attendants, who were received by the town's people with great joy, and by the most extravagant jumping and singing. On entering the town the singing-man began an extempore song, in praise of the blacksmith, extolling his valour in overcoming so many difficulties, and concluding with a strict injunction to his friends to dress him plenty of victuals. Arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, they dismounted, and fired their muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender. The blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff; every one came crying for her, and she stretched out her hands to bid them so welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands and face with great care, and seemed delighted that he was once more heard the music of his voice. During this affecting scene, Mr. Park had seated himself by the side of one of the huts, unobserved. When all the people present were seated, the blacksmith was desired by his father to give some account of his adventures, and, silence being commanded, he began, after



repeatedly thanking God for the success that had attended him, and related every material occurrence. In the latter part of his narration he frequently introduced the name of Mr. Park, and pointing to the place where he sat, exclaimed, "See him sitting there!" In a moment all eyes were turned upon him; he appeared like a being dropped from the clouds; every one was surprized they had not noticed him before, and some of the women and children expressed symptoms of uneasiness and fear at being placed so near him. By degrees these fearful apprehensions vanished, and when the blacksmith assured them he would hurt no one, some of them ventured to examine the texture of his clothes; but still some were suspicious, and when he rose or moved himself, the women and children would scamper off with the greatest precipitation. January 14, Mr. Park, accompanied by the blacksmith, arrived at Kooniakary.

January 15, 1796, Mr. Park was admitted to an audience of the king of Kasson, Demba Sego Jalla; but the crowd of people assembled to see him pass was so great, that he could scarce gain admittance. A passage being at length obtained, he made a bow to the monarch, who was sitting upon a mat in a large hut; he appeared to be about sixty years of age. He surveyed Mr. Park with great attention; he told him he had seen major Houghton, and presented him with a white horse. When this audience was ended, Mr. Park returned, and prepared a present for the king, which was well received, and the king sent a large white bullock in return. A war being expected to break out daily, the king requested our traveller to stop in the neighbourhood of Kooniakary for four or five days. Mr. Park having received some money in gold dust, on Dr. Laidley's account, it was rumoured abroad, and he received a visit from Sambo Sego, with a party of horsemen. Sambo insisted upon knowing the exact amount of the money he had received, declaring that whatever the sum was, one half of it must go to the king; besides which, he intimated, that he expected a handsome present for himself, as being the king's son. By the intervention of the person from whom the money had been received, Sambo was at last prevailed upon to accept

of sixteen bars of European merchandise, and some powder and ball, as a compleat payment of every demand that could be made in the kingdom of Kasson.

February 3, two guides on horseback came from Kooniakary to conduct Mr. Park to the frontiers of Kaarta; who, having taken his last farewell of his fellow traveller, the blacksmith, proceeded on his journey for nine days. On the 12th, he amused himself as he went, by collecting such eatable fruit as were in the road; thus employed, he had insensibly wandered from his company, and ascending a rising piece of ground to look around him, two negro horsemen, armed with muskets, came galloping from among the bushes; on seeing them, he made a full stop, as did the horsemen. As Mr. Park approached, one of them, after casting a look of horror, rode off in full speed; the other, in a panic of fear, put his hand over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers until his horse conveyed him slowly after his companion. A mile to the westward they fell in with the company, to whom they related a frightful story; and one of them affirmed, that when he saw Mr. Park a cold blast of wind came pouring down upon him from the sky, like so much cold water.

About noon, the travellers reached the capital of Kaarta, situated in the middle of an open plain. Mr. Park soon received a message from the king, that he would see him in the evening; and in the mean time lodgings were procured for him, and a man stationed with a stick in his hand to keep off the mob. Scarcely had he entered his new apartment, but the crowd rushed in, and the hut was not cleared until their curiosity had been amply gratified. In the evening the king sent for him; upon being introduced, the king was sitting among a great multitude of attendants, with the fighting men on his right hand, and the women and children on the left. The king, whose name was Daisy Koorabarri, was not distinguished from his subjects by any splendour of dress. A bank of earth, about two feet high, upon which was spread a leopard's skin, constituted the only badge of royalty. In his conversation with Mr. Park, the king urged him to abandon the idea of further prosecuting his journey, and return to

Kasson; this advice was rejected, and, in spite of every danger, our traveller resolved to continue his route, and begged to have a guide to conduct him to the frontiers of the kingdom. While thus discoursing, a man, mounted on a fine Moorish horse, which was covered with sweat and foam, entered the court, and signified he had something important to communicate, the king immediately took up his sandals, which is the signal for strangers to retire. Mr. Park immediately left the royal presence; in the evening he received a fine sheep from the king; while at supper, evening prayers were announced, not by the call of the priest, but by beating on drums, and blowing through large elephants teeth, hollowed out in such a manner as to resemble bugle horns. February 13, Mr. Park sent his horse-pistols and holsters as a present to the king, and begged the messenger to inform his majesty he waited for a guide to conduct him to Jarra. The king immediately sent eight horsemen; three of the king's sons, and about two hundred horsemen also accompanied him a little way on the road.

On the evening of the day when Mr. Park left Kemmoo, he slept at a village called Marina, where he was robbed of some clothes, beads, amber, and gold. He complained to his protectors, but without effect.

February 16, Mr. Park arrived at Funingkedy. About two o'clock, as he was lying asleep upon a bullock's hide, behind the door of the hut, he was awakened by the screams of women, and a general clamour and confusion among the inhabitants. He soon learnt that the Moors were come, according to promise, to steal cattle, and that they were now close to the town. Mr. Park mounted the roof of his hut, and observed a large herd of bullocks coming along, followed by five Moors on horseback, who drove the cattle forward with their muskets. When they had reached the walls, which are close to the town, the Moors selected from the herd sixteen of the finest beasts, and drove them off at full gallop. During this transaction, the town's people, to the number of 500, stood collected close to the walls of the town, and when the Moors drove the cattle away, though they passed within pistol-shot of them, the inhabitants scarce made a shew of resistance. Only four muskets

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were fired, which being loaded with gunpowder of the negroes own manufacture, did no execution. Shortly after, a number of people appeared, supporting a young man upon horseback, who, attempting to throw his spear, had been wounded by a shot from one of the Moors. His mother walked on before quite frantic with grief, clapping her hands and enumerating the good qualities of her son. 'He never told a lie,' said the disconsolate mother; and as her wounded son was carried in at the gate, bitterly did she exclaim, 'he never told a lie; no, never.' All the spectators, by screaming and howling, shewed their sympathetic concern. After their grief had subsided, Mr. Park was desired to examine the wound. He found that the ball had passed quite through his leg, having fractured both bones a little below the knee; the poor boy was faint from loss of blood, and his situation so precarious, there were little hopes of his recovery. To preserve life if possible, Mr. Park recommended amputation; this proposal made every one start with horror; they had never heard of such a method of cure; they viewed him as a sort of cannibal for proposing such an operation. The patient was therefore consigned to the care of some old priests, who endeavoured to secure him a passage into paradise, by whispering in his ear some Arabic sentences, and desiring him to repeat them. After many unsuccessful attempts, the poor heathen lad at last pronounced, 'there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' He died the same evening. February 18, Mr. Park passed Simbing, the frontier village of Ludamar; from this village, major Houghton wrote his last letter with a pencil to Dr. Laidley. This brave but unfortunate man, having been pillaged by the Moors of every thing he possessed, after passing many days without food, sunk at last under his distresses. Whether he actually perished of hunger, or was murdered outright by the savage Mahometans, is not certainly known; his body was dragged into the woods, and there his remains were left to perish. About noon, Mr. Park arrived at Jarra, a large town situated at the bottom of some rocky hills.

It is situated in the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar; but the major part of the inhabitants are negroes from the borders of

the southern states, who prefer a precarious protection under the Moors. On his arrival at Jarra, Mr. Park obtained a lodging at the house of Daman Jamma, a Gambia slatee. From this man he obtained some pecuniary assistance; he also applied to him to obtain permission from Ali, the sovereign of Ludamar, that he might pass unmolested through his territories into Bambara. A messenger was dispatched to Ali, who at this time was in his camp at Benowm, carrying a present of five garments of cotton cloth from Mr. Park.

One of Ali's slaves arrived on the 26th of February, who pretended that he had orders to conduct Mr. Park in safety as far as Goomba, and said he was to receive one garment of blue cotton cloth for his attendance. Things being adjusted, Mr. Park left Jarra the next day; and on the 29th, after a toilsome journey over a sandy country, came to Compe, a watering-place belonging to the Moors; from whence he proceeded to Deena, a large town, built of stone and clay. Here the Moors assembled round the hut of the negro, where he lodged; hissed, shouted, abused, and spit in Mr. Park's face, to irritate him, that they might find a pretext to seize his baggage; but, finding such insults failed of producing the desired effect, they had recourse to a decisive argument; namely, that he was a Christian, and of course his property was lawful plunder to the followers of Mahomet. They instantly opened the baggage and pillaged every thing of value. The attendants of Mr. Park now refused to proceed any further; accordingly next morning he departed alone to Deena. It was moon-light, but the roaring of the wild beasts rendered it necessary to be cautious. Upon arriving at a piece of rising ground, Mr. Park, looking back, saw his faithful boy running after him; he told him if he would stop a little while he would bring a negro servant along with him, and in about an hour he returned with the negro.

March 4, Mr. Park arrived at Sampaka; on the road leading to which were immense quantities of locusts; the trees were quite black with them. These insects destroy every vegetable that comes in their way, and in a short time completely strip a tree of its leaves. The noise of their excrement falling upon

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the leaves, very much resembles a shower of rain. When a tree is shaken, it is astonishing to see what a cloud of them will fly off. In their flight they yield to the current of the wind, which at this season of the year is north-east.

Sampaka is a large town. Here Mr. Park lodged with a negro who practised the art of making gunpowder. March 5, in the evening, our traveller arrived at Dalli. Upon the road, two large herds of camels were feeding. When the Moors turn their camels to feed, they tie up one of their fore-legs to prevent their straying. It was a feast-day at Dalli, and the people were dancing: when informed a white man was come into the town, they left off dancing and came to Mr. Park's lodging, walking two and two, with the music before them. They play upon a sort of flute, but, instead of blowing into a hole in the side, they blow obliquely over the end, which is half shut by a thin piece of wood; they govern the holes on the side with their fingers, and play some simple and very plaintive airs; they continued to dance and sing until midnight.—March 7, while enjoying the harmless festivity of some of the negroes, a party of Moors unexpectedly entered the hut, and seized Mr. Park. They came, they said, by Ali's orders, to convey him to the camp at Benowm; if he went peaceably he had nothing to fear, if not, they were to use force; they added, that Ali's wife, Fatima, was very anxious to see him. On arriving at Deena, Mr. Park paid a visit to one of Ali's sons. He was sitting in a low hut, with five or six more, washing their hands and feet, and frequently taking water into their mouths and spitting it out again. Mr. Park was no sooner seated than the prince handed him a double-barrelled gun, and told him to dye the stock of a blue colour and repair one of the locks. Mr. Park found great difficulty to convince him he knew nothing about the matter. 'However,' said the prince, 'if you cannot repair the gun, you shall give me some knives and scissars immediately;' and when the negro boy answered him his master had none, he hastily snatched up a musket that stood by him, cocked it, and putting the muzzle close to the boy's ears, would certainly have killed him, had



not the Moors wrested the musket from him, and made signs for Mr. Park and the boy to retire.

March 12, Mr. Park arrived at Benowm, the residence of Ali. The camp appeared to the eye like a great number of dirty-looking tents, scattered without order over a large space of ground, and among the tents were large herds of camels, cattle, and goats. As soon as his arrival was known, the people who drew water at the wells threw down their buckets; those in the tents mounted their horses; and men, women, and children, came running or galloping towards him. He was soon surrounded with so great a crowd as scarcely to be able to move. One pulled his clothes, another took off his hat, a third was curious in examining his waistcoat buttons, and a fourth exclaimed, 'there is but one God and Mahomet is his prophet;' and signified in a threatening manner that he must repeat those words. At length Mr. Park reached the king's tent. Ali was sitting upon a black leather cushion, clipping a few hairs from his upper lip, a female attendant holding up a looking-glass before him. He appeared to be an old man of the Arab cast, with a long white beard and a sullen and indignant countenance. He surveyed Mr. Park with attention, and appeared much surprized to find he did not speak Arabic. The ladies were very inquisitive; they asked a thousand questions, inspected every part of his apparel, searched his pockets, and obliged him to open his waistcoat and display the whiteness of his skin; they even counted his toes and fingers. In a short time the priest announced evening prayers; but before the people departed, the Moor who had acted as interpreter, said that Ali was about to present Mr. Park with something to eat; and looking round, he observed some boys bringing a wild hog, which they tied to one of the tent strings, and Ali made signs to him to kill and dress it for supper.—Mr. Park told the king he never eat such food; they then untied the hog, in hopes it would have immediately ran at him; for they believe a great enmity subsists between hogs and Christians; but the animal no sooner regained his liberty, than he began to attack indiscriminately every person that

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Mr. Park was conducted to the tent of Ali's chief slave, but was not permitted to enter or allowed to touch any thing belonging to it. A little boiled corn, with salt and water, was sent him in a wooden bowl, and a mat spread upon the sand for his repose. At sun-rise, Ali paid him a visit on horseback with a few attendants, and signified he had provided a hut for him, where he would be sheltered from the sun; he was accordingly conducted there, and found the hut comparatively cool and pleasant. It was constructed of corn-stalks, set up on an end, in the form of a square, with a flat roof of the same materials, supported by forked sticks; to one of which was tied the wild hog before mentioned. This animal had certainly been placed by Ali's order, out of derision to a Christian; and it proved a very disagreeable inmate, as it drew together a number of boys, who amused themselves with beating it with sticks, until they had so irritated the hog that it ran at and bit every one within its reach. No sooner was Mr. Park seated in his new habitation, than the Moors assembled in crowds to behold him; but it was a very troublesome levee, for he was obliged to take off one of his stockings and shew his foot, and even to take off his jacket and waistcoat to shew how his clothes were put on and off. All this was to be done for every visitor; for such as had already seen insisted upon their friends having their curiosity gratified; and in this manner was he employed, dressing and undressing, buttoning and unbuttoning, from noon to night.

In the night, the Moors kept regular watch; frequently looking into the hut, to see if Mr. Park was asleep; and if dark they would light a whip of grass. About two in the morning, a Moor entered the hut, probably to steal something, and groping about he laid his hand on Mr. Park's shoulder. Mr. Park immediately sprang up and laid his hand upon him, while the Moor, in his haste to get off, stumbled over the boy, and fell with his face upon the wild hog, who, in return for this attack, wounded the Moor's arm. The screams of the man alarmed the people in the king's tent, who supposed



the white prisoner had escaped. Ali came up galloping on a white horse, and heard an outcry, which, on the Moors explaining, Mr. Park was permitted to sleep quietly until morning.

March 13, the boys assembled again to beat the hog, and the women to plague the Christian. Mr. Park, anxious to afford the Moors no pretext for ill-usage, suffered, with unruffled countenance, the insults of the rudest savages on earth.

The Moors, though indolent themselves, are very rigid task-masters. Mr. Park's boy was sent into the woods to collect withered grass for Ali's horses, and himself appointed *barber*, and ordered to shave the head of the young prince of Ludamar. He accordingly was introduced to the royal presence, seated himself upon the sand, and the prince sat down beside him. A small razor, about three inches long, was put into his hands; but unfortunately Mr. Park, in the operation, made a slight incision in the boy's head, which the king observing, ordered him to resign the razor and withdraw.

Mr. Park was now stripped of all his gold, amber, his watch, and a pocket-compass. This latter article became an object of superstitious curiosity. Ali was very desirous of being informed why that small piece of iron, the needle, always pointed to the Great Desert; and Mr. Park was somewhat puzzled to solve his query. He at length told him, 'That his mother resided far beyond the sands of Zahara, and that while she was alive the piece of iron would always point that way, and serve as a guard to conduct him to her, and if she was dead it would point to her grave.' Ali now looked at the compass with redoubled amazement, turned it round and round repeatedly; but, observing that it always pointed the same way, he took it up with great caution and returned it, signifying he thought there was something of magic in it, and that he was afraid of keeping so dangerous an enchantment in his possession.

March 20, a council of chief men was held in Ali's tent, respecting the prisoner; their decisions were variously related to Mr. Park. Some said they intended to put him to death; others, that he was only to lose his right hand; but the most

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probable account was given him by Ali's son, a boy about nine years of age, who came to him in the evening, and told him that his uncle had persuaded his father to put out his eyes; his father, however, would not consent to this proposal until Fatima, his queen, had seen him. March 21, Mr. Park went early in the morning to the king, and requested permission to return to Jarra; this was refused. The next morning he found himself attacked by a smart fever; he had wrapped himself up in his cloak to promote perspiration, when some Moors entered the hut, and, with their usual rudeness, pulled the cloak from him. He made signs to them he was sick, and wished much to sleep, but solicited in vain; with his mind much disturbed by the barbarous usage he experienced, Mr. Park left his hut, and walked to some shady trees at a distance, where he laid down; but here persecution followed him, for Ali's son, with a number of horsemen, came galloping to the place, and ordered him to rise and follow him. He begged they would allow him to remain where he was, if it was only for a few hours; but they paid little attention to what he said, and, after a few threatening words, one of them pulled out a pistol from his leather bag, fastened to the pommel of his saddle, and presenting it towards him, snapped it twice: he cocked it a third time, and was striking the flint with a piece of steel, when he begged them to desist, and returned with them to the camp. When they arrived Ali was much out of humour; he called for the Moor's pistol, and amused himself for some time with opening and shutting the pan; at length taking up his powder-horn, he fresh primed it, and turning round to Mr. Park, said something in Arabic, which he did not understand. He was informed his offence consisted in endeavouring to escape, and that, if he was ever seen without the skirts of the camp he should be shot by the first person who saw him.

In the afternoon the horizon was thick and hazy, and the Moors predicted a sand-wind, which accordingly commenced on the morning following, and lasted, with slight intermission, for two days. The force of the wind was not in itself very great; it was what a seaman would have termed a stiff breeze;

but the quantity of sand and dust carried before it was such as to darken the whole hemisphere. It swept along from east to west in a thick and constant stream, and the air was at times so dark and full of sand that it was difficult to discern the neighbouring tents. As the Moors always dress their victuals in the open air, the sand fell in great plenty among the kouskous: it readily adhered to the skin when moistened by perspiration, and formed a cheap and universal hair-powder. The Moors wrap a cloth round their faces to prevent them from inhaling the sand, and always turn their back to the wind when they look up, to prevent the sand falling into their eyes. On the evening of the 25th, a party of Moorish ladies paid Mr. Park a visit in his hut; and gave him plainly to understand the object of their visit was, by actual inspection, to see whether the right of circumcision extended to the *Nazarenes* (the Christians) as well as the Mahometans. Mr. Park observed, it was not customary in his country to give ocular demonstration in such cases, before so many beautiful women; but, that if all of them would retire, except the young lady to whom he pointed, he would satisfy *her* curiosity. The ladies enjoyed the jest, and went away laughing; and the young damsel whom he had complimented was so highly pleased at the preference he had given her, as soon after to send him some meal and milk for supper.

March 28, Ali sent one of his slaves to inform Mr. Park that he must be in readiness to ride out with him, as he intended to shew him to some of his women. About 4 o'clock, Ali, with six of his courtiers, came riding to his hut, and told him to follow them. But here a difficulty arose; the Moors could not reconcile themselves to the appearance of *nankeen breeches*, which Mr. Park had on, saying, 'They were not only inelegant, but, on account of their tightness, very indelicate to pay a visit to the ladies.' Ali ordered him to put a cloak over his clothes. Mr. Park visited the tent of four different ladies, where he was regaled with a bowl of milk and water. These ladies were remarkably corpulent; they were very inquisitive, and examined his hair and skin with great attention; but affected to view themselves as much superior,

and knitted their brows and seemed to shudder when they looked at the whiteness of his skin. In the course of this excursion, the company seemed highly delighted with Mr. Park, galloping round him as if they were baiting a wild animal; twirling their muskets round their heads, and exhibiting various feats of activity and horsemanship.

A child died in one of the tents, and the mother and relations immediately began the death-howl. They were joined by a number of female visitors, who came on purpose to assist at this melancholy concert. The burial was performed secretly in the dusk of the evening. Over the grave they plant a particular shrub, and no stranger is allowed to pluck a leaf or even to touch it.

In the evening of the 10th of April, the *tabala* or large drum was beat, to announce a wedding. A great number of people, of both sexes, assembled. A woman beat the drum, and the other women joined in chorus, by setting up a shrill scream. Mr. Park soon retired, and having been asleep in his hut, was awakened by an old woman, who said, she had brought him a present from the bride. She had a wooden bowl in her hand, and, before Mr. Park was recovered from his surprize, discharged the contents in his face. Finding it to be the same sort of *holy water* with which a hottentot priest is said to sprinkle a new-married couple, he supposed it to be a mischievous frolic, but was informed it was a nuptial benediction from the bride's own person; and which is always received by the Moors as a *most extraordinary favour*. Such being the case, Mr. Park wiped his face, and sent his acknowledgments to the lady. The wedding drum continued to beat, and the women to sing all night. About nine in the morning the bride was brought in state from her mother's tent, attended by a number of women who carried her tent (a present from her husband), some bearing up the poles, others holding the strings, and marched singing until they came to the place appointed for her residence, where they pitched the tent. The husband followed with a number of men leading a bullock, which they tied to the tent strings, and having killed another

and distributed the beef among the people, the ceremony closed.

For two successive nights the Moors neglected to send Mr. Park his accustomed meals, which occasioned him to be affected with a deep convulsive respiration, dimness of sight, and a tendency to faint when attempting to sit up. At day-break of the 30th, the whole camp was in motion. The baggage was carried upon bullocks; the king's favourite concubines rode camels, under a canopy, to shade them from the sun.

May 3, Mr. Park arrived at the new encampment, which was about two miles distant from a negro town, called Bubaker. He immediately waited upon Ali, to pay his respects to queen Fatima. The sovereign shook hands with him, and informed Fatima that Mr. Park was the Christian. She was a woman of the Arab cast, with long black hair, and remarkably corpulent. She appeared at first rather shocked at the idea of having a Christian so near her; but, as soon as Mr. Park had answered various questions she put to him, she seemed more at ease, and presented him with a bowl of milk. The scarcity of water was here greater than at Benowm, and felt most severely by our traveller; for, although Ali had given him a skin for holding water, yet such was the cruel disposition of the Moors, that, when his boy attempted to fill the skin at the wells, he commonly received a drubbing for his presumption. One night, having solicited for water in vain at the camp, Mr. Park resolved to go to the wells about half a mile distant: he arrived, and found the Moors drawing water; he requested permission to drink, but was driven away with abuse. Passing from one well to another, he came at last to one where there was only an old man and two boys. He made the same request to this man, who instantly drew up a bucket of water; but, as soon as he was about to lay hold of it, he recollected Mr. Park was a Christian, and fearing that his bucket might be polluted by his lips, he dashed the water into the trough, and told him to drink from thence. Though this trough was small, and three cows were drinking, the African traveller, kneeling down, thrust his head between two of the

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Ali preparing for his return to Jarra, Mr. Park solicited Fatima to accompany him. His request was graciously granted, after having amused the queen with shewing her how his boots, shoes, stockings, &c. were put on.

May 26, having taken leave of queen Fatima, Mr. Park departed from the camp, attended by Johnson, his interpreter; Demba, his faithful servant; and a number of Moors on horseback.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the Moors saddled their horses, and Ali's chief slave ordered Mr. Park to make ready; he soon after seized hold of his boy by the shoulder, and told him that henceforth he was to be Ali's slave; and then, turning to Mr. Park, added, 'The business is settled at last; the boy and every thing but your horse goes back to Bubakar, but you may take the old fool (meaning Johnson) with you to Jarra.' Mr. Park immediately hastened to Ali, and remonstrated against such barbarous conduct. The despot made no reply, but told his interpreter that if Mr. Park did not mount his horse immediately he would send him back also. The poor boy was deeply affected, and his master wept when he saw him led away by three of Ali's slaves to the camp.

June 1, Mr. Park arrived at Jarra. On the 14th, intelligence arrived that Daisy, king of Kaarta, was preparing to attack Jarra with a large and powerful army. The terror of the town's-people was not to be described. The screams of the women and children were truly alarming. Mr. Park mounted his horse, and taking a large bag of corn, rode until he had reached the foot of a hill, where he dismounted, and having reached the summit he sat down, and had a complete view of the town and neighbouring country; he then pursued his journey to Bambarra. As he was travelling he was pursued by a party of Moors, who insisted on his going back to Ali; he apparently consented, and in returning with them, one of the Moors, in passing through some thick bushes, ordered him to untie his bundle, and shew him the contents. Having examined the articles, they found nothing worth tak-



ing but his cloak, which one of them took and wrapped round himself. Mr. Park earnestly requested, but in vain, that he would return it: but he and one of his companions rode off with the prize. When Mr. Park attempted to follow them, the third, who had remained with him, struck his horse over the head, and presenting his musket, told him he should proceed no further. Our traveller once more turned his horse's head towards the east, and with inexpressible pleasure resumed the path which he had before pursued.

Mr. Park continued his route through the wilderness, directing his course by compass nearly east-south-east, in order to reach the kingdom of Bambarra. Owing to the burning heat of the sun he became faint with thirst, and climbed a tree in hopes of seeing some distant habitation; but nothing appeared all around but thick underwood and hillocks of white sand. At length he came suddenly upon a large herd of goats, and, pulling his horse into a bush, he perceived two Moorish boys, and with some difficulty persuaded them to approach him; they shewed him their empty water-skins, and said they had seen no water in the woods; having received this unwelcome intelligence, Mr. Park pushed on as fast as possible, in hopes of reaching some watering place; his thirst was now become insufferable, and he began to apprehend that he should perish: to relieve the burning pain in his mouth and throat, he chewed the leaves of various shrubs, but found them of no service. Having reached the top of a gentle rising, he climbed a high tree, but could not discern the most distant trace of a human dwelling: descending from the tree, he found his horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity; he therefore took off his bridle and set him at liberty; while doing this, he was affected with sickness and giddiness, and viewed his dissolution as near at hand; recovering himself, he once more endeavoured to proceed, his horse going on slowly before him; he now perceived some lightning in the east, an exhilarating sight, as being a sure prognostic of rain. This divine shower at last began copiously to distil; the parched traveller spread out his clothes to receive the drops, and assuaged his thirst by wringing and sucking of them.

In some measure refreshed, Mr. Park continued his route until, by the hoarse croaking of frogs, he discerned his near approach to some muddy pools of water. Here he again allayed his thirst, and proceeded on until he arrived at a Foulah village called Shrilla. At the door of one of the huts he perceived an old woman spinning cotton; he made signs to her that he was hungry, and enquired if she had any victuals. She immediately laid down her distaff, and in the Arabic tongue desired him to enter. Seated upon the floor, he received from her hospitable hands a dish of kouskous, of which he made a tolerable meal; in return for this kindness, he gave her a pocket handkerchief, begging at the same time a little corn for his horse. Overcome with joy at this unexpected deliverance, Mr. Park returned his grateful acknowledgments to that great and good Being, who had so kindly spread a table for him in the wilderness. Whilst his horse was feeding, one of the inhabitants came up and whispered something to his benevolent hostess, which much excited her surprize. Mr. Park soon found that some of the men wished to apprehend him and carry him back to Ali. He therefore tied up the corn and took a northerly direction, driving his horse before him, and followed by all the boys and girls of the town; when he had travelled about two miles, he struck into a wood, where he found it necessary to take repose, a bundle of twigs serving for a bed, and his saddle for a pillow. About three o'clock he was awakened by three Foulahs, who, taking him for a Moor, pointed to the sun and told him it was time to pray; without noticing them, he saddled his horse and continued his journey.

July 4, Mr. Park pursued his course through the woods, and observed great numbers of antelopes, wild hogs, and ostriches: about one o'clock he came to the precincts of a watering place belonging to the Foulahs. Some of the shepherds invited him to come into a low tent, where there was room just sufficient to sit upright. When he had crept upon his hands and knees into this lowly habitation, he found that it contained a woman and three children. A dish of boiled corn and dates were produced, and the master of the family, as the custom



was, first tasted it himself, and then handed it round to his guests. While the traveller was eating, the children fixed their eyes upon him; and no sooner did the shepherd pronounce the word *Nazarani*, than they began to cry, and their mother crept slowly towards the door, out of which she sprang like a greyhound, and was instantly followed by her children; so frightened were they at the name of a Christian. Here Mr. Park purchased some corn for his horse, in exchange for some brass. Mr. Park pursued his route, until he arrived, July 5, at a negro town, called Wawra, tributary to Mansong, king of Bambarra. Here he enjoyed a short repose on a bullock's hide, but was soon awakened by the curiosity of the people.

July 6, Mr. Park reached Dingyee. When about to depart, his landlord requested him to give him a lock of his hair to make a saphie, as he said he had been told it would give to the possessor all the knowledge of *white men*. Mr. Park instantly complied, but his landlord's thirst for learning was so great, that with cutting and pulling, he cropped one side of his head pretty closely, and would have done the same with the other, had he not signified his disapprobation by putting on his hat, and assuring him that he wished to reserve some of this precious merchandize for future occasions. About 12 o'clock he reached a town called Wassiboo. Cultivation is carried on there on a very extensive scale, and as the natives themselves express it, 'hunger is never known.' In cultivating the soil, the men and women work together: they use a large sharp paddle.

July 12, Mr. Park set out from Wassiboo and arrived in the neighbourhood of Satilé. The inhabitants were at first so much alarmed that they shut the gates, seeing so many horsemen (Mr. Park having an escort with him), and put themselves under arms. A tornado approaching, a parley ensued, and they were admitted. July 14, Mr. Park arrived at Moorja, a large town, famous for its trade in salt, which the Moors bring in great quantities to exchange for cloth and corn. As corn is plentiful, the inhabitants are very liberal to strangers.

July 16, he reached Datliboo. Here a tremendous tornado arose: the house in which he lodged, being flat-roofed, admitted the rain in streams; the floor was soon ankle deep, the fire extinguished, and he was left to pass the night upon some bundles of fire-wood that happened to lie in a corner. As Mr. Park was walking barefoot, driving his horse, he was met by a coffle of slaves, about seventy in number, coming from Sego. They were tied together by their necks, with thongs of a bullock's hide, twisted like a rope, seven slaves upon a thong; and a man with a musket between every seven. Many of the slaves were ill-conditioned, and among them were many women.

July 21, Mr. Park arrived at Sego. As he was riding through some marshy ground, looking forwards, he saw the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward. He hastened to the brink, and, having drank of the water, offered up his fervent thanks to the great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned his endeavours with success. The circumstance of the Niger flowing towards the east was not surprizing to the African traveller, as from his frequent enquiries he had clear and decisive assurances that its general course was *towards the rising sun*.

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, consists of four distinct towns; two on the northern bank of the Niger, and two on the southern. They are all surrounded with high mud walls; the houses are built of clay, of a square form, with flat roofs; some of them have two stories, and many of them are white-washed. Besides these buildings, Moorish mosques are seen in every quarter, and the streets, though narrow, are broad enough for every useful purpose, in a country where wheel carriages are unknown. Sego contains about 30,000 inhabitants.

While Mr. Park was waiting to cross the river, information was carried to Mansong, the king, who constantly resides on the southern bank, that a white man was waiting for a passage, and was coming to see him. He directly sent over one of the chief men with a message, that the king could not pos-

sibly see him until he knew what brought him into the country, and that he must not presume to cross the river without his majesty's privilege. He therefore advised Mr. Park to lodge at a distant village for the night; and said, that in the morning he would give him further instructions how to conduct himself. The traveller immediately set off for the village, where, to his great mortification, he was refused admittance into any house; he was obliged to sit all day under the shade of a tree, without victuals.

About sun-set, as he was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned his horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe him, and perceiving that he was weary and dejected, enquired into his situation, which being explained, she took up the bridle and saddle, and told Mr. Park to follow her. Having conducted him into her hut, she lighted a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told him that he might remain there for the night; she presented him also with a very fine fish, half broiled: having thus performed the rites of hospitality, she called to the female part of her family to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they were employed great part of the night. They soothed their labour by songs; one of which was extempore, and Mr. Park the subject of it. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were as follow: 'The winds roared and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn.—*Chorus.* Let us pity the white man, no mother has he, &c.' In the morning, Mr. Park presented his benevolent hostess with two brass waistcoat-buttons.

Mr. Park continued in the village all day, to gratify the curiosity of the natives, who came in crowds to see him. July 22, a messenger arrived from the king, to know whether there was a present for him, which question was answered in the negative. July 23, another messenger from Mansong arrived, with a bag in his hand. He said it was the king's pleasure he should immediately leave the vicinage of Segó; but that, wishing to relieve the wants of a white man in distress, the king

had sent him 5,000 *kowries* (or little shells), which passed current for money, 250 of them being equivalent to a shilling; and that he had orders to guide him on his journey to Sansanding.

July 24, Mr. Park passed a large town called Kabba, situated in the midst of a beautiful and highly-cultivated country. In the evening Mr. Park reached Sansanding, a very large town, containing from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants.

Mr. Park was here surrounded by hundreds of people, each one addressing him in a language equally unintelligible. The Moors now assembled in great numbers, and immediately ordered the negroes to withdraw; they then questioned him as to his religion; and compelled him to ascend a high seat, by the door of a mosque, that every body might see him. Upon this seat he remained until sun-set; he was then conducted into a neat little hut with a small court before it, the door of which was ordered to be shut. But this precaution did not exclude the Moors. They climbed over the top of the mud wall, and came in crowds into the court, in order, they said, to see the white man perform his evening devotions, and eat eggs. Mr. Park told them, with respect to his devotions, he could not comply, but that he had no objection to eat eggs, provided they would bring him some to eat. Seven hen's eggs were brought, and it was supposed he would eat them raw; it being a prevalent opinion, that Europeans subsist chiefly on this diet. When Mr. Park had convinced his landlord of this mistake, he ordered a sheep to be killed, and part of it to be dressed for supper. About midnight, when the Moors had left him, he paid him a visit, and, with much earnestness, desired him to write a saphie. 'If a Moor's saphie is good, (said he) a white man's must needs be better.' Mr. Park readily furnished him with one, superlatively excellent, for it contained *The Lord's Prayer*. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed; a little charcoal and gum-water made a very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper.

July 25, Mr. Park departed from Sansanding; and on the 28th, reached Nyamee. This town is chiefly inhabited by

Foulahs, from the kingdom of Masina. The governor would not receive him, but sent his son on horseback, to conduct him to Modiboo. While passing through the woods, the guide frequently stopped and looked under the bushes. On enquiring the reason, Mr. Park was told, that lions were very numerous, and frequently attacked travellers in the woods. While he was speaking, Mr. Park's horse started, and upon looking round, he observed a large animal of the camelopard kind, standing at a little distance. The neck and fore legs were very long; the head was furnished with two short black horns, turning backwards; the tail, which reached down to the ham-joint, had a tuft of hair at the end. The animal was of a mouse colour; and it trotted away in a very sluggish manner, moving its head from side to side, to observe if it was pursued. Shortly after this, while crossing a large plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, the guide wheeled his horse round in a moment, and exclaimed, 'A very large lion;' and made signs for Mr. Park to ride away. But his horse being much fatigued, he rode slowly by the bush, where the animal was perceived. A few moments after, the guide put his hand to his mouth, crying, 'God preserve us;' and then, to his great surprize, Mr. Park perceived a large *red lion* at a short distance, with his head couched between his fore paws. The lion, however, suffered the travellers quietly to pass.

At sun-set, Mr. Park arrived at Madiboo, a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and west. The situation is one of the most enchanting in the world. Here are caught great plenty of fish, by means of long cotton nets, which the natives make themselves. The head of a crocodile which had been killed was lying upon one of the houses, in a swamp near the town. These animals are not uncommon in the Niger; but they are of little account to the traveller, when compared with the amazing swarms of mosquitoes, which rise from the swamps and creeks in such numbers as to harass even the most torpid of the natives. Mr. Park usually passed the night without shutting his eyes, walking backwards and forwards,

fanning himself with his hat; their stings raised numerous blisters on his legs and arms, which, together with want of rest, made him feverish and unwell.

His landlord, observing that he was sickly, hurried him away; sending a servant with him as a guide to Kea. But though he was little able to walk, his horse was still less able to carry him; and in crossing some rough clayey ground, he fell, and was unable to rise again. Mr. Park took off his bridle and saddle, and placed some grass before him. He then left the poor animal, and followed his guide on foot, until he reached Kea, a small fishing village. He there embarked in a canoe, and proceeded about a mile down the river, when the fisherman paddled the canoe to the bank, and desired him to jump out. Having tied the canoe to a stake, he stripped off his clothes, and dived for a great length of time, when he raised up his head astern of the canoe, and called for a rope. With this rope he dived a second time, and then got into the canoe, and ordered the boy to assist him in pulling. At length, they brought up a large basket, about 10 feet in diameter, containing two fine fish, which the fisherman immediately carried on shore, and hid in the grass.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of July 29, Mr. Park came to Moorzan, a fishing town on the northern bank, from whence he was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town, where he remained until it was quite dark, under a tree, surrounded by hundreds of people. Here Mr. Park made a solemn pause; and, after maturely weighing the difficulties that must attend him, should he still persevere in his route, determined to go no farther. Two short days' journey to the eastward of Silla, is the town of Jenné, which is situated on a small island in the river, and is said to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Segó itself, or any other town in Bambarra. At the distance of two days more, the Niger spreads into a considerable lake, called the *Dark lake*; concerning the extent of which, it is said, that in crossing it, from west to east, the canoes lose sight of land one whole day. From this lake the water issues in many different streams, which terminate in two large branches; one flows to the north-east, the



other to the east; but these branches join at Kabra, which is one day's journey to the southward of Tombuctoo, and is the port or shipping-place of that city. From Kabra, at the distance of 11 days' journey, the river passes to the southward of Houssa, which is two days' journey distant from the river. Of the further progress of this river the natives seem to be entirely ignorant.

July 30, Mr. Park departed from Silla, and in the afternoon again reached Kea, where a negro perceiving he was sickly, and his clothes ragged, lent him a large cloth to cover him for the night. The governor's brother going to Modiboo, agreed to accompany him thither. On the bank of the river, a great number of earthen jars, neatly formed, but not glazed, were piled up together; as they approached them, Mr. Park's companion plucked up a large handful of herbage and threw it upon them, making signs for him to do the same. He then told Mr. Park that those jars belonged to some supernatural power; that they were found in their present situation two years ago, and as no person had claimed them, every traveller as he passed, from respect to the invisible proprietor, threw some grass, or the branch of a tree, upon the heap, to defend them from the rain.

Thus conversing in a most friendly manner, they proceeded on until they perceived the footsteps of a lion, quite fresh in the mud, near the river side. The governor's brother was now very circumspect, and insisted that Mr. Park should walk before him, which not being agreed to, he threw down the saddle, which he carried, and went away; Mr. Park, taking off the stirrups and girth, instantly threw the saddle into the river; the negro no sooner observed this, than he ran from the bushes where he had concealed himself, rushed into the water, and by the help of his spear brought out the saddle and ran away with it. Mr. Park proceeded on a circuitous course through the bushes to avoid the lion. About four he arrived at Modiboo, where he found his saddle, the negro having brought it with him in a canoe. While conversing with this cowardly guide, and remonstrating on his conduct, a horse neighed; the negro asked if Mr. Park knew who was speaking



to him, and then informed him it was once his own horse, which he had left at Modiboo.

August 7, Mr. Park reached a small village, called Nema-doo; departing from thence, he fell in with a Moor and his wife, riding upon the top of the load. When she had proceeded about 200 yards, the bullock sunk into a hole, and threw both the load and herself among the reeds. The affrighted husband was petrified with horror, and suffered his wife to be almost drowned before he went to her assistance.

August 13, Mr. Park reached a small village within half a mile of Segó, having experienced a very unpleasant reception at the different villages he had passed. Here he learned that Mansong had sent out people to apprehend him; he therefore resolved to avoid Segó altogether, and proceeded westward to the Niger, until he arrived at a Foulah village called Sooboo. He pursued his course along the bank of the river, and passed a walled town called Kamalia. On the 15th, he passed a large town, called Sai. It is completely surrounded with two very deep trenches, at about 200 yards distance from the walls. On the top of the trenches are a number of square towers, and the whole has the appearance of a regular fortification.

About noon he came to the village of Kaimoo, situated upon the bank of the river; in the evening he arrived at a small village called Song, the morose inhabitants of which would not receive him, nor so much as permit him to enter the gate; but, as lions were very numerous in this part, Mr. Park resolved to stop in the neighbourhood of the village; having collected some grass for his horse, he accordingly lay down under a tree by the gate. About 10 o'clock, he heard the roaring of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate, but the people within told him he must not enter; he then begged to inform them that a lion was approaching, and hoped they would allow him to come within the gate; while waiting for an answer, the lion approached so near, that he heard him rustling among the grass, and climbed the tree for safety: about midnight the people opened the gate, and desired him to come in.

August 16, he passed a considerable town with a mosque, called Jabbee. Here the country begins to rise into hills, and he could see the summit of high mountains to the west; at noon he stopped at a small village, called Yamina. This town has, at a distance, a very fine appearance. It is a very considerable place, and is much frequented by the Moors; in the evening he arrived at Farra, a small village. Next day Mr. Park passed a considerable town, called Balaba, and the ruins of three other towns, destroyed by Daisy, king of Kaarta; near one of these ruins he climbed a tamarind tree, but found the fruit quite green and sour.

August 18, by mistake, he took the wrong road, and did not observe his error until he found the Niger considerably to the left. Directing his course towards it, he travelled through long grass and bushes, with great difficulty, until he came to a small but very rapid river, which he at first took for a creek, or one of the streams of the Niger. Examining it with attention, he sat down upon the bank, in hopes some traveller might pass who could afford him information; no one arriving, he determined upon entering the river considerably above the path-way, in order to reach the other side before the stream had swept too far down. With this view he fastened his clothes upon the saddle, and was standing up to the neck in water, pulling his horse by the bridle to follow him, when a man came accidentally to the place, calling to him with great vehemence to come out. The alligators, he said, would destroy both him and his horse. When he had left the water, the stranger, who had never before seen an European, seemed wonderfully surprized. He twice put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming in a low tone of voice, 'God preserve me!' but when Mr. Park spoke in the Bambarra tongue, he promised to assist him in crossing the river, the name of which, he said, was Frina. He then went a little way along the bank, and called to some person who answered. In a short time a canoe, with two boys, came paddling along the reeds. These boys agreed to transport Mr. Park across the river, and he arrived in the evening at Taffara, a walled town.

On his arrival at Taffara, owing to the unsettled state of the town, through the election of a governor, which was then agitated, Mr. Park experienced a very inhospitable reception; no person invited him to his house; he was forced to sit down alone under a tree, exposed to the wind and rain of a tornado, which raged with great violence until midnight.

August 20, he came to the village of Soolha, and endeavoured to purchase some corn from the governor, who was sitting at the gate, but was told he had none to spare. While he was examining the countenance of this sullen old man, he called a slave who was working in a corn-field at a little distance, and ordered him to bring his paddle along with him. The slave was then ordered to dig a hole in the ground. The slave began with his paddle to dig a pit in the earth; and the governor kept muttering and talking to himself until the pit was almost finished, when he repeatedly pronounced words to this effect; 'Good for nothing;' 'A real plague;' which expressions Mr. Park applied to himself, and as the pit had very much the appearance of a grave, he thought it prudent to mount his horse, and was about to decamp, when the slave, who had been sent to a neighbouring village, returned with the corpse of a boy about nine or ten years of age, quite naked. The negro carried the boy by a leg and an arm, and threw it into the pit with a savage indifference. As he covered the body with earth, he frequently exclaimed, 'Money lost;' whence it was probable that the boy was one of his slaves.

Departing from this shocking scene, Mr. Park travelled on to Koolikorro, a considerable town, and a great market for salt. Here he lodged at the house of a Bambarran, who had turned mussulman, but was very superstitious. He wished his tenant, being a Christian, to write him a saphie; and for this purpose brought out his writing-board, saying, that he would give Mr. Park a supper of rice if he would write him a saphie to protect him from wicked men; he complied with the request, and wrote the board full from top to bottom; upon which the Bambarran washed the writing from the board into a calabash with a little water, and having said a few prayers over it, drank this powerful draught; after which, lest a sin-

gle word should escape, he licked the board until it was quite dry. Information of this circumstance being carried to the governor, he sent his son with half a sheet of writing-paper, desiring him to write a saphie to procure wealth. He brought some meal and milk as a present; and when the saphie was finished, he appeared highly pleased, and promised in the morning to bring some milk for breakfast.

August 23, Mr. Park arrived at Bamnaka, which although but a middling town, its inhabitants are very rich. From this place he had a singing-man for his guide to Sibidooloo. A little before sun-set, he arrived at a romantic village, called Kooma. This village is surrounded by a high wall, and is the sole property of a Mandingo merchant. August 25, he left Kooma, and proceeded towards Sibidooloo.

The road was very steep and rocky, and he was obliged to travel very slow. As he was stopping to drink a little water at a rivulet, he heard a loud screaming as of people in distress; he immediately conjectured that a lion had appeared, but proceeding on he found one of the shepherds who had set out with him, lying on the grass as if dead; approaching him, he whispered Mr. Park to tell him to stop, as a party of armed men had seized upon his companion, and shot two arrows at himself as he was making his escape; while considering what course to pursue, he turned round and saw, at a little distance, a man sitting upon the stump of a tree; he distinguished also the heads of six or seven more, sitting on the grass, with muskets in their hands. He at last resolved to ride forward towards them: as he approached them, he was in hopes they were elephant-hunters, and, by way of conversation, asked if they had shot any thing? Without returning any answer, one of them desired Mr. Park to dismount; and then, as if recollecting himself, waved his hand for him to proceed; he accordingly rode past, and had crossed a deep rivulet, when he heard somebody call, and looking behind, saw the men running after him, and crying out for him to turn back. He stopped until they all came up, when they informed him that the king of the Foulahs had sent them on purpose to bring him, his horse, and every thing he possessed, to Fouladoo.

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Without hesitation, Mr. Park turned back and followed them; coming to a dark place in the wood, one of them said, 'This place will do,' and immediately snatched his hat from his head. Mr. Park told them, that unless his hat was returned he should proceed no further; but before he had time to receive an answer, another drew his knife, and seizing upon a metal button which remained upon his waistcoat, cut it off and put it in his pocket. Mr. Park now seeing their design, resolved to let them proceed, without interruption, to search his pockets, and examine every part of his apparel; observing that he had one waistcoat under another, they insisted that he should take them both off; and at last they stripped him quite naked; even his half-boots were minutely inspected. Whilst they were examining the plunder, he earnestly requested them to return the pocket-compass; but when he pointed it out to them on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking he was going to take it up, cocked his musket, and swore he would lay him dead upon the spot if he presumed to touch it. After this, some of them went away with his horse, while the remainder stood considering whether they should leave him naked on the spot, or allow him something to shelter him from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed; they returned him the worst of two shirts and a pair of trowsers; and one of them threw back his hat, which, in the crown, had the memorandums preserved. In this wretched and forlorn condition, a stranger in a strange land, Mr. Park felt the benign consolations of religion tranquillizing his heart at this awful moment, when he was in the midst of a vast wilderness, naked and alone, surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage, and 500 miles from the nearest European settlement; even at that moment he could view with delight the extraordinary beauty of a small moss in fructification; and, while his eye contemplated, he for a time forgot his own painful situation. At length he started up, and, disregarding hunger and fatigue, proceeded till he came to a small village, where he overtook the two shepherds who travelled with him from Koomar, and at sun-set he arrived at Sibidooloo, the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding.

The town of Sibidooloo is situated in a fertile valley, surrounded with high rocky hills. It is scarcely accessible for horses. When he entered the town, the people gathered round him, where he was presented to the *dooty* or governor, who is here called *mansa*. Manding is a sort of republic, or rather oligarchy; every town having a particular *mansa*, and the chief power of the state, in the last resort, being lodged in the assembly of the whole body.

Mr. Park told the *mansa* of his having been robbed, and the story was confirmed by the two shepherds. He continued smoking his pipe till it was finished, when, taking the pipe from his mouth, and tossing up the sleeve of his cloak with an indignant look, he said, 'You shall have every thing restored to you, I have sworn it;' and then turning to his attendants, 'Give the white man,' said he, 'a draught of water, and with the first light of the morning go over the hills and inform the *dooty* of Bammakoo that a poor white man, the king of Bambarra's stranger, has been robbed by the king of Fouladoo's people.' Mr. Park heartily thanked the *mansa* for his conduct, and accepted his invitation to remain with him till the return of the messenger; he was conducted into a hut, and had some victuals given him, but the crowd of people prevented him from sleeping until past midnight.

After spending two days, Mr. Park requested to retire to the next village; finding him anxious to proceed, the *mansa* said he might go as far as the town called Wanda, where he hoped he would remain until he had an account of his horse, &c. He departed on the morning of the 28th, and on the 30th arrived at Wanda, a small town with a mosque, and surrounded by a high wall. The *mansa*, who was a Mahometan, was both a magistrate and school-master; he kept his school in an open shed, where Mr. Park had his lodging. Here he washed his shirt and spread it upon a bush to dry, while he sat naked in the shade; as he was sitting in this manner, the fever he had for some time been afflicted with returned, with alarming symptoms. He remained at Wanda nine days, during which time he experienced the return of the fever every day.



The scarcity of provisions was great at this time; every evening, five or six women came to the Mansa's house to receive each of them a certain quantity of corn. Mr. Park enquired of the Mansa, whether he maintained these poor women from pure bounty, or expected a return when the harvest should be gathered in. 'Observe that boy,' said he (pointing to a fine child about five years of age), 'his mother has sold him to me for 40 days provision for herself and the rest of the family; I have bought another boy in the same manner.' When the woman returned, Mr. Park desired the boy to point out his mother; she was much emaciated, but had nothing cruel or savage in her countenance; and, when she had received the corn, she came and talked to her son with as much cheerfulness as if he had been still under her care.

September 6, two persons arrived from Sibidooloo, bringing Mr. Park's horse and his clothes; but he found his pocket-compass broken to pieces. Sept. 7, as his horse was grazing near the brink of a well, the ground gave way, and he fell in. The well was about 10 feet in diameter, and so very deep, that when he laid snorting in the water, it was thought impossible to save him. The inhabitants of the village assembled, and, having tied together a number of withes, they lowered a man down into the well, who fastened those withes round the body of the horse; and the people, having first drawn up the man, took hold of the withes, and pulled out the horse with great facility. The poor animal was now reduced to a mere skeleton; it was found, therefore, impracticable to travel with him any further. Mr. Park, therefore, made a present of him to his landlord; and the saddle and bridle to the mansa of Sibidooloo.

September 8, he departed, having been presented by his landlord with a spear, and a leather bag to contain his clothes. He now converted his half-boots into sandals, and travelled with more ease. Sept. 17, he reached Mansia, a considerable town, where small quantities of gold are collected. The mansa of this town had the character of being very inhospitable; he, however, sent the sick and wearied traveller a little corn for supper, but demanded something in return; and when told



he possessed nothing of value, he said in jest, 'that a white skin should not defend him if he told lies.' He then shewed him the hut in which he was to sleep, and took away his spear. Mr. Park, suspicious of this man, privately requested one of the inhabitants of the place, who had a bow and quiver, to sleep with him. About midnight, he heard somebody approach the door, and, observing the moon-light struck suddenly into the hut, he started up, and saw a man treading cautiously over the threshold; he immediately snatched up the negro's bow and quiver, the rattling of which made the man withdraw. He proved to be the mansa.

Sept. 18, as soon as it was light, Mr. Park sent the negro to the house of the mansa, who brought away his spear; he told him the mansa was asleep, and advised him to seize this opportunity of pursuing his journey, which he immediately did, and shortly arrived at Kamalia, a small town, situated at the bottom of some rocky hills, where the inhabitants collect gold in great quantities.

On his arrival, he was conducted to the house of a *bushreen* or priest, named Karfa Taura. He was collecting a coffle of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia. When Mr. Park entered, he was reading an Arabic book, and, with a smile, asked if he understood it. Being answered in the negative, he desired one of his attendants to fetch the little curious book which had been brought from the west-country. On opening this small volume, he was surprized and delighted to find it to be *The Book of Common Prayer* of the established church of England, and Karfa expressed great joy to find he could read it. This hospitable negro made Mr. Park's situation comfortable and pleasant: a hut was provided for him with a mat to sleep on, an earthen jar for holding water, and a small calabash to drink out of; he had two meals a day sent from Karfa's own dwelling, and the slaves were ordered to supply him with fire-wood and water. But, alas! these kind attentions could not stop the alarming progress of a fever, with which Mr. Park had been sometimes afflicted, and his health continued very precarious for five weeks. On his recovery, Karfa set out on his slave-trafficing expedition, and

left Mr. Park to the care of a good old bushreen, who acted as schoolmaster to the young people of Kamalia.

Mr. Park, throughout the whole of his route both in going and returning, found the climate in most places extremely hot. About the middle of June the tornadoes arise. These usher in what is called the rainy season, which continues until November. When the wind sets in from the north-east, it produces a great change in the country; the grass soon becomes dry and withered; the rivers subside very rapidly, and many of the trees shed their leaves. About this period is commonly felt the *harmattan*, a dry and parching wind, blowing from the north-east, and accompanied by a thick smoaky haze, through which the sun appears of a dull red colour.

Whenever the grass is sufficiently dry, the negroes set it on fire; but in Ludamar and other Moorish countries, this practice is not allowed; for it is on the withered stubble that the Moors feed their cattle until the return of the rain. In the middle of the night, the plains variegated with lines of fire, and the light reflected on the sky, makes the heavens appear to be in a blaze. In the day-time, pillars of smoke are seen in every direction; while birds of prey hover round the conflagration, and pour down upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles, which attempt to escape from the flames. This annual burning is followed by a fresh and sweet verdure, and the country is rendered more healthy and pleasant.

The population of Africa is not very great; the interior countries abound with more inhabitants than the maritime districts. The different negro nations possess a wonderful similarity of disposition. The Mandingoes are a very gentle race; cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, and fond of flattery. The most prominent defect in their character is, that unwarrantable propensity which they have for theft; they are not, however, habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. Their natural sense of justice seems neither perverted nor extinguished. Their disinterested charity, and tender solicitude to alleviate distress, demands the highest praise; and Mr. Park has attested, what his worthy predecessor Mr. Ledyard had before observed, that the females are

eminently distinguished for the exercise of those gentle and amiable virtues. Maternal tenderness is eminently conspicuous among the African women, and this is duly retained by the children; for, throughout all parts of Africa, the greatest affront that can be offered to a negro is to reflect on *her* who gave him birth. The negro women suckle their children until they are able to walk themselves. Three years nursing is not uncommon; and, during this period, the husband devotes his attention to his other wives; polygamy being generally practised. As soon as an infant is able to walk, it is permitted to run about with great freedom; the mother is not over solicitous to prevent it from slight falls, and other trifling accidents. As they advance in life, the girls are taught to spin cotton, and to beat corn, and are instructed in other domestic duties; while the boys are employed in the labours of the field. Both sexes, on attaining the age of puberty, are circumcised. This painful operation is not so much considered by the heathen negroes a religious ceremony, as a matter of convenience and utility. They have an idea that it renders the marriage-state prolific. The operation is performed upon several young people at the same time, all of whom are exempted from any sort of labour for two months afterwards. During this period they form a society called *solimaneroo*; they visit the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants. In the course of this celebration, it frequently happens, that some of the young women get married. If a man takes a fancy to any one of them, it is not necessary he should make the overture to the girl herself; the first object is to agree with the parents concerning the recompence to be given to them for the loss of the company and services of their daughter. If the lover is willing to give the sum demanded, he then communicates his wishes to the damsel; but her consent is by no means necessary to the match; for, if the parents agree to it, and eat a few *kolla nuts*, which are presented by the suitor as an earnest of the bargain, the young lady must either have the man of their choice, or continue unmarried, for she cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents should attempt

it, the lover is then authorized by the laws of the country, to seize upon the girl as his slave. When the day for celebrating the nuptials is fixed upon, a select number of people are invited to be present at the wedding: a bullock or goat is killed, and great plenty of victuals dressed for the occasion. As soon as it is dark, the bride is conducted into a hut, where a company of matrons assist in arranging the wedding dress, which is always white cotton, and is put on in such a manner as to conceal the bride from head to foot. Thus arranged, she is seated upon a mat, in the middle of the floor, and the old women place themselves in a circle round her. They then give her a series of instructions; and point out, with great propriety, the deportment of a married life. This scene of instruction is sometimes interrupted by girls, who amuse the company with singing and dancing. While the bride remains within the hut with the women, the bridegroom devotes his attention to the guests of both sexes, who assemble without doors; and by distributing among them small presents of kolla nuts, contributes to the hilarity of the evening. When supper is ended, the company spend the remainder of the night in singing and dancing, and seldom separate until day-break. About midnight, the bride is privately conducted by the women into the hut which is to be her future residence; and the bridegroom, upon a given signal, retires from his company. The new-married couple are always disturbed towards morning by the women, who assemble to inspect the *nuptial sheet*, and dance round it. The negroes allow a plurality of wives; those who are Mahometans limit themselves to four, who are treated more like hired servants than companions; they have the management of household affairs, and each in rotation dresses the victuals.

Instances of conjugal infidelity are very rare in this country. When the wives quarrel among themselves, the husband decides between them, and sometimes finds it necessary to administer a little corporal chastisement before tranquillity can be restored.

The Mandingoes and negroes in general, have no artificial method of dividing time. They calculate the years by the

number of *rainy seasons*. They portion the year into moons, and reckon the days by so many suns. The day they divide into morning, mid-day, and evening; and further subdivide it, when necessary, by pointing to the sun's place in the heavens.

On the first appearance of the new moon, they view it as newly created, and say a short prayer. This seems to be the only visible adoration those negroes, who are not Mahometans, offer to the Deity. This prayer is pronounced in a whisper, the person holding up his hands before his face; at the conclusion, they spit upon their hands, and rub them over their face. They think it very unlucky to begin a journey, or any other work of consequence, in the last quarter of the moon. An eclipse, whether of sun or moon, is supposed to be effected by witchcraft. The stars are very little regarded; and the the whole study of astronomy they view as dealing in magic.

Their notions of geography are equally peurile: they imagine that the world is an extended plane, the termination of which no eye can discover; it being, they say, overhung with clouds and darkness. They describe the sea as a large river of salt-water, on the farther shore of which is situated a country called *Tobaubodoo*, 'The Land of White People.' At a distance from *Tobaubodoo*, they describe another country, which they suppose is inhabited by cannibals of gigantic size; this country they call 'The Land where the Slaves are sold.' But of all countries in the world, their own appears to them to be the best, and their own people the happiest.

Some of the religious opinions of the negroes are not unworthy attention. The belief of one Supreme Being, and a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them. But, except on the appearance of a new moon, they do not think it necessary to offer up prayers and supplications to the Deity. They consider it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees, and change the purposes, of unerring wisdom. If they are asked for what reason they pray at the new moon, they answer, because their fathers did so before them. The concerns of this world they believe are committed by the Almighty to

the superintendence and direction of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose that certain magical ceremonies have great influence.

The usual diet of the negroes is different in different districts. In general the free people breakfast about day-break upon gruel made of meal and water, with a little of the fruit of the tamarind to give it an acid taste. About two o'clock in the afternoon, a sort of hasty pudding, with a little shea-butter, is the common meal; but the supper constitutes the principal repast, which is seldom ready before midnight. This consists almost universally of kouskous, with a small portion of animal food or shea-butter, mixed with it. In eating they use the right hand only. The beverage of the pagan negroes is beer and mead, of each of which they often drink to excess. The Mahometan converts drink nothing but water. The natives, of all descriptions, take snuff and smoke tobacco; their pipes are made of wood, with an earthen bowl of curious workmanship; but in the interior countries, the greatest of all luxuries is salt. It would appear strange to an European to see a child suck a piece of rock-salt as if it were sugar; this is frequent in Africa; but the poorer sort of inhabitants are so rarely indulged in this precious article, that to say, 'a man eats salt to his victuals,' is to say he is a *rich man*. The negroes are in general very industrious; they are employed in the labours of the field, in fishing, or in hunting; their weapons are bows and arrows; they are very dextrous marksmen, and will hit a lizard on a tree, or any other small object, at an amazing distance.

The women spin cotton with a distaff; the thread is not fine but well twisted, and makes a very durable cloth. The weaving is performed by the men; the loom is made exactly upon European principles; but so small and narrow, that a web is seldom more than four inches broad. The shuttle is of the common construction. The women dye this cloth of a rich and lasting blue colour, by the following simple process: The leaves of the indigo, when fresh gathered, are pounded in a wooden mortar, and mixed in a large earthen jar, with a strong ley of wood-ashes, and chamber-ley is sometimes added; the



cloth is steeped in this mixture, and allowed to remain until it has acquired the proper shade. The colour is very beautiful, with a fine purple gloss, and equal to the best European or Indian blue. This cloth is cut into various pieces, and sewed into garments with needles of the natives own making. The only appropriate and peculiar trades among the negroes are the manufactures of leather and iron; they tan and dress leather with very great expedition, by steeping the hide first in a mixture of wood-ashes and water, until it parts with the hair; and afterwards, by using the pounded leaves of a tree, called *goo*, as an astringent. They are at great pains to render the hide as soft and pliant as possible, by rubbing it frequently with their hands, and beating it upon a stone. The hides of bullocks are converted chiefly into sandals, and therefore require less care in dressing than the skins of sheep and goats, which are used for covering quivers and saphies, and in making sheaths for swords and knives, belts, pockets, &c. Their skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour; the red by means of millet-stalks reduced to powder; and the yellow by the root of a plant.

Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted with the method of smelting gold, in which process they use an alkaline salt, obtained from the ley of burnt corn-stalks, evaporated to dryness. They likewise draw the gold into wire, and form it into a variety of ornaments; some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity. The natives also make very beautiful baskets, hats, and other articles, for use and ornament, from rushes, which they stain of different colours; and they contrive also to cover their calabashes with interwoven cane, dyed in the same manner. In all these laborious occupations, the master and his slaves work together, without any distinction of superiority.

The slaves of Africa are nearly in the proportion of three to one freeman. They claim no reward for their services, except food and clothing; and are treated with kindness or severity, according to the good or bad disposition of their masters. Domestic slaves, or such as are born in a man's own house, are treated with more lenity than those purchased with



money. The authority of the master over his domestic slave extends only to reasonable correction; he cannot sell his domestic, without first bringing him to a public trial before the chief men of the place. Prisoners taken in war, and slaves purchased with money, may be treated with severity, or sold to a stranger. There are regular markets, where slaves of this description are bought and sold. The slaves purchased by the Europeans are chiefly of this description. Slaves may be divided into two classes: those who are slaves from their birth, having been born of enslaved mothers, and such as were born free, but by some means have become slaves. Those of the first description, are by far the most numerous. Slaves of the second description, generally become so, either by captivity, famine, insolvency, or crimes.

Gold is often found in considerable quantities throughout every part of Manding; it is also found in great plenty in Jallonkadoo. The gold of Manding is never found in any vein, but always in small grains, nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head to that of a pea, scattered through a large body of sand or clay; and in this state it is called by the natives, *gold-powder*. When the streams and torrents of autumn have subsided, the sand is dug up, and repeatedly washed in large calabashes; after which the sediment is carefully examined, and the particles of gold picked out.

The gold-dust is kept in quills stopt up with cotton, and the people employed in collecting it, are fond of displaying a number of these quills in their hair. Part of this gold is converted into ornaments for the women; they are massy and convenient, particularly the ear-rings, which are commonly so heavy as to pull down and lacerate the lobe of the ear, to avoid which they are supported by a thong of red leather, which passes over the crown of the head from one ear to the other. When a lady of consequence is in full dress, her gold ornaments may be worth altogether from 50 to 80*l.* sterling. But by far the greater portion of gold is exchanged to the Moors for salt and other commodities.

Nothing creates a greater surprize among the negroes than the eagerness displayed by the Europeans to procure

the elephants' teeth. Elephants are very numerous in the interior of Africa, but they appear to be a distinct species from those found in Asia. The greater part of the ivory sold in the Gambia and Senegal rivers, is brought from the interior country; scattered teeth are frequently picked up in the woods, and travellers are very diligent in looking for them. It is a common practice with the elephant to thrust his teeth under the roots of such shrubs and bushes as grow in the dry and elevated parts of the country; where the soil is shallow. These bushes he easily overturns, and feeds on the roots, which are in general more tender and juicy than the hard woody branches of the foliage; but when the teeth are partly decayed by age, and the roots more firmly fixed, the greater exertions of the animal frequently causes them to break short.

The elephant-hunters seldom go out singly; a party of four or five join together, and having each furnished himself with powder and ball, and a quantity of corn-meal in a leather bag sufficient for five or six days provisions, they enter the most unfrequented parts of the wood, and examine with great care every thing that can lead to a discovery of the elephants. When they discover a herd of elephants, they follow them at a distance, until they perceive some one stray from the rest, and come into such a situation as to be fired at with advantage. The hunters then approach with great caution, creeping amongst the high grass until they have got near enough to be sure of their aim; they then discharge all their pieces at once, and throw themselves on their faces on the grass. The wounded elephant immediately applies his trunk to the different wounds, but being unable to extract the balls, and seeing no one near him, he becomes quite furious and runs about among the bushes, until, by fatigue and loss of blood, he has exhausted himself, and affords the hunters an opportunity of firing at him again, by which he is generally brought to the ground. The skin is now taken off and extended on the ground with pegs to dry, and such parts of the flesh as are most esteemed are cut up into thin slices and dried in the sun, to serve for provisions on some future occasion. The teeth are struck out with a light hatchet, which the hunters always carry

along with them, not only for that purpose, but also to enable them to cut down such trees as contain honey; for, besides their provisions, they feed upon elephant's flesh and wild honey. The ivory is seldom brought down to the coast by the hunters themselves. They dispose of it annually to the itinerant merchants, who come annually from the coast with arms and ammunition to purchase this valuable commodity. The quantity of ivory collected in this part of Africa is not so great, nor are the teeth in general so large, as in the country nearer the line; few of them weigh more than 80 or 100lbs.; and upon an average, a bar of European merchandize may be reckoned as the price of a pound of ivory.

The schoolmaster with whom Mr. Park lodged at Kamalia, was a man of a mild disposition and gentle manners; although a Mahometan, he was not intolerant. He spent much of his time in reading, and teaching was his pleasure as well as employment. His school consisted of 17 boys and two girls. The girls received their instructions in the day-time, but the boys always had their lessons by night, by the light of a large fire. Exclusive of the koran, the schoolmaster possessed a variety of manuscripts which had been purchased from the trading Moors, and borrowed from priests in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Park discovered that the negroes are in possession of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses. This is so highly esteemed, that it is often sold for the value of one prime slave. They have also a version of the book of Psalms and the book of Isaiah. It is probable in all these copies, there are interpolations of some of the peculiar tenets of Mahomet; from these manuscripts the negroes are well acquainted with the account of our first parents, the death of Abel, the deluge, &c.

When any scholar has read through the koran, and performed a certain number of public prayers, a feast is prepared by the schoolmaster, and the scholar undergoes an examination. When the abilities of the pupil has been sufficiently tried, the last page of the koran is put into his hand, and he is desired to read it aloud; after the boy has finished this les-

son, he presses the paper against his forehead and pronounces the word *amen*, upon which all the priests present arise and shake him by the hand, and confer upon him the title of *bush-reen*. When this is completed, his parents are informed he has finished his education, and that it is incumbent upon them to redeem their son, by giving to the schoolmaster a slave, or the price of a slave in exchange; which is always done if the parents can afford to do it; if not, the boy remains the domestic slave of the schoolmaster, until he can, by his own industry, collect goods sufficient to ransom himself.

On the 24th of January, 1797, Karfa returned to Kamalia with a number of people, and 13 prime slaves whom he had purchased. He likewise brought with him a young girl whom he had married as his fourth wife, and had given her parents three prime slaves for her. She was kindly received at the door by the other wives, who conducted their new acquaintance and co-partner into one of the best huts which they had caused to be swept and white-washed on purpose to receive her. Karfa generously presented Mr. Park with a new garment and trowsers, such as are commonly worn.

The slaves Karfa had brought with him were all prisoners of war. Eleven of them confessed to Mr. Park that they had been slaves from their infancy; but the other two refused to give any account of their former condition. They were all very inquisitive, and first viewed the traveller with looks of horror, and repeatedly asked if his countrymen were cannibals. Mr. Park told them they were employed in cultivating the land; but they would not believe him, and one of them, putting his hand upon the ground, said, with great simplicity, 'Have you really got such ground as this to set your feet upon?' The slaves were secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of the other into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are fastened together by their necks, with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light chain passed round their necks. Such of them as evince signs of discontent, are secured by a thick billet of

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wood, with a smooth notch made on one side of it; the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ankle. In other respects the treatment of the slaves is not cruel.

April 19, Mr. Park departed from Kamalia with the coffle, or caravan of stores. The number of travellers amounted to seventy-three, among whom were six singing-men. Most of the inhabitants of the town followed the caravan for near half a mile, some of them crying, others shaking hands with their relations; and when it had gained a rising-ground, all the people in the caravan were ordered to sit down in one place, with their faces towards the west; the town's people were desired to sit down in another place, with their faces towards Kamalia. The schoolmaster then, with the assistance of two others, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and solemn prayer; after which they walked three times round the caravan, making an impression on the ground with the end of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the travellers rose up, and without taking a formal farewell of their friends, proceeded forwards. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exercise of walking quick occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs; hence it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk slowly until they arrived at Maraboo; from thence they continued their route to Bala, and on the 20th proceeded to Worumbay, and on the 21st entered the Jallonka wilderness. Here the caravan rested for a time, while every one partook of some meal, and drank a little water; after which they went on until they arrived at the river Kokora, where the caravan halted. In the afternoon they crossed two small branches of this river. About sun-set they came in sight of Kintyakooro, a considerable town, nearly square, situated in the middle of a large and well-cultivated plain.

At approaching this town, great etiquette was observed; five or six singing-men were in front; these were followed by the other free people; then came the slaves, fastened by a rope round the necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with

a spear between each four: after them came the domestic slaves; and in the rear the women of free condition, wives of the slates, &c. In this manner they proceeded until they came within 100 yards of the gate, when the singing-men began a loud song, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants. When they entered the town, they proceeded to the *bentary*, or town-house, where the people gathered round them to hear their history. This was related publicly by two of the singing-men. When this history was ended, the governor of the town gave them a small present, and each traveller was accommodated with lodging and provision for the night.

April 22, the caravan moved from Kentykakoo, and on the 23d, entered the Sallonka wilderness. On the 24th, one of the female slaves was very sulky, and, when offered some gruel, refused to drink it; she also began to lag behind, and complain dreadfully of pains in her legs; her load was taken from her and given to another slave.

About 11 o'clock, as they were resting by the side of a rivulet, some of the people discovered a hive of bees in a hollow tree, and were proceeding to obtain the honey, when an astonishing swarm issued from the hive, to attack in all directions. Mr. Park took the alarm first, and was the only person who escaped with impunity.

While the people were busily picking out the stings they had received, it was observed that the poor negro-woman was not come up; and as many of the slaves had left their bundles behind, owing to the fright, it was necessary they should go back and fetch them: to effect this, fire was set to the grass, and the wind driving the fire furiously along, the party pushed through the smoke, and returned with their bundles, and the female slave. She was very much exhausted, and had crept to the stream, in hopes to defend herself from the bees, by throwing water over her body; but this proved ineffectual, for she was stung in the most dreadful manner. When the stings had been picked out, she was washed with water, and rubbed with bruised leaves; but the wretched woman refused to proceed any further, declaring she would rather die than walk



another step. As intreaties and threats were used in vain, the whip was at length applied, and after bearing patiently a few strokes, she started up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer, when she made an attempt to run away from the caravan, but was so weak that she fell down in the grass. Though she was unable to rise, the whip was a second time applied, but without effect; upon which, Karfa ordered her to be placed upon the ass which carried the dry provisions, but she could not sit erect; and the ass being very refractory, it was found to be impracticable to carry her forward in that manner. The merchants were unwilling to abandon her; they therefore made a sort of litter of bamboo canes, upon which she was placed, and tied on it with slips of bark. This litter was carried on the heads of two slaves, one walking before the other, and they were followed by two others, who relieved them occasionally.

The poor slave became so ill that her limbs were stiff, and she could neither walk nor stand; she was therefore fastened on the ass, by having her hands tied under the ass's neck, and her feet under his belly; but the ass was so very unruly that he would not proceed with the load, and threw the slave off, by which one of her legs was much bruised. Every effort proving ineffectual, the general cry was, '*Kang-tegi*,' (cut her throat, cut her throat). Mr. Park, willing to avoid so horrid a spectacle, proceeded on, but was soon informed a more dismal fate attended this poor unfortunate child of woe, for the barbarians left her on the road, where undoubtedly she soon perished, or was probably devoured by wild beasts.

April 28, the caravan arrived at an unwall'd town called Manna. The chief, with a number of his people, accompanied the travellers across the banks of the *Busing*, a principal branch of the Senegal, over a bridge of a singular construction. The river at this place is smooth and deep, and has very little current. Two tall trees, when tied together by the tops, are sufficiently long to reach from one side to the other, the roots resting upon the rocks, and the tops floating in the waters. When a few trees have been placed in this direction, they are covered with dry bamboos, so as to form a floating



bridge with a sloping gangway at each end, where the trees rest upon the rocks. This bridge is carried away every year by the swelling of the river in the rainy season, and is constantly rebuilt by the inhabitants of Manna, who on that account expect a small tribute from every passenger.

May 3, they arrived at a village near Malacotta, where the schoolmaster's elder brother resided; a messenger was dispatched to him, and he immediately came; the interview was most affecting; they had not seen each other for nine years. They reached Malacotta in the evening. It is an unwalled town; the huts are made of split canes twisted into a sort of wicker-work, and plaistered over with mud. Here they make very good soap, by boiling ground nuts in water, and then adding a layer of wood and ashes. They also manufacture excellent iron.

A party of the town's people brought information concerning a war between Almanî Abdulkader, king of Foota Torra, and Damel, king of the Jaloffs. The king of Foota Torra had sent an embassy to Damel, to induce him to turn Mahometan. The ambassador had an audience of Damel, laid two knives before him, and addressed him thus: 'With this knife (said he) Abdulkader will condescend to shave the head of Damel, if he will embrace the Mahometan faith; and with this other knife Abdulkader will cut the throat of Damel, if he refuses to embrace it: take your choice.' Damel coolly answered, he had no choice to make; he neither chose the one nor the other. In the course of the war that ensued, the vain-glorious Abdulkader was taken captive. When the royal prisoner was brought before Damel, that magnanimous prince addressed him as follows: 'Abdulkader, answer me this question: If the chance of war had placed me in your situation, and you in mine, how would you have acted?' 'I would have thrust my spear into your heart,' replied Abdulkader, 'and I know that a similar fate awaits me.' 'Not so,' said Damel, 'my spear is, indeed, red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and I could now give it a deeper stain by dipping it in your own; but this would not build up my town, nor bring to life the thousands who fell in the woods. I will not there-

fore kill you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave, until I perceive that your presence in your kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours, and then I will consider of the proper way of disposing of you.' Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave for three months; at the end of which period Damel restored him to his dominions.

May 7, the caravan left Malacotta, and having crossed the *Honey* river, a branch of the Senegal, arrived at a walled town called Bentygala, and two days after at Dindikoo.

May 12, they crossed the Falemè river, and on the next day arrived at Baniseribe. One of the slatees was a native of this place. This man invited Mr. Park to his house, at the gate of which his friends met him with great expressions of joy; shaking hands, embracing, singing, and dancing before him. As soon as he had seated himself upon a mat by the threshold of his door, a young woman (his intended bride) brought a little water in a calabash, and kneeling down before him, desired him to wash his hands; when he had done this, the girl, with a tear of joy sparkling in her eye, drank the water; this being considered as the greatest proof of her fidelity and love.

May 16, they reached a large town called Kirwani, near which are several smelting furnaces. Departing from hence, they entered the Tenda wilderness, and reached a walled town called Tambacunda. Here a palaver was held on account of the conduct of one of the slatees in the caravan, who had formerly married a woman of this town; she had borne him two children, but afterwards went to Manding, and remained there eight years without sending any account of himself to his deserted wife; who seeing no prospect of his return, had, at the end of three years, married another man, to whom she had likewise borne two children. The slatee now claimed his wife, but the second husband would not give her up. The determination of the assembly was, that the wife should make her choice, and live with which she chose. The lady was dubious as to making up her mind; but Mr. Park suspected that '*First Love*' would carry the day.

June 4, Mr. Park arrived at Medina, the capital of the king of Wooll's dominions; and two days after at Jindey; where the caravan stopped, and Mr. Park took an affectionate farewell of his fellow-travellers, and, accompanied with Karfa and one of the Foulahs, proceeded on until they arrived at Tendacunda in the evening, and were hospitably received at the house of a black female, named seniora Camilla, a lady who spoke the English language. She seemed much astonished at Mr. Park's return, assuring him, that she had been informed he had been murdered by the Moors. Karfa, who had never heard people converse together in English, listened with great attention; every thing he saw seemed wonderful: the furniture of the house, the chairs, and particularly beds with curtains, were objects of his great admiration.

June 10, Mr. Robert Ainsley came to meet Mr. Park at Tendacunda, politely offered him the use of his house, and, with Mr. Ainsley and Karfa, Mr. Park returned to Pisania. Mr. Ainsley's schooner was lying before the place. This was the most surprizing object Karfa had yet seen; he could not easily comprehend the use of the masts, sails, and rigging; nor did he conceive it possible, by any sort of contrivance, to make so large a body move forwards by the common force of the wind; and the schooner, with her cable and anchor, kept Karfa in deep meditation the greater part of the day.

June 12, Mr. Park had an interview with Dr. Laidley, who received him as one risen from the dead. Finding that his wearing apparel was not sold or sent to England, Mr. Park resumed the English dress, and had his venerable beard shaved off. Karfa surveyed him in his British apparel with great delight; but regretted exceedingly the loss of his beard, which he said had changed him from a man to a boy. Mr. Park amply recompensed the kind attention of the benevolent negro, so as to cause him to say his journey had indeed been prosperous. But observing the improved state of manufactures, and the evident superiority of Europeans in the arts of civilized life, he would often, with a pensive look and involuntary sigh, exclaim, 'Black men are nothing;' at other times,

he would ask Mr. Park what could induce him, who was no trader, to think of exploring so miserable a country as Africa?

On the 15th of June, Mr. Park embarked in a slave ship bound to America, which was driven by stress of weather to the West Indies; and got with great difficulty, and under circumstances of considerable danger, into the island of Antigua. He sailed from thence on the 24th of November, and after a short, but tempestuous passage, arrived at Falmouth on the 22d of the following month, having been absent from England two years and seven months.

Immediately on his landing he hastened to London, anxious in the greatest degree about his family and friends, of whom he had heard nothing for two years. He arrived in London before day-light on the morning of Christmas day, 1797; and it being too early an hour to go to his brother-in-law Mr. Dickson, he wandered for some time about the streets in that quarter of the town where the house was. Finding one of the entrances into the gardens of the British museum accidentally open, he went in and walked about there for some time. It happened that Mr. Dickson, who had the care of those gardens, went there that morning upon some trifling business. What must have been his emotions on beholding, at that extraordinary time and place, the vision, as it must at first have appeared, of his long-lost friend, the object of so many anxious reflections, and whom he had long numbered with the dead.

Previous to Mr. Park having had made up his mind to undertake his second journey, he had settled in a provincial town of his native country, married, and had a family. He was practising surgery in the neighbourhood, with such success as may be attained in that confined sphere. He was greatly esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and distinguished by some of the most eminent literary characters of Scotland, among whom the venerable Dr. Ferguson, the last survivor of that illustrious school which will shine through all ages, in the names of Hume, Smith, Robertson, and Black. But his station, though thus comfortable and creditable to himself, and rendered still more honourable by the charities which he exercised towards

the poor in the course of his profession, was nevertheless ill suited to the adventurous turn of mind which his past habits had formed. His journies to visit distant patients—his long and solitary rides over 'cold and lonely heaths' and 'gloomy hills assailed by the wintry tempest,' seem to have produced in him feelings of disgust and impatience, which he had perhaps rarely experienced in the deserts of Africa. His strong sense of the irksomeness of this way of life broke out from him upon many occasions; especially when, previously to his undertaking his second African mission, one of his nearest relations expostulated with him on the imprudence of again exposing himself to dangers which he had so very narrowly escaped, and perhaps even to new and still greater ones; he calmly replied, that a few inglorious winters of country practice at Peebles, was a risk as great, and would tend as effectually to shorten life, as the journey which he was about to undertake.

In this frame of mind he received a summons to attend the secretary for Colonial affairs, who made him the proposal of conducting the expedition then under consideration. He desired a short time to consult his friends; but here, as in such cases almost uniformly happens, his mind was already pretty well resolved; and the consultation was a matter of courtesy or form.

From the time of his interview with lord Hobart, his determination was in fact taken. His imagination had been indulging itself for some years past upon the visions of discoveries which he was destined to make in the interior of Africa; and the object of his ambition was now within his grasp. He hastily announced to lord Hobart his acceptance of the proposal; employed a few days in settling his affairs and taking leave of his friends; and left Scotland in December, 1803, with the confident expectation of embarking in a very short time for the coast of Africa.

A month or two had elapsed since the proposition was made. Upon his arrival in town after he accepted it, a postponement of two months took place without any apparent cause; and the sailing was then fixed for the end of February. But at that critical moment, Mr. Addington and his friends were occupied

with concerns nearer and dearer to them than the geography of Africa. We allude not merely to the war then waging against France, though they had that also upon their hands; but the more interesting conflict with Mr. Pitt, who had grown as weary of opposition as Mr. Park was of provincial surgery; and, by means of motions respecting the navy and army, and other 'vital interests of the empire,' was occupied in turning out the above characters, from the places in which he had put them. Every thing was ready, and in great part completed, when the expedition was suddenly countermanded; the earl Camden having happily succeeded to the lord Hobart's place as his portion of the change; and it being, of course, necessary that the nature and objects of the undertaking should be expounded to that noble person, and his pleasure ascertained upon the practical question, Whether a scheme of scientific and commercial discovery ought to be pursued, notwithstanding that it had been devised by his immediate predecessors? When these circumstances are considered, it will not be deemed too great an allowance of time, if we add, that the sailing was put off from February to September. But this interval was spent very profitably by the traveller, who, at the judicious suggestion of some person in authority, made himself a tolerable master of Arabic, and acquired some expertness in taking observations. He also drew up a memorial upon the objects of the expedition, and the means of accomplishing them, accompanying his remarks with the reasons of the opinion very confidently entertained by him, that the Niger, after pursuing an easterly course turns to the southward, and falls into the Atlantic on the coast of Guinea, in the vast stream known by the name of the Congo.

In order to acquire the Arabic language, he had retired to his native place with an Arab, who came over in the suite of Elfi Bey. Upon his return to town, he found the plan was approved of; but, before it was finally determined on, he was desired by lord Camden, to consult major Rennell, and obtain his opinion both with regard to the scheme and objects of the expedition, and Mr. Park's own sentiments relative to the Niger, as stated in his memoir. For this purpose he went to



Brighthelmston, where major Rennell then was, and remained with him several days; during which time, the subjects proposed by lord Camden were repeatedly discussed between them. With respect to the supposition relative to the termination of the Niger, major Rennell was unconvinced by Park's reasonings, and declared his adherence to the opinion he had formerly expressed with regard to the course of that river. As to the plan of the intended expedition, he was so much struck with the difficulties and dangers likely to attend its execution, that he earnestly dissuaded Park from engaging in so hazardous an enterprize. His arguments, urged with all the warmth and sincerity of friendship, appear to have made a great impression upon Park; and he took leave of major Rennell with an apparent determination to relinquish the undertaking. But this conviction was little more than momentary, and ceased almost as soon as the influence and authority, from which it proceeded, were withdrawn. On Park's return to London, his enthusiasm revived; and all doubts and difficulties were at an end.

Every thing being now fixed, and the season already far advanced, Park was extremely anxious to hasten his departure, as the whole success of the expedition depended on its being undertaken a sufficient time before the rains. He was nevertheless detained two months for his official instructions,—a delay somewhat preposterous, when we consider that those instructions could only be the echo of his own memorial, in an abridgment and general form; and one month more elapsed, before he could set sail. As every thing was ready early in October, it is deeply to be lamented, that any accident should have prevented him from sailing in the course of that month. The delay, indeed, proved fatal to the enterprize, which in all probability would have had a different result, had it been undertaken at an adequate distance of time from the rainy season.

The plan being to send Park with a detachment of soldiers, an adequate store of merchandize, and a few seamen and carpenters to construct vessels for the navigation of the Niger—the main object of the expedition, and means by which its

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ulterior ends of discovery were to be accomplished—he received the local rank of captain in the king's service; and under him were commissioned, his brother-in-law Mr. Anderson, a surgeon, and Mr. George Scott, a draughtsman. They were to choose their soldiers from the garrison at Goree. Having sailed on the 30th of January, 1805, they arrived, after a somewhat tedious passage, on the 8th of March, at Jago, one of the cape de Verd islands, where they purchased the asses requisite for their caravan; and on the 28th, they reached Goree in safety. His prospects at this time seem to have been at the brightest; and we shall extract a few passages of his letters—rendered the more touching, from the contrast between their tenderness and the inflexible steadiness of his nature—if indeed we can, with any propriety, speak of contrasting qualities so much in harmony as real boldness and the kindly affections of the heart. The first passage is from a letter to his wife.

‘I have hopes, almost to certainty, that Providence will so dispose the tempers and passions of the inhabitants of this quarter of the world, that we shall be enabled to *slide through* much more smoothly than you expect.

‘I need not tell you how often I think about you; your own feelings will enable you to judge of that. The hopes of spending the remainder of my life with my wife and children, will make every thing seem easy; and you may be sure I will not rashly risk my life, when I know, that your happiness, and the welfare of my young ones, depend so much upon it. I hope my mother does not torment herself with unnecessary tears about me. I sometimes fancy how you and she will be meeting misfortune half-way, and placing me in many distressing situations. I have as yet experienced nothing but success; and I hope that six months more will end the whole as I wish.’

The next which we shall select is from a letter to Mr. Dickson, dated the 26th of April, the day before he left the Gambia.

‘Every thing, at present, looks as favourable as I could wish; and if all things go well, this day six weeks I expect to drink all your healths in the water of the Niger. The soldiers

are in good health and spirits. They are the most *dashing* men I ever saw; and if they preserve their health, we may keep ourselves perfectly secure from any hostile attempt on the part of the natives. I have little doubt but that I shall be able, with presents and fair words, to pass through the country to the Niger; and if once we are fairly afloat, *the day is won*.—Give my kind regards to Sir Joseph and Mr. Greville; and if they should think that I have paid too little attention to natural objects, you may mention that I had 44 men and 42 asses to look after, besides the constant trouble of packing and weighing bundles, palavering with the negroes, and laying plans for our future success. I never was so busy in my life.'

He had selected the 35 soldiers and a lieutenant who were to attend him, from the garrison of Goree, the whole having volunteered. Nevertheless, it appears that their habits or constitutions were not peculiarly well adapted to the service, and the rains destroyed them with a fatal rapidity. He found himself at the wished-for point, ready to embark on the Niger; but after losing his whole companions, except lieutenant Martyn and three soldiers, of whom one was in a state of mental derangement, the death of his friend and brother-in-law, Mr. Anderson, appears to have affected him most deeply. 'No event,' says he, 'ever threw the smallest gloom over my mind till I laid Mr. Anderson in the grave: I then felt myself as if left a second time lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa.'

In this perilous situation, indeed, he might well have been excused for shutting his heart against every sentiment not immediately connected with self-preservation. He was about to embark on a vast and unknown river, which might possibly terminate in some great lake or inland sea, at an immense distance from the coast; but which he hoped and believed would conduct him to the shores of the Atlantic, after a course of considerably more than 3,000 miles, through the midst of savage nations, and probably also after a long succession of rapids, lakes, and cataracts. This voyage, one of the most formidable ever attempted, was to be undertaken in a crazy

and ill-appointed vessel, manned by a few negroes and four Europeans!

At this interesting, but most trying moment, his habitual constancy did not forsake him; nay, strange to tell, and incredible, were it not known that great men perform things next to impossible by dint of a certain self-deception which never leaves in their minds any doubt of success, and which they always extend even to desperate circumstances where all chance of succeeding is gone; in the situation just now described, we find this extraordinary person not only cheerful, but almost sanguine. Before embarking in the crazy vessel, which, principally by his own labour, he had constructed of two old patched and worn out canoes, he completed his journal up to that date, such as it is here given; and occupied a few hours in writing letters to sir Joseph Banks, the Colonial department, and his wife. For inserting the two last of these singular pieces, we shall offer no apology to the reader. He will perceive a material difference in the colouring given to his situation, where he is speaking to his wife. From the letter to lord Camden, it is plain, that he was well aware of its extreme difficulties and perils; but that he, who had been full of confidence, where others would have despaired, was very far from despairing, where success appeared beyond all calculation.

*' To the Earl Camden, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c. &c.*

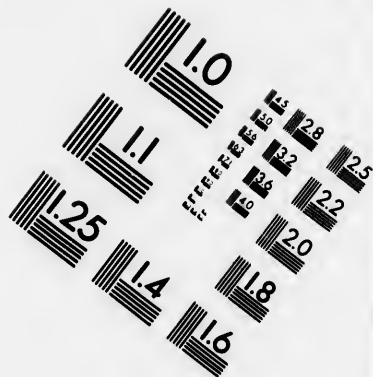
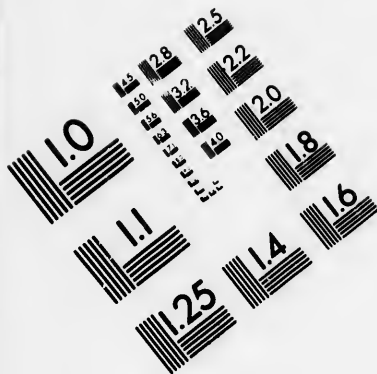
*' On board of H. M. Schooner Joliba, at anchor off Sansanding, November 17th, 1805.*

*' My lord,*

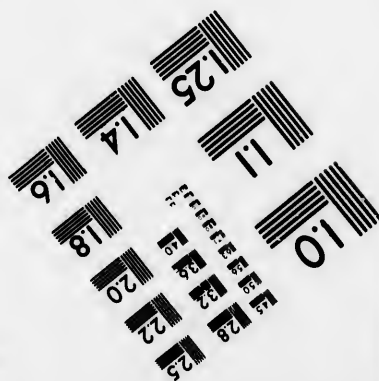
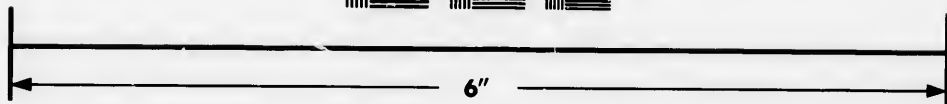
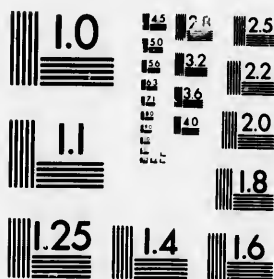
*' I have herewith sent you an account of each day's proceedings since we left Kayec. Many of the incidents related are in themselves extremely trifling; but are intended to recal to my recollection (if it pleases God to restore me again to my dear native land) other particulars illustrative of the manners and customs of the natives, which would have swelled this bulky communication to a most unreasonable size.*

*' Your lordship will recollect, that I always spoke of the rainy season with horror, as being extremely fatal to Europeans; and our*





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journey from the Gambia to the Niger will furnish a melancholy proof of it.

'We had no contest whatever with the natives, nor was any one of us killed by wild animals, or any other accidents; and yet I am sorry to say, that of 44 Europeans who left the Gambia in perfect health, five only are at present alive, viz. three soldiers (one deranged in his mind), lieutenant Martyn, and myself.

'From this account I am afraid that your lordship will be apt to consider matters as in a very hopeless state; but I assure you I am far from desponding. With the assistance of one of the soldiers, I have changed a large canoe into a tolerable good schooner, on board of which I this day hoisted the British flag, and shall set sail to the east, with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt. I have heard nothing that I can depend on respecting the remote course of this mighty stream; but I am more and more inclined to think, that it can end no where but in the sea.

'My dear friend Mr. Anderson, and likewise Mr. Scott, are both dead; but though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at last die on the Niger.

'If I succeed in the object of my journey, I expect to be in England in the month of May or June, by way of the West Indies.

'I request that your lordship will have the goodness to permit my friend sir Joseph Banks to peruse the abridged account of my proceedings, and that it may be preserved, in case I should lose my papers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

'To Mrs Park.

'Sansanding, 19th November, 1805.

'It grieves me to the heart to write any thing that may give you uneasiness; but such is the will of him who *doeth all things well!* Your brother Alexander, my dear friend, is no more! He died of the fever at Sansanding, on the morning of the 28th of October; for particulars I must refer you to your father.

'I am afraid that, impressed with a woman's fears and the anxieties of a wife, you may be led to consider my situation as a great deal worse than it really is. It is true, my dear friends Mr. Anderson and George Scott, have both bid adieu to the things of this

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world; and the greater part of the soldiers have died on the march during the rainy season; but you may believe me, I am in good health. The rains are completely over, and the healthy season has commenced, so that there is no danger of sickness; and I have still a sufficient force to protect me from any insult in sailing down the river, to the sea.

‘ We have already embarked all our things, and shall sail the moment I have finished this letter. I do not intend to stop or land any where, till we reach the coast: which I suppose will be some time in the end of January. We shall then embark in the first vessel for England. If we have to go round by the West Indies, the voyage will occupy three months longer; so that we expect to be in England on the first of May. The reason of our delay since we left the coast was the rainy season, which came on us during the journey; and almost all the soldiers became affected with the fever.

‘ I think it not unlikely but I shall be in England before you receive this.—You may be sure that I feel happy at turning my face towards home. We this morning have done with all intercourse with the natives; and the sails are now hoisting for our departure for the coast.’

It is probable that he set sail immediately after writing these letters; and every thing that has since been learnt of him rests upon evidence of an imperfect and indirect kind; sufficient, we fear, to justify the inference, that he has perished; but extremely unsatisfactory with respect to the details. One Isaaco, a Mahometan, went as a guide as far as Sansanding, and on his return was sent back to obtain information respecting our traveller. At the end of 22 months he returned, and presented to the English officer that employed him, a journal, in which the transactions of the journey as related by one Amadi, is inserted. The following is the account of his death, as reported by these men:

‘ Next day (Saturday) Mr. Park departed, and I (Almadi) slept in the village (Yaour). Next morning, I went to the king to pay my respects to him. On entering the house I found two men who came on horseback; they were sent by the chief of Yaour. They said to the king, “ we are sent by the chief of Yaour to let you know that the white men went

away, without giving you or him (the chief) any thing; they have a great many things with them, and we have received nothing from them; and this Amadou Fatouma now before you is a bad man, and has likewise made a fool of you both." The king immediately ordered me to be put in irons; which was accordingly done, and every thing I had taken from me; some were for killing me, and some for preserving my life. The next morning early, the king sent an army to a village called Boussa near the river side.—There is before this village a rock across the whole breadth of the river. One part of the rock is very high; there is a large opening in that rock in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through; the tide current is here very strong. This army went and took possession of the top of this opening. Mr. Park came there after the army had posted itself; he nevertheless attempted to pass. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. Mr. Park defended himself for a long time; two of his slaves at the head of the canoe were killed; they threw every thing they had in the canoe into the river, and kept firing; but being overpowered by numbers and fatigue, and unable to keep up the canoe against the current, and no probability of escaping, Mr. Park took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the water; Martyn did the same, and they were drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave remaining in the boat, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons at the canoe without ceasing, stood up and said to them, "Stop throwing now; you see nothing in the canoe, and nobody but myself; therefore cease. Take me and the canoe; but don't kill me." They took possession of the canoe and the man, and carried them to the king.

'I was kept in irons three months; the king released me and gave me a slave (woman). I immediately went to the slave taken in the canoe, who told me in what manner Mr. Park and all of them had died, and what I have related above. I asked him if he was sure nothing had been found in the canoe after its capture; he said that nothing remained in the canoe but himself and a sword-belt. I asked him where the

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sword-belt was; he said the king took it, and had made a girth for his horse with it.'

The whole of the relation furnished by Isaaco is, however, very obscure and contradictory; and some suspicion is entertained that this man has had a share in Mr. Park's death.

Mr. Park's journal only goes as far as Sansanding, which is considerably short of Silla; but the route is materially different, and much shorter, coinciding for a considerable way with the homeward journey in 1796, and crossing the Fooladoo country to the northward of the Jallouka desert, and of his former return route. How far that route and the new journey coincide, and how far they differ, may be roughly estimated, by stating that the homeward route of 1796, passing through about 15 degrees of longitude from Silla to Pisania, the new journey, as far as we have its authentic details, that is, from Pisania to Sansanding, passes through about 14 degrees, for above nine of which it coincides exactly with the former return route,—that is, from Pisania to near Toombo in the Ronkodoo country, and from Koomikoomi to the Niger, and so along to Sansanding.

There are in this journal several new and interesting subjects handled. The information respecting Sansanding and its commerce is well worthy of attention: but unquestionably, the most important result of the journey, is the proof it has afforded, of the practicability of conducting a caravan of Europeans across that difficult country, which lies between the Gambia and the Niger, provided the proper season be chosen; and the utter impossibility of succeeding in that attempt during the rains. Every thing in the narrative bears witness to the fatal effects of the wet season, and equally proves the possibility of leading to the Niger, a force apparently inconsiderable, but large enough to prevent insult from small bodies of the natives, and to protect a trading caravan against all ordinary risks.

The failure of the late expedition into Africa, under major Peddie and captain Campbell, has been principally owing to an inattention to the seasons, and an improper selection of persons to accompany the travellers, in this unhealthy and inhospitable region.

TRAVELS  
IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA,

*In the Years 1797 and 1798,*

BY  
MR. JOHN BARROW.

**H**AVING already conducted our readers through various parts of the African continent, and recited the most interesting adventures of Bruce and Park, we flatter ourselves that a concise abridgment of Barrow, whose destructive powers enchain attention, and extort applause, will prove instructive to *many*, and acceptable to *all*.

By his residence at the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Barrow has been enabled to enrich the British libraries with a description of that settlement, far superior to any which has hitherto been mingled with the writings of other travellers; and by his *personal researches* in the surrounding districts, the geography, state, produce, and population, of that extensive colony, with those of the circumjacent countries, are transmitted to Europeans, in the energetic language of truth, which must indisputably flourish, when romantic opinions and fabulous discoveries shall fall, exploded, to the ground.

According to a chart, which was executed in the years 1797 and 1798, by order of the earl of Macartney, the colony of the Cape of Good Hope was found to include an area of 128,150 square miles, computing the length, from west to east at 550; and the breadth, from south to north, at 233 English miles.

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This extensive country, exclusive of Cape Town, contains about 15,000 white inhabitants, each of whom might, on a simple calculation, be supposed to possess eight and a half square miles of land: this, however, is not the case, as a very considerable portion of this territory consists of thirsty plains, that are doomed by nature to perpetual sterility, and chains of stupendous mountains, which are either wholly destitute of vegetation, or scantily furnished with plants of a poisonous quality.

The mountainous chains are described by our author under the three following names: the Irregular Belt, which encloses a fertile tract of land, from 20 to 60 miles in width, pleasantly intersected with a variety of streams, luxuriant in fruit and forest trees, refreshed with frequent showers, and blest with an equable temperature.

The Zevarte Berg, or Black mountain, which is superior in height to the first, and frequently consists of double ranges; the district enclosed between this and the first chain is about 40 miles in width, presenting to the spectator a varied scene of barren acclivities, fruitful meads, and naked plains. Its general surface is considerably higher than that of the Irregular Belt, its temperament more uncertain, and its intrinsic value much inferior.

The third mountainous range is called the Nieuwveldt's Gebergte, which together with the second, encloses the Great Karroo, or Parched desert, which is utterly destitute of any human habitation.

The territory known by the name of the Cape, is divided into four districts, in each of which a *landrost*, or civil magistrate, is established, who, with the approbation of six *hem-raaden*, or country burghers, usually adjusts litigations, determines petty causes, and superintends the affairs of government.

The Cape district is chiefly composed of that mountainous peninsula, whose southern extremity is called the Cape of Good Hope; and the northern is the Table mountain, flanked by the Devil's hill on the east, and the Lion's head on the west. This peninsula, about 63 miles in length, and eight

in breadth, is connected with the continent by a low neck of land, and may be properly described as one broken mountain; the different masses of which are of various formations, that alternately pierce the clouds with rocky fragments, and cheer the country with a smiling vegetation.

Table bay and False bay, one of which laves the northern and the other the southern shore of the isthmus, are usually resorted to by trading vessels. From September till May, while the south-east winds are predominant, the former affords the best shelter; but, during the rest of the year, when the north and north-westerly winds are strongest, the preference is generally given by mariners to a cove or indent, called Simon's bay, on the western shore of the latter.

Though the Dutch were easily forced to abandon them, our author affirms that all these bays, mountainous passes, and in short, every part of the colony might, if properly garrisoned, resist the most powerful attack that could, in all probability, be ever made against them. The batteries, lines, and works in general, have been lately repaired, and improved by the British engineers; and the pass at the foot of mount Müisenberg, which is the only path of communication between the Cape and Simon's bay, is so charmingly secured by the recent constructions on the heights, that it may now be deemed impregnable.

The capital, called Cape Town, is erected on a pleasant declivity, in the vicinage of the Table mountain, the Devil's hill, and the Lion's Head. Its foot is washed by the waves of Table bay, and the town itself commands a complete view of the anchorage. The streets, comprising about 1,100 houses, are regular, neat, and airy; many of them are planted with oaks, and supplied with running streams; the town is likewise embellished with four spacious squares, a Calvinist and a Lutheran church; a castle, that affords barracks for 1,000 men; and a regular, well-designed building, originally intended for an hospital, but now appropriated to the accommodation of the military. There is also a regular guard-house, at which the burgher senate transacts all business relative to the police of the town; a spacious building, appointed for the reception

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of government slaves; and a court of judicature, where a final decision is passed on all civil and criminal cases.

The *weeskammer*, or chamber for administering the affairs of orphans, is within the walls of the castle, as is the Lombard bank, whose capital is about 600,000 rix-dollars, lent by the old government, in paper money, to the subjects, on mortgages of their property, at an interest of five per cent.

Among a number of handsome houses, with which the plain is spotted, between Table mountain and the town, the Government-house attracts the attention of the traveller. It is erected on a fertile soil, and surrounded by about 40 acres of excellent land, which are divided into a variety of squares by oak hedges; the public walk runs up the middle, between two charming rows of myrtles, and is effectually shaded by the an avenue of spreading oaks.

Having already mentioned the mountainous chains which frequently rise from the vales of southern Africa, we apprehend that a description of the Table mountain, which, with little variation, may answer to all the others, may merit the attention of our readers, while it exempts ourselves from numerous repetitions, and by avoiding these, enables us to enrich the following pages with subjects more important and interesting to the public.

This stupendous mass of naked rock, which imposes an involuntary attention upon the most indifferent observer of nature, and which, more peculiarly, engages the contemplation of the mineralogist, received its name from mariners, who usually affix the epithet of *Table Land*, to every considerable acclivity, whose summit appears to the spectator in a parallel line with the horizon.

The northern front of the Table mountain is a horizontal line, about two miles in length, which directly faces the town. The bold front, that rises at right angles to meet this line, is sustained by several projecting buttresses, which, rising from the plain, close in with the front a little higher than midway from the base. These, with the division of the front into three parts, a curtain, flanked by two bastions, the first retiring and the others projecting, render its appearance similar to the ruin-



ed walls of some stupendous fortress. The height of these walls is 3,582 feet above the level of Table bay; the eastern side is still bolder, and has one point considerably higher; to the west the rock is rent into various deep chasms, and worn away into numerous pointed masses; and about four miles towards the south, the mountain descends in successive terraces to the chain which extends completely along the peninsula.

The wings of the front, denominated the Lion's Head, and the Devil's mountain, are, in fact, but disunited fragments of the Table mountain. The height of the former is 2,160 feet, and that of the latter 3,315. The upper part of the Lion's Head is a circular mass of stone, which, from some points of view, exactly resembles the dome of St. Paul's cathedral, erected upon a lofty, cone-shaped eminence; but the Devil's hill is broken into a variety of irregular points.

The exact horizontal position of these three mountains, which are composed of multitudinous tabular masses, clearly demonstrate their origin to be neptunian, and that no convulsion of the earth has ever happened in this part of Africa, since their formation, sufficient to disturb the nice arrangement of their parts.

The ascent to the summit of the Table mountain lies through a deep chasm, about three quarters of a mile in length, that divides the curtain from the left bastion. The perpendicular cheeks at the foot are above 1,000 feet high, and the angle of ascent is equal to 45 degrees.

After quitting the romantic scenery of the chasm, and passing the portal, which forms two lines of natural perspective upon the summit, the adventurer feels a momentary disgust at the tame and insipid plain that spreads its dreary extent before his eyes; this, however, must infallibly subside, when he reflects on the great command obtained by the elevation over surrounding objects. On approaching the edge of the mountain—

‘ The weak brain turns, while down the craggy height  
The wond’ring trav’ller bends his aching sight;  
The seaman’s lessen’d form astonish’d views,  
Or o’er the main some fleeting bark pursues:

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Though far beneath the sullen billows roar,  
 Impetuous foam, and lash the sounding shore,  
 The *vast ascent* their thund'ring noise repels,  
 And on its head eternal silence dwells.'

Smith.

All the objects on the adjacent plain are in fact diminished to insignificance in the eye of the spectator; the houses of Cape Town appear like childish fabrics composed of cards; the shrubbery on the sandy isthmus is *merely visible*; and the farms, with their enclosures, resemble a small picture held up at a distance.

The wooded cliffs of the mountains, on the peninsula of the Cape, still afford a shelter to wolves and hyænas, which, of late years, were exceedingly troublesome to the town. Their numbers are, however, greatly diminished, and the latter generally avoid the habitations of men, though the wolves are frequently enticed, in their nocturnal rambles, to the verge of the town, by dead cattle and the offals from slaughter-houses, that are usually exposed on the sides of the public road, to the disgrace of the inhabitants.

On the summit of the Table mountain, the air is considerably lower in the clear weather of winter, than in Cape Town; and in the summer, the difference is still greater, when the head of the mountain is enveloped by a fleecy cloud, not inaptly termed, 'the table cloth.'

The south-east and north-west are the two most powerful winds; the former of which blows with extreme violence, when the cloud rests upon the mountain, and generally predominates from the end of August till the middle of May. The other commences about the end of May and blows occasionally till the termination of August.

The nights are always cool, though the mornings are sometimes close; a south-east breeze generally rises about the middle of the day, and gradually dies away in the evening. The general standard of the temperature in Cape Town, during the winter months, is from 50 degrees at sun rise, to 60 deg. at noon; and in the midst of summer, the variation of the thermometer is from 70 to 90 degrees. In the clear days of win-

ter, the mercury of the barometer varies from 29.46 to 30.35 inches, one point denoting settled fair weather, and the other indicating a storm, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

Timber of all kinds for building is very rare at the Cape, yet little pains have been taken to cultivate it near the town. In parts of the country not far distant, plantations of oak trees, of the white poplar, and of the stone pine, are to be found, and thrive rapidly: but their timber is generally unsound. The article of fuel is so scarce at Cape Town, that a small cart load composed of the branches of the silver tree, of the larger heaths, &c. sells from twenty to eight-and-twenty shillings. A slave is usually kept in families for the sole purpose of collecting fire-wood; and the annual expence in a moderate family, for faggots for the kitchen-fire, (the only one in the house) is nearly 50*l.* To remedy this evil, lord Macartney ordered a search to be made for fossil-coal; and the operation of boring was begun on a tongue of land projecting from the Table mountain: but it was soon discontinued, on the discovery of actual coal *coming out to day*, along the banks of a deep rivulet flowing out of the Tygerberg hill. The coal already found is at the depth of two feet: but, when Mr. Barrow wrote his account, the borer had been put down in several places in hopes of meeting with the main bed, without success.

Though the inhabitants of the Cape Town suffer the inconvenience of scarcity of fuel, they enjoy several natural advantages, and their market is supplied with abundance of sea fish, with fruit, and with vegetables. Some of their vineyards are of sufficient extent to produce, besides the supply of the market with grapes and prepared raisins, about 100,000 gallons of wine annually.

The botanist may find an ample field of investigation in the Cape district. Its vegetable productions are more numerous, varied, and elegant, than on any other spot of equal extent in the whole world; and of the frutescent or shrubby plants, there is likewise great abundance. To zoologists, the animals of the Cape afford a more contracted scope.

Insects of every description abound during the summer

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months: musquitoes are less troublesome than in most warm climates: but a small sand fly, almost invisible, is the cause of great torment.—Almost all the snakes of the country are venomous.—The fatal diseases, which prevail among the natives, Mr. Barrow attributes to their habits of life, rather than to the climate; in support of which opinion, he remarks that the English troops enjoy uncommonly good health in this colony.

Of the inhabitants of the Cape, and of their situation under the English governments, Mr. Barrow thus writes:

The education of youth has hitherto been very much neglected. The government never hit upon any successful plan for the establishment of public schools; and the individual had no other ambition but that of qualifying his sons, by writing and accounts, to become servants of the company. This body of merchants had a number of persons in their employ who were very ill paid. Their salaries indeed were insufficient to afford them a bare subsistence; but it tacitly allowed them to negociate for themselves. The consequence of such a conduct was, that each became a kind of petty dealer. Each had his little private shop in some corner of his house. The most paltry articles were in the list of their commodities for sale; and those who ranked high in the government, and assumed a string of full-sounding epithets to their names, felt no sort of indignity in retailing the produce of their gardens; not indeed avowedly, but through the medium of their slaves. In fact, the minds of every class, the governor, the clergy, the fiscal, and the secretary of state excepted, were wholly bent on trade. *Koopman* or merchant was a title that conferred rank at the Cape, to which the military even aspired. On this subject the ideas of the Dutch differ widely from those of the Chinese, who have degraded the merchant into the very lowest order of their society.

That portion of the day, not employed in the concerns of trade, is usually devoted to the gratification of the sensual appetites. Few have any taste for reading, and none for the cultivation of the fine arts. They have no kind of public amusements except occasional balls; nor is there much social

intercourse but by family parties, which usually consist of card-playing or dancing. Money-matters and merchandize engross their whole conversation; yet none are opulent, though many are in easy circumstances. There are no beggars in the whole colony; and but a few who are the objects of public charity. The subsistence of these is derived from the interest of a fund established out of the church superfluities, from alms, donations, and from collections made after divine service, and not from any tax laid upon the public. Except, indeed, a few colonial assessments for the repairs of the streets and public works, the inhabitants of the Cape have little drawback on their profits or the produce of their labour.

It has been the remark of most travellers that the ladies of the Cape are pretty, lively, and good-humoured; possessing little of that phlegmatic temper which is a principal trait in the national character of the Dutch. The difference in the manners and appearance of the young men and the young women, in the same family, is inconceivably great. The former are clumsy in their shape, awkward in their carriage, and of an unsociable disposition; whilst the latter are generally of a small delicate form, below the middle size, of easy and unaffected manners, well dressed, and fond of social intercourse, an indulgence in which they are seldom restrained by their parents, and which they as seldom turn to abuse. They are here indeed less dependant on, and less subject to, the caprice of parents than elsewhere. Primogeniture entitles to no advantages; but all the children, male and female, share alike in the family property. No parent can disinherit a child without assigning, on proof, one at least of the 14 reasons enumerated in the Justinian code. By the law of the colony, a community of all property, both real and personal, is supposed to take place on the marriage of two persons, unless the contrary should be particularly provided against by solemn contract made before marriage. Where no such contract exists, the children, on the death of either parent, are entitled to that half of the joint property which was supposed to belong to the deceased, and which cannot be withheld on application after they are come of age.

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It is but justice to the young females of the Cape to remark, that many of them have profited much more than could be expected from the limited means of education that the place affords. In the better families, most of them are taught music, and some have acquired a tolerable degree of execution. Many understand the French language, and some have made great proficiency in the English. They are expert at the needle, at all kinds of lace, knotting, and tambour work, and in general make up their own dresses, following the prevailing fashions of England brought from time to time by the female passengers bound to India, from whom they may be said to

‘ Catch the manners living as they rise.’

Neither are the other sex, while boys, deficient in vivacity or talent; but for want of the means of a proper education, to open their minds and excite in them a desire of knowledge, they soon degenerate into the common routine of eating, smoking, and sleeping. Few of the male inhabitants associate with the English, except such as hold employments under the government. This backwardness may be owing in part to the different habits of the two nations, and partly, perhaps, to the reluctance that a vanquished people must always feel in mixing with the conquerors. No real cause, however, of complaint or disaffection could possibly be alledged against the English government at the Cape. No new taxes have been imposed since the conquest; but, on the contrary, some of the old ones have been diminished, and others modified. The demand and value of every production of the colony have very considerably increased, while the articles of import have fallen, in their prices. More than 200,000 rix-dollars of arrears in rent of land have been remitted to the inhabitants by the British government, as well as 180,000 rix-dollars of dubious debts. They have preserved their laws and their religion, both of which continue to be administered by their own people. They enjoy as great a share of rational liberty as men, bound to each other, and to the whole, by the ties that a state of society necessarily imposes, could possibly expect, and much



greater than under their former government. Property has been secure in every instance, and has been raised to double its former value: and none has the loss of life of any friend or relation to lament at the time of, or since, the capture. Their paper currency, fabricated by the government in order to get over a temporary distress, but which it had never been able to take out of circulation, bore a depreciation of 40 *per cent*, and a silver dollar was scarcely to be seen. The former is now at par with specie, and not less than 2,000,000 of the latter have been sent from England and thrown into circulation. Every person enjoys his share of the general prosperity. The proprietor of houses in town has more than doubled his rent; and the farmer in the country, where formerly he received a rix-dollar for each of his sheep, now receives three. Four years of increasing prosperity, of uninterrupted peace and domestic tranquillity, have been the happy lot of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Malay slaves are said to be active and docile, faithful and honest, but dangerous on account of their impetuosity and revengeful temper. Mr. Barrow relates an instance of refinement of revenge in one of these people, which we can scarcely credit: perhaps the story has lost much of its original truth, and has gained some false embellishments. It is thus told:

‘A Malay conceiving that he not only had served his master sufficiently long, and with great fidelity, but had also paid him several sums of money, he was tempted to demand his liberty, and met with a refusal. The following morning the Malay murdered his fellow-slave. On being taken and brought up for examination before a commission of the court of justice, he acknowledged that the boy he had murdered was his friend; but he had considered that the most effectual way to be revenged of his master was, not by taking away his life, but by robbing him of the value of 1,000 rix-dollars, by the loss of the boy, and another 1,000 by bringing himself, in so doing, to the gallows; the recollection of which would prey upon his avaricious mind for the remainder of his life.’

The carriages of pleasure, which are here maintained at a very trifling expence, are open, and capable of containing four

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or six persons; these, however, are only used for short excursions, as journies are usually performed in a light machine, similar to a waggon, that is sufficiently spacious to accommodate a whole family with provisions, apparel, &c. and are sheltered from the weather, by a covering of sail-cloth. The drivers, who are usually of a mixed breed, between a Hottentot and a European, or a female Hottentot and a slave, are extremely dexterous in their avocation, and will either turn abruptly, or gallop through the most dangerous avenues, with eight in hand, with the greatest facility imaginable.

Mr. Barrow's departure from Cape Town was appointed for the 1st of July, 1797, and the preceding month was passed in making the necessary preparations, fitting up three *spans*, or teams; and providing a sufficient number of draught oxen, which, after the recent drought, were ill conditioned, and extremely scarce; these, however, were procured, with drivers and Hottentots to lead the relays, and on the evening of the above-mentioned day, all things were in readiness, and the waggons quitted the town.

Though the rainy season usually sets in about the beginning of May, the entire month of June was one series of fine weather in this year, by which the husbandmen were materially injured, and the cattle so debilitated, that two of them dropped under the yokes, before our traveller had proceeded three miles, and were consequently obliged to be left behind.

After a tedious progress of seven hours, in which they had merely travelled 13 miles, they came to a place, called Strickland, which is considered a very important station, in case of a powerful attack, and is therefore supplied with extensive stabling for dragoons, and suitable accommodations for the officers and soldiers.

Strickland is situated on the south point of the Tiger mountain, terminating on this side the Sandy isthmus. A variety of gardens, fruiteries, vineyards, and corn fields, dotted with several pleasant farms, wind round the feet of the mountain, and enrich the circumjacent vallies.

The plain, that extends to the eastward from this spot, is more frequently clothed with plants and shrubs, than the isth-

mus; the soil is also less sandy, refreshed with cooling rills, and lightly sprinkled with the abodes of rustic industry. This plain, at the distance of 12 miles from Strickland, is terminated by two mountains, between which a road leads to a populous and fertile valley. To the right, the lofty Simonsberg rears its Parnassian summit, which is usually encrusted with snow in the winter, and enveloped with clouds in the summer. A murmuring spring, like a second Helicon, runs trickling down its sides, though the muses have not yet visited this African eminence; and a story is related of a man, who, having melted down a quantity of Spanish dollars, presented the mass to the governor, whose name is perpetuated by the mountain, as a specimen of silver which he had discovered in this place. The stratagem succeeded to the wish of the impostor, a sum of money was granted to the adventurer for the purpose of working the mine; and the mass of silver was manufactured into a chain, to which the keys of the castle might be suspended: this chain is still in preservation, as a memorial of matchless effrontery and laughable credulity.

On the left of the pass into the valley, is a hill, denominated the Paarlberg, from a chain of large, round stones, that encircle its summit, like the pearls of a necklace. Two of these are placed near the central and highest point of the range, and are called, 'the pearl and the diamond;' the former of which is about 400 feet above the summit of the mountain, with a sloping declivity on the northern side, of 1,000 feet in length, covered with a species of verdant lichen; the other sides, which are totally inaccessible, are distinguished by immense rifts, as if the rock had fallen asunder with its own extreme weight. Near the top it is quadriseded by two cliffs, that are well supplied with beautiful aloes, and several cryptogamous plants; and the circumference of its base is a full mile.

The plants on the mountain are equally beautiful and luxuriant, comprizing an elegant tribe of heaths, that nearly approximate in size to trees. The mellifera, or sugar tree, whose vase-shaped flowers abound with a sacharine juice, that is often used by the natives for the purpose of preserving fruit; and the wild olive of the Cape, whose dark green foliage is inter-

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woven with the surrounding flowerets, form a charming contrast, and greatly adds to the beauty of the romantic scene, which is rendered still more delightful, by several species of the *Certhia*, or creeper, whose brilliant plumage, fluttering among the painted blossoms, inevitably attracts the notice of the passenger, who, for a time, forgets every object, while contemplating these charming birds, as they sit perched on the edge of the corollas, to extract, with their sickle-shaped bills, the sweet juice from the mellifera, or warble the most delightful notes, amidst the ambrosial shubbery.

The mountains, that bound the valley on the east, are exceedingly grand, but totally destitute of vegetation; they compose a part of that stupendous chain, which stretches to the northward from False bay. This immense range of mountains excludes, from the Cape, the countries that lie beyond it so completely, that a few gallant soldiers, in possession of the passes, might always prevent any communication between the sea-coast and the interior.

Notwithstanding the wild appearance and natural sterility of the mountains, the vale which they enclose is extremely beautiful and well cultivated. This vale, which is refreshed by several arms of the Berg river, that glides through it, with a smooth unruffled current, contains the divisions of Fransche Hoek, or French Corner, Great and Little Drakensteen, and the Paarl, the last of which is an assemblage of about thirty houses, erected in two parallel lines, at such distances, as to form a street about a mile long; in the centre stands a church, which, like the houses, is neatly thatched with straw. Plantations of oaks, that commonly run from 10 to 15 feet in circumference, surround the habitations; and by their tops, which are neither bent nor shaken, the traveller is convinced that the winds are less violent than in the vicinity of Cape Town.

At the time of our author's visit, the people were busied in pruning their vines, which constitute the chief produce of the valley. Unlike the vines that are reared in Europe, and permitted to depend upon standards or frames, they are here planted in the same manner as gooseberry bushes in England,

and repay the labour of the husbandman much better than any other kind of produce.

To convince our readers of the veracity of this assertion, it is only requisite to observe, that one acre of land will bear 5,000 stocks of vines. which will generally yield a pipe of 154 gallons of wine. The retail price of such a quantity at the Cape, is from 10*l.* to 30*l.* sterling. That sort which is denominated, 'Cape Madeira,' sells at 12*l.* a pipe, as does likewise, a tart, pleasant wine, called the Steen wine. A great variety of sweet, rich wines are also produced in the colony, from several sorts of grapes, as the Haenapod, or cock's foot, the Muscadel, and others, of which the wines retain the strongest flavour.

Some few persons, who have carefully attended to the distillation of spirits, have produced brandy, of an excellent quality. This article is, however, in general, extremely bad, as the materials, which are commonly thrown into the still, are of the coarsest kind, the apparatus is indifferent, and the process is usually committed to the hands of a slave who, either through carelessness or drowsiness, suffers the fire to go out, and then contaminates the flavour of the spirit, by a rapid blaze, which is used to supply the loss of time. There is, however, a peculiar taste in all the liquors of the Cape, notwithstanding every precaution, that probably arises from the circumstance of the grapes hanging so near the earth.

The uncultivated parts of the valley are covered with thick shrubberies, and abound in game; among which are, the Cape snipes, partridges, widgeons, dominican ducks, common teals, and korhaens, which, on the approach of a sportsman, take wing, and raise a violent scream, as if to warn the feathered tribe of impending danger.

At the approach of evening, our author observed a number of land tortoises, crawling gently towards the bushes, from the open road, on which they had lain, to bask in the beams of the sun; and as the darkness began to increase, the travellers were much annoyed by the hideous cries of the jackals and the dismal howl of wolves, which attended them till midnight,

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when they reached a solitary habitation, in a wild, extensive country, on the borders of a lake, denominated the Vogel valley.

From hence Mr. Barrow proceeded to the entrance of Roode Sand Kloef, or the red sandy pass over the great chain of mountains. Whilst the waggons were ascending the pass, a number of baboons uttered the most horrible noises from their concealed dens; the summits of the mountains were totally covered with snow, and at the sun-rise the thermometer stood, on the plain, at the freezing point.

From this division, our traveller proceeded across a wild and desolate country, where the eye was wearied by a long succession of naked tracts, sandy roads, swamps, bogs, and stagnant pools, to the eastern mountains already mentioned. This branch of the great chain consists of immense masses of sand stone, tinged with red, uneven and corroded tops, like the frowning battlements of some dilapidated tower, lean from their bases, and apparently depend on each other for their only support; while the strata, which incline to the eastward in an angle of about 40 degrees, seem ready to slide down over each other.

Another range of hills stand on the opposite side of the dale, whose origin was apparently volcanic; some were truncated at the summit, in the manner of those where craters are usually found, and others were perfectly conical: they were found to be composed of quartz, iron, and sand stone, but not stratified like the great chains; every hill stood upon its own base, and was frequently rent into large fragments.

After a minute examination of these hills, our author descended to a pleasant valley, about three miles long and two broad, the surface of which was extremely level, and the soil admirable adapted for rice grounds, as it is completely traversed by a strong stream, that might easily be caused to inundate the valley. This stream, which was supplied by some springs at the foot of an adjacent mountain, was sufficient to turn the largest mill, the water was smoking hot, and perfectly clear, and its channel was composed of a whitish sand, mixed with numerous small crystals of quartz. Its purity is such,

that linen and coloured clothes may be washed in it without injury, and a family, who reside in its vicinity, usually employ it in cooking their victuals.

As the travellers were now to commence a tedious passage, of at least 16 days, over the Great Karroo, or Arid desert, they continued two days in the Hex river valley, in making suitable provision for their journey, and waiting for some persons who were to meet by appointment at this place, as auxiliaries, in case of an attack from the Bosjesmans, a savage tribe of Hottentots, who are said to shoot their poisoned arrows, from the cover of the shrubbery, against the unwary passenger.

To oppose these Bosjesmans the farmers generally cross the desert in parties, and strongly armed. The poor savage, driven by imperious want to carry off an ox or sheep to his starving family, who have no other abode than the caverns of the mountains, often pays in the attempt the forfeit of his life; but it rarely happens that any of the colonists fall by his hands. Yet the name of Bosjesman is held in horror and detestation; and a farmer thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaff Reynet being asked in the secretary's office, a few days before our traveller left the town, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road, replied, he had only shot four, with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. Mr. Barrow himself heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed with his own hands near 300 of these unfortunate wretches.

A true Dutch peasant, or *boor* as he styles himself, has not the smallest idea of what an English farmer means by the word comfort. Placed in a country where not only the necessaries, but almost every luxury of life might by industry be procured, he has the enjoyment of none of them. Though he has cattle in abundance, he makes very little use of milk or of butter. In the midst of a soil and climate most favourable for the cultivation of the vine, he drinks no wine. He makes use of few or no vegetables nor roots. Three times a-day his table is loaded with masses of mutton, swimming in the grease of the

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sheep's tail. His house is either open to the roof, or covered only with rough poles and turf, affording a favourable shelter for scorpions and spiders; and the earthy floors are covered with dust and dirt, and swarm with insects, particularly with a species of the *termes*, which, though not so destructive as some others of this genus, is nevertheless a very troublesome and disagreeable animal. His apartments, if he happens to have more than one, which is not always the case among the grazing farmers, are nearly destitute of furniture. A great chest that contains all his moveables, and two smaller ones that are fitted to his waggon; are the most striking articles. The bottoms of his chairs consist of thongs cut from a bullock's hide. The windows are without glass; or if there should happen to be any remains of this article, it is so patched and daubed as nearly to exclude the light it was intended to admit. The boor notwithstanding has his enjoyments: he is absolute master of a domain of several miles in extent; and he lords it over a few miserable slaves or Hottentots without controul. His pipe scarcely ever quits his mouth, from the moment he rises till he retires to rest, except to give him time to swallow his *sopie*, or his glass of strong ardent spirits, to eat his meals, and to take his nap after dinner. Unwilling to work, and unable to think; with a mind disengaged from every sort of care and reflection, indulging to excess in the gratification of every sensual appetite, the African peasant grows to an unwieldy size, and is carried off the stage by the first inflammatory disease that attacks him.

How different is the lot of the labouring poor of England, who six days in the week are doomed to toil for 12 hours in every day, in order to gain a morsel of bread for their family, and the luxury of a little animal food for the seventh day!

On the arrival of the people that were to join Mr. Barrow, with several children, Hottentots and Caffres, in two waggons, the party proceeded, July the 12th, in a north-easterly direction, and after four hours, gained the summit of the mountains, by which the valley is inclosed; the ascent, which was of successive terraces, might be nearly 1,500 feet,



in the distance of six miles; but from the top towards the east, the descent was sensibly diminished.

An entire change of scenery now took place, the stupendous chains of hills began to sink into the horizon; the lofty trees, the odoriferous shrubs, and pointed flowers were no longer seen; no verdant acclivities, romantic views, nor cultivated plains now charmed the spectator's eye; but a rugged and broken surface, scarcely affording one mark of vegetation, without a bird or beast to enliven the dreary waste, presented a confined and wretched prospect to the disgusted travellers.

After a progress of about 15 miles, they entered a narrow pass, between two perpendicular hills, that opened upon a level plain; and the following day they reached a place, called Constaaple, after a Hottentot, who formerly took up his residence by a spring of excellent water, which he curiously environed with a plantation of trees; he was soon, however, compelled to quit his retreat, and two venerable oaks are the only remaining vestiges of his habitation.

Having travelled over a barren desert, our traveller reached Buffalo river, which he passed, and then again entered on a sterile, flat, sandy marsh. On these great deserts ostriches are commonly seen, whose black and white plumes, moving in the wind, serve to direct the Hottentots to the adjacent nests. This animal, which seems to form a link of union between the birds and quadrupeds, in the great chain of nature, differs materially in its economy from the rest of the feathered tribe. Its camel-shaped neck is clothed with hair, its cloven hoofs and strong-jointed legs are admirably adapted for defence and speed; its voice resembles a mournful lowing, and it usually grazes, on the plain, with the zebra.

Several females commonly lay their eggs in the same nest, which they hatch altogether, with the assistance of a male, who regularly takes his turn of sitting among the rest. Each female usually lays 10 or 12 eggs, and the time of incubation is six weeks. These eggs are considered as a choice delicacy, and consequently prepared in various ways, according to the taste or humour of their possessors; the Hottentots, however,

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simply enclose them with hot embers, and, through a small perforation in the upper part of the shell, stir the contents continually, till they acquire the consistence of an omelet.

It was now judged expedient to supply the Hottentot drivers with fire-arms, as the company had been much annoyed by several parties of Bosjesmen. They accordingly went out in search of the enemy, and soon returned with six strangers under their guard, three of whom were runaway slaves, and the others were Hottentots, who had subsisted for a considerable time upon the desert, by nocturnal depredations on the flocks that were occasionally driven thither, by butchers, farmers, or other persons, in their passage home. They were, however, now disgusted with this wretched mode of life, and gladly consented to join the attendants of the travellers.

Our travellers now turned off towards Zwarteberg, which was distant about 12 miles from the spot of encampment, where they experienced a friendly reception, and obtained such refreshments as were no less charming, after a tedious passage over a barren desert, than the discovery of land to the exhausted mariner, after a long and perilous voyage.

From this place may be discerned, to the northward, that chain of mountains, which forms the highest terrace that has been ascended by European travellers. From attending to the general slope of the country, which rises in a fine perceptible swell towards the north, and the sudden elevations of the successive terraces, our author is inclined to suppose, that the summits of the Nieuwveldt mountains must be 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. They are generally buried in snow for about six months, and are apparently composed of the same materials as those already mentioned, except the detached hills, near the base, which consist entirely of a species of rock that bears a near resemblance to the toad-stone of Derbyshire.

Having rested three days with the inhabitants of Zwarteberg, from whom a loan of 60 stout bullocks was procured, the travellers recommenced their journey over the desert, and proceeded on the 23d, for about 30 miles, to a spring denominated the Sheutel Fonteyn, and shortly after encamped on the banks of the Traka, or Maiden river, where the water

was extremely thick, and impregnated with salt, and the sand on its banks was covered with a thin pellicle of nitre.

On the 25th they proceeded 10 miles along the side of the Tarka, passed Ghowka, or Boor's river, which was perfectly dry, and arrived in the evening at the great Loory Fonteyn, which was scarcely covered with water, that was disgusting to the eye and ungrateful to the palate. As this place was totally destitute of vegetation, it was thought expedient to continue the journey, though in the dark, till some refreshment might be found for the cattle. They accordingly proceeded till midnight, when they arrived at the Little Loory Fonteyn, where a rill of water had formerly flowed, and which still produced a few patches of *salfola*, *mimosas*, and other succulent plants, that were devoured by the oxen and horses with great avidity.

On the subsequent day they travelled near 30 miles, over a bed of compact clay; and in the evening pitched their tents upon a meadow that was completely covered with a rich and luxuriant herbage.

This spot, which is called De Beer's valley, is a very extensive plain, stretching along the feet of the Black mountains, and apparently forming a reservoir for several periodical streams, that take their rise in the mountains of Nieuwveldt, Camdeboo, and Winterberg. The surface of the valley was clothed with several species of rushy grass, and the streams were pleasantly skirted with tall *mimosas* that spread out into a forest of evergreens.

In this delightful spot, which afforded shelter, food, and water, in the midst of a barren desert, our author observed a great variety of game, particularly of the antelope tribe, in which he particularly noticed three sorts, that he had never seen before.

From this place Mr. Barrow proceeded to examine the division of Graaff Reynet, which occupies about 10 miles on each side of the village. Its boundaries are the Sneuwberg, or Snowy mountains, on the north and east, and the division of Camdeboo on the south and west. It is merely inhabited by 26 families, 12 of whom reside in the village, and the re-

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mainder are scattered over a desolate country, that is little superior to the Karroo desert.

The Sunday river, in its descent from the Sneuwberg, winds round, and fertilizes the plain on which the Drosdy is erected; the utmost extent of this plain is two square miles, and its situation is extremely unpleasant, from its proximity to the stupendous mountains, which, during the summer, reflect an intolerable heat, and in the winter admit the northerly winds through the kloof, with astonishing violence. The village of Graaff Reynet is about 500 miles distant from Cape Town, in latitude 32 deg. 11 min. south, and longitude 26 deg. east. The huts are formed of mud, and are placed in two lines at some distance from each other, in manner of a street; the house of the landrost stands at the upper end, which is likewise built of mud; and several miserable hovels were observed by our author, that were originally designed for public offices, but are now deserted, and tumbling to decay.

The prison is constructed of the same materials as the houses, and is thatched with straw, but its strength is so contemptible, that an English deserter, who was shut up in it for an improper conversation with the peasants, contrived to escape through the thatch, on the first evening of his confinement.

Wretched as the habitations, in such a place, must be of themselves, they are still rendered more uncomfortable by a species of white ant, that excavates the walls, undermines the floors, and frequently destroys every part of the building. Another inconvenience also arises from the bats, which come from the thatch as night advances, and commonly flutter about the rooms till every light is extinguished.

The inhabitants of the village are chiefly mechanics, and petty officers under the landrost. Neither milk, butter, cheese, nor vegetables, can be procured upon any terms; butchers, grocers, chandlers, and bakers, are utterly unknown, and each individual is obliged to provide himself with the necessaries of life in the best manner he is able. The natives are strangers to the taste of wine or beer, and usually content

themselves with the water of the Sunday river, though, during the hot months, it is strongly impregnated with salt.

When the landrost, who accompanied Mr. Barrow, came to the *drosdy* (or residence), a long list of grievances was presented, relative to the incursions of the tribe of people called Caffres. Previously to the arrival of the landrost, the farmers, actuated chiefly by the hope of plunder, had prepared to carry war into the country of the Caffres; but, very humanely and politically, these preparations were stopped; and 'it was resolved to inquire into the affairs of the Caffres upon the spot where they had posted themselves in the greatest numbers; and, should it be found necessary, to proceed from thence to the residence of their king; at the same time to pass through and examine as many parts of the country, under the jurisdiction of Graaff Reynet, as could be done without too great an expenditure of time; and particularly to visit the bay that was said to be formed where the *Zwart-kops* river falls into the sea.'

This journey commenced on the 11th of August; and, on the evening of the 17th, the party encamped on the verdant bank of a salt water lake, to which the inhabitants resort in order to procure salt. It is situated on a plain of considerable extent, elevated above the level of the sea; and the greatest part of the bottom of the lake is covered with one continued body of salt, like a sheet of ice, the chrystals of which were so united as to form a solid mass, hard as rock.

On the evening of the 18th, Mr. Barrow arrived at Zwart-kops, or Algoa bay, situated in latitude 33 deg. 56 min. south, longitude 26 deg. 53 min. east of Greenwich, and distant from the Cape in a direct line 500 miles. He is of opinion that, from the vicinity of this place to the salt pans, from the ease of procuring bullocks in good condition, and from the abundance of excellent fish on the coast, great benefits would accrue to the East-India company, if an establishment were formed for the preparation of salted beef and fish.

Quitting Graaff Reynet, on the 11th of August, Mr. Barrow, with his companions, proceeded in a southerly direction through a parched and sterile country, that scarcely afforded

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either water or vegetation; and on the 13th they encamped on the arid plain, in the district of Zwart Ruggens, or black ridges, at some distance from the Sunday river, which they had already crossed nine times, to the manifest peril of the waggons, that were frequently expected to overturn.

In this district, which extended about 40 miles, there were scarcely a hundred yards of level ground; the roads were alternately carried over firm rocks, and covered with large fragments of loose stone, which, together with their constant risings and declivities, exhausted the patience of our author, and induced him to pronounce them '*execrable*.'

On the subsequent day, they passed a narrow opening, through a long range of hills, extending towards the east and west, beyond the limitation of sight. The approach to this chasm was perhaps the most beautiful that can be formed by a vigorous imagination. For the space of three miles, on the northern side, a serpentine road pursued its charming windings through a tall and elegant shrubbery, where all the choicest plants of southern Africa unfolded their beauties to the eye of the passenger, and impregnated the passing gales with their ambrosial odours.

After passing a plain of six miles in width, and encamping on the Wolga Fonteyn, at the feet of a mountainous range opposite the Rietberg, the travellers proceeded for about three days over a country that was finely diversified with romantic hills, fertile plains, gradual swells, and excavations, the whole of which was completely covered with a luxuriant shrubbery. During the day, our passengers were greatly delighted with the magnificent appearance of this extensive forest, but on the approach of night, its inconvenience was severely felt, when there was no space for the tents, waggons, or oxen; and, what was still worse, no water to allay the thirst of either man or beast.

Uncomfortable as this situation must naturally have been, it was still rendered more terrific, when the prints of a lion's foot were clearly discovered, and a dismal concert, composed of the lion's dismal roar, the jackall's shrill cry, the howl of wolves, and the deep bellowing of buffaloes, assailed the ears of per-

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sons who were encamped in the midst of an extensive forest, to which they were total strangers.

The habitations of the graziers, in the midst of these extensive forests, are indeed the pictures of extreme wretchedness. A miserable hovel, composed of four mud walls, with a door of wicker work, a slovenly thatch of rushes, and a couple of holes to admit the light, is the usual residence of a peasant, who possesses several thousand sheep, and an equal number of cattle.

'Twenty years ago,' says Mr. Barrow, 'if we may credit the travellers of the day, the countries beyond the Camtoos river, which was then the eastern limit of the colony, abounded with *kraals*, or villages, of Hottentots, out of which the inhabitants came to meet them by hundreds in a group. Some of these villages might still have been expected to remain in this remote and not very populous part of the colony. Not one, however, was to be found. There is not in the whole extensive district of Graaff Reynet a single horde of independent Hottentots; and perhaps not a score of individuals who are not actually in the service of the Dutch. These weak people, the most helpless, and in their present condition perhaps the most wretched, of the human race, duped out of their possessions, their country, and finally out of their liberty, have entailed upon their miserable offspring a state of existence to which that of slavery might bear the comparison of happiness. It is a condition, however, not likely to continue to a very remote posterity. The name of Hottentot will be forgotten, or remembered only as that of a deceased person of little note. Their numbers of late years have rapidly declined. It has generally been observed that wherever Europeans have colonized, the less civilized natives have always dwindled away, and at length totally disappeared. Various causes have contributed to the depopulation of the Hottentots. The impolitic custom of hording together in families, and of not marrying out of their own *kraals*, has no doubt tended to enervate this race of men, and reduced them to their present degenerated condition, which is that of a languid, listless, phlegmatic people, in whom the prolific powers of nature seem to be almost exhausted. To this may

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be added their extreme poverty, scantiness of food, and continual dejection of mind, arising from the cruel treatment they receive from an inhuman and unfeeling peasantry, who having discovered themselves to be removed to too great a distance from the seat of their former government to be awed by its authority, have exercised, in the most wanton and barbarous manner, an absolute power over these poor wretches, reduced to the necessity of depending upon them for a morsel of bread. There is scarcely an instance of cruelty said to have been committed against the slaves in the West India islands, that could not find a parallel from the Dutch farmers of the remote parts of the colony towards the Hottentots in their service. Beating and cutting them with thongs of the hide of the sea-cow or rhinosceros, is a gentle punishment, though these sort of whips which they call *shambos* are most horrid instruments, tough, pliant, and heavy almost as lead. Firing small shot into the legs and thighs of a Hottentot is a punishment not unknown to some of the monsters who inhabit the neighbourhood of Camtoos river. Instant death is not unfrequently the consequence of punishing these poor wretches in a moment of rage. This is of little consequence to the farmer; for though they are to all intents and purposes his slaves, yet they are not transferable property. It is this circumstance which, in his mind, makes their lives less valuable and their treatment more inhuman.

‘ In offences of too small moment to stir up the phlegm of a Dutch peasant, the coolness and tranquillity displayed at the punishment of his slave or Hottentot is highly ridiculous, and at the same time indicative of a savage disposition to unfeeling cruelty lurking in his heart. He flogs them, not by any given number of lashes, but by time; and as they have no clocks nor substitutes for them capable of marking the smaller divisions of time, he has invented an excuse for the indulgence of one of his most favourite sensualities, by flogging them till he has smoked as many pipes of tobacco as he may judge the magnitude of the crime to deserve. The government of Malacca, according to the manuscript journal of an intelligent officer in the expedition against that settlement, has adopted

the same custom of *flogging by pipes*; and the *fiscal* or chief magistrate, or some of his deputies, are the smokers on such occasions.

‘By a resolution of the old government, as unjust as it was inhuman, a peasant was allowed to claim as his property, till the age of five-and-twenty, all the children of the Hottentots in his service to whom he had given in their infancy a morsel of meat. At the expiration of this period the odds are ten to one that the slave is not emancipated. A Hottentot knows nothing of his age; “he takes no note of time.” And though the spirit that dictated this humane law expanded its beneficence in favour of the Hottentot by directing the farmer to register the birth of such children as he may intend to make his slaves, yet it seldom happens, removed as many of them are to the distance of 10 or 12 days’ journey from the drosdy, that the Hottentot has an opportunity of inquiring when his servitude will expire; and indeed it is a chance if he thinks upon or even knows the existence of such a resource. Should he be fortunate enough to escape at the end of the period, the best part of his life has been spent in a profitless servitude, and he is turned adrift in the decline of life (for a Hottentot begins to grow old at thirty) without any earthly thing he can call his own, except the sheep’s skin upon his back.

‘The condition of those who engage themselves from year to year is little better than that of the other. If they have already families, they erect for them little straw-huts near the farmhouse. Their children are encouraged to run about the house of the peasant, where they receive their morsel of food. This is deemed sufficient to establish their claim to the young Hottentots; and should the parents, at the end of the term for which they engaged, express a desire to quit the service, the farmer will suffer them to go, perhaps turn them away, and detain their children.

‘Those who are unmarried and free are somewhat better in their situation than the others, though not much. The pitiful wages they agree for are stopped upon every frivolous occasion. If an ox or a sheep be missing, the Hottentot must replace

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them; nor would he be suffered to quit his service till he has earned the value of them. An ox, or a couple of cows, or a dozen sheep, worth 40 or 50*s.* are the usual wages of a whole year; and it frequently happens that a bill for tobacco or brandy is brought against them to the full amount.

• In such a situation, and under such circumstances, it may easily be supposed that the Hottentot has little inducement to engage in marriage. Those who do so have seldom more than two or three children; and many of the women are barren. This, however, is not the case when a Hottentot woman is connected with a white man. The fruit of such an alliance is not only in general numerous, but are beings of a very different nature from the Hottentot, men of six feet high and stout in proportion, and women well made, not ill-featured, smart, and active. These people, called *bastaards*, generally marry with each other, or with persons of colour, but seldom with Hottentots, so that it is probable this mixed breed in a short time will supplant that from which they are descended in the female line. The Hottentot girls in the service of the colonists are in situations too dependent to dare to reject the proffered embraces of the young peasantry.

• It has frequently been observed that a savage who dances and sings must be happy. With him these operations are the effects of pleasurable sensations floating in the mind: in a civilized state, they are arts acquired by study, and practised at appointed times, without having any reference to the passions. If dancing and singing were the tests by which the happiness of a Hottentot was to be tried, he would be found among the most miserable of all human beings; I mean those Hottentots living with the farmers of Graaff Reynet in a state of bondage. It is rare to observe the muscles of his face relaxed into a smile. A depressed melancholy and deep gloom constantly overspreads his countenance.

• Of the very few Hottentots in the district of Graaff Reynet, who, besides our interpreter, had preserved a sort of independence, and supported themselves, partly by the chase, and partly from the labours of their children who were in servitude, was a small party of four or five old men who paid us

a visit near the woods of *Bruyntjes Hoogte*. These men carried the ancient weapons of their nation, bows and quivers charged with poisoned arrows.

'The ancient manners and primitive character of this extraordinary race of men are, no doubt, much changed since their connection with the colonists; and the nearer they are found to the capital and the parts most inhabited by Europeans, the less they retain of them. If at any time they composed societies governed by laws, swayed by customs, and observant of religious ceremonies, many of which, as related among the fables of ancient voyagers, and revived by some modern travellers, were so absurd and extremely ridiculous as to create strong doubts of their existence, they have now so completely lost them that no one trace remains behind. The name even that has been given to this people is a fabrication. *Hottentot* is a word that has no place nor meaning in their language; and they take to themselves the name under the idea of its being a Dutch word.

'Low as they are sunk in the scale of humanity, their character seems to have been very much traduced and misrepresented. It is true there is nothing prepossessing in the appearance of a Hottentot, but infinitely less so in the many ridiculous and false relations by which the public have been abused. They are a mild, quiet, and timid people; perfectly harmless, honest, faithful; and, though extremely phlegmatic, they are kind and affectionate to each other, and not incapable of strong attachments. A Hottentot would share his last morsel with his companions. They have little of that kind of art or cunning that savages generally possess. If accused of crimes of which they have been guilty, they generally divulge the truth. They seldom quarrel among themselves or make use of provoking language. Though naturally of a fearful and cowardly disposition, they will run into the face of danger if led on by their superiors; and they suffer pain with great patience. They are by no means deficient in talent, but they possess little exertion to call it into action: the want of this was the principal cause of their ruin. The indolence of a Hottentot is a real disease, whose only remedy

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seems to be that of terror. Hunger is insufficient to effect the cure. Rather than to have the trouble of procuring food by the chase, or of digging the ground for roots, they will willingly fast the whole day provided they may be allowed to sleep. Instances frequently occurred in the course of our journies, when our Hottentots have passed the day without a morsel of food in preference of having the trouble to walk half a mile for a sheep. Yet, though they are so exceedingly patient of hunger, they are at the same time the greatest gluttons upon the face of the earth. Ten of our Hottentots ate a middling-sized ox, all but the two hind legs, in three days; but they had very little sleeping during the time, and had fasted the two preceding days. With them the word is to eat or to sleep. When they cannot indulge in the gratification of the one, they generally find immediate relief in flying to the other.

‘ Their manner of eating marks the voracity of their appetite. Having cut from the animal a large steak, they enter one edge with the knife, and passing it round in a spiral manner till they come to the middle, they produce a string of meat two or three yards in length. The whole animal is presently cut into such strings; and while some are employed in this business, and in suspending them on the branches of the shrubbery, others are broiling the strings coiled round and laid upon the ashes. When the meat is just warmed through they grasp it in both hands, and applying one end of the string to the mouth, soon get through a yard of flesh. The ashes of the green wood that adhere to the meat serve as a substitute for salt. As soon as a string of meat has passed through their hands, they are cleaned by rubbing over different parts of their body. Grease thus applied from time to time, and accumulating perhaps for a whole year, sometimes melting by the side of a large fire and catching up dust and dirt, covers at length the surface of the body with a thick black coating that entirely conceals the real natural colour of the skin. This is only discoverable on the face and hands, which they keep somewhat cleaner than the other parts of the body by rubbing them with the dung of cattle. This takes up the grease, upon which water would have no effect.

' The dress of a Hottentot is very simple. It consists of a belt made of a thong cut from the skin of some animal. From this belt is suspended before a kind of case made out of the skin of the jackal. The shape is that of half a nine-pin cut longitudinally, and the convex and hairy side is outermost. The intention of this case is to receive those parts of the body for which most nations have adopted some sort of covering; but few, who are not entirely naked, have hit upon a less effectual one for such a purpose than that of the Hottentot. If the real intent of it was the promotion of decency, it should seem that he has widely missed his aim, as it is certainly one of the most immodest objects, in such a situation as he places it, that could have been contrived. From the back part of the belt or girdle hangs a piece of stiff dried skin, reaching scarcely to the middle of the thigh, cut into the shape of an acute isosceles triangle with the point uppermost. Some wear a couple of such pieces. This contrivance is no better covering than the other; for when he walks quickly or musters up a running pace, it flies from one side to the other, and flaps backwards and forwards in such a manner as to conceal no particular part. This indeed does not seem to have been the purpose exactly for which it has been contrived. Nature having given to most animals a tail to fan themselves in hot weather and to lash away troublesome insects, and having left the Hottentot without one, he has adopted an artificial one to answer the same end. These constitute the whole of their summer dress. A great beau will probably fasten a bracelet of beads or a ring of copper round his wrist: but such are more properly ornaments belonging to the other sex.

' The Hottentot women, fond of finery like those of most nations, by their immoderate rage for dress, accelerated the ruin of their husbands, which they themselves had brought on by as strong a rage for ardent spirits and tobacco. These two articles and glass beads were exchanged for their cattle---things useless, worthless, and even pernicious, for what was their only support, the soul of their existence. The thongs of dried skins that had encircled their legs from the ankle to the knee, as a protection against the bite of poisonous animals, were now

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despised and thrown away, and beads were substituted in their place. Thus what had been adopted as a matter of necessity and prudence passed into an affair of fashion. Their necks, arms, and legs, were loaded with glass beads: but the largest and most splendid of these ornaments were bestowed upon the little apron, about seven or eight inches wide, that hangs from the waist and reaches barely to the middle of the thigh. Great pains seem to be taken by the women to attract notice towards this part of their persons. Large metal buttons, shells of the *cypræa* genus with the apertures outwards, or any thing that makes a great shew, are fastened to the borders of this apron. Those who either cannot afford to wear glass beads; or have no taste for the fashion, wear an apron of a different sort, which has a very odd appearance: it is the skin of an animal cut into threads that hang in a bunch between the thighs, reaching about half-way to the knee; the exterior and anterior parts of the thigh are entirely bare. The threads of such an apron are frequently too thin and few to answer the purpose of concealment. Instead of the tail worn by the men, the women have a sheep's skin that entirely covers the posterior parts of the body from the waist to the calf of the leg, and just wide enough to strike the exterior part of the thigh. The rattling of this hard and dry skin announces the approach of a Hottentot lady long before she makes her appearance. The rest of the body is naked. Some, however, wear skin-caps on their heads made up into different shapes, and ornamented as caprice may direct. In the winter months both sexes cover themselves with cloaks made of skins.

‘ The custom of greasing the body and wrapping it in skins has been the constant theme of abuse against this race of people by those who have written on the subject. There are always two ways of representing things, and unfortunately for the poor Hottentot his character has been painted in the worst light. To cover the body with some unctuous matter in a hot climate where water is extremely scarce, was a very natural resource to prevent the skin from being shrivelled and parched by the scorching rays of the sun, and has been adopted by most nations situated in or near the torrid zone. The oil that ran so pro-



fusely down "Aaron's beard even to the skirts of his garment," was in all probability animal fat; for during the 40 years that he and Moses occupied the children of Israel in the desert with a promised land, it is not very likely they had a supply of vegetable oil; and though some late celebrated historical painters have clothed these leaders of the children of Israel in high-coloured garments trimmed with fringe and lace, it may be doubted if they had any other clothing than such as the skins of their sheep, and calves, and goats, supplied them with. If the practice of smearing the body with fat were adopted in South America, there would not probably be such numbers of objects in the streets of Rio de Janeiro labouring under that most disgusting and dreadful disorder the elephantiasis. The Hottentots know nothing of such a complaint; nor did I perceive that any kind of cutaneous disease was prevalent among them.

The person of a Hottentot while young is by no means void of symmetry. They are clean-limbed, well-proportioned, and erect. Their joints, hands, and feet, are remarkably small. No protuberance of muscle to indicate strength; but a body delicately formed as that of a woman marks the inactive and effeminate mind of a Hottentot. The face is generally extremely ugly; but this differs very materially in different families, particularly in the nose, some of which are remarkably flat and others considerably raised. The colour of the eye is a deep chesnut: they are very long and narrow, removed to a great distance from each other; and the eyelids at the extremity next the nose, instead of forming an angle, as in Europeans, are rounded into each other exactly like those of the Chinese, to whom indeed in many other points they bear a physical resemblance that is sufficiently striking. The cheek-bones are high and prominent, and with the narrow-pointed chin form nearly a triangle. Their teeth are beautifully white. The colour of the skin is that of a yellowish brown or a faded leaf, but very different from the sickly hue of a person in the jaundice, which it has been described to resemble. The hair is of a very singular nature: it does not cover the whole surface of the scalp, but grows in small tufts at certain dis-

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tances from each other, and, when kept short, has the appearance and feel of a hard shoe-brush, with this difference, that it is curled and twisted into small round lumps about the size of a marrowfat-pea. When suffered to grow, it hangs in the neck in hard twisted tassels like fringe.

Some of the women when young, and previous to child-bearing, might serve as models of perfection in the human figure. Every joint and limb is rounded and well turned, and their whole body is without an angle or disproportionate protuberance. Their breasts are round, firm, and distant; but the nipple is unusually large and surrounded by an areola that is much elevated above the general surface of the breast. Their hands and feet are remarkably small and delicately turned; and in their gait they are not altogether devoid of grace. Their charms, however, are very fleeting. At an early period of life, and immediately after the first child, their breasts begin to grow loose and flaccid, and, as old age approaches, become distended to an enormous size; the belly protrudes; and the posteriors, swelling out to incredible dimensions, give to the spine a degree of curvature inwards that makes it appear as if the *os coccygis*, or bone at the lower extremity of the spine, was elongated and bent outwards, which is not the case. The mass that covers the posteriors has been found to be pure fat. Some other striking peculiarities in the conformation of Hottentot women will be noticed when speaking of the Bojésmans, who seem to be the true aborigines of the country, unmixed with any other tribes of people.

Except in the preparation of poisons, making bows and arrows, musical instruments, coarse earthen ware, and sewing together the skins of sheep for their winter garments with sinews or the intestines of animals, the Hottentots may be said to be entirely ignorant of arts and manufactures. The great point in which their invention appears to have been exercised is in the construction of their language. Of all the methods that have been adopted in language by different nations for the purpose of expressing objects, and conveying ideas in a clear and unequivocal manner, that which has been hit upon by the Hottentots is certainly the most extraordinary. Almost all

their monosyllables, and the leading syllable of compound words, are thrown out of the mouth with a sudden retraction of the tongue from the teeth or the palate against one of which it has been pressed, according to the signification of the word about to be uttered; for the same sound, with the dental, will have a very different meaning with the palatial retraction of the tongue. The noise made by the dental is not unlike the clacking of a hen that has young chickens. In the first formation of the language of the Hottentot, nature seems to have been his guide. The croaking of a frog is readily recognized in *kraak* or *kraaie*; the lowing of an ox in *'mnoo*; the mewling of a cat in *meau*; the neighing of a horse in *halix*; the breaking of the sea upon the shore in *hurroo*; all of which are correspondent words in the language of this people.

' On the morning of the 29th of August we left the Zwartkop's river, and, proceeding to the eastward about 20 miles, crossed a ford of the Sunday river, and encamped upon its bank. On the banks of this river we were disturbed in the night, for the first time, by a troop of elephants that had intended to quench their thirst near the place where we were encamped; but, finding the ground already occupied, they turned quietly away without molesting us.

' The following day we travelled near 30 miles over a wild uninhabited part of the country, covered chiefly with shrubby plants. It was in fact an arm of the same forest, through which a road had been cut just wide enough to admit the waggons. Beyond the forest the face of the country was beautifully marked with knolls and dells, finely chequered with clumps of evergreen trees and patches of shrubbery.

' On the Hassagai-bosch river stood the second habitation that had occurred in the last three day's journey, and we were here informed that there was no other to the eastward. We had not travelled many miles beyond this river till the discovery of the whole surface of the country in flames indicated our approach to some of the stations of the Kaffers. We pitched our tents in fact at night on the banks of the *Kareeka*, amidst several hundreds of these people, who, on our approach, came swarming out of the thick shrubbery that skirted the

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river. A party of women were the first who advanced to salute us, laughing and dancing round the waggons, and putting on all the coaxing manners they could invent, in order to procure from us tobacco and brass buttons. Good temper, animation, and a cheerful turn of mind, beamed in all their countenances. We found them to be modest without reserve; extremely curious without being troublesome; lively but not impudent; and sportive without the least shadow of being lascivious. Their personal charms were not of a very captivating nature, though, getting over the prejudice of colour, which was that of a dark glossy brown verging on black, several of them might have been accounted handsome. The rapid movement of their dark sparkling eyes gave animation to their countenances: their teeth were beautifully white and regular; they had neither the thick lips nor flat noses of Africans in general; and the whole contour of the face and head was equally well formed as those of Europeans; but the most striking feature in their character was a degree of sprightliness, activity, and vivacity, that distinguished them from the women of most nations but little civilized, who are generally reserved to strangers. Bordering upon the country of the Hottentots, their manners, their persons, and their whole character, seemed to be as widely removed from this phlegmatic race as the equator from the pole. The Hottentot young women had much the advantage, however, of the Kaffers in point of figure. The latter were mostly of low stature, very strong-limbed, and particularly muscular in the leg; but the good humour that constantly beamed upon their countenances made ample amends for any defect in their persons.

‘The men, on the contrary, were the finest figures I ever beheld: they were tall, robust, and muscular; their habits of life had induced a firmness of carriage, and an open, manly manner, which, added to the good nature that overspread their features, shewed them at once to be equally unconscious of fear, suspicion, and treachery. A young man about twenty, of six feet ten inches high, was one of the finest figures that perhaps was ever created. He was a perfect Hercules; and a cast from his body would not have disgraced the pedes-

tal of that deity in the Farnese palace. Many of them had indeed very much the appearance of bronze figures. Their skins, which were nearly black, and their short curling hair, were rubbed over with a solution of red ochre, and the tint it produced on the dark ground was very far from having any disagreeable effect. Some few were covered with skin-cloaks, but the greater part were entirely naked. The women wore long cloaks that extended below the calf of the leg; and their heads were covered with leather-caps ornamented with beads, with shells, and with pieces of polished copper and iron, that were disposed in a variety of forms; but the fashion of the cap was nearly the same in all.

‘ We distributed a quantity of tobacco among the women, who carried it to their fathers and husbands. These had not proved such successful pleaders as the females. In the evening they sent us in return some baskets of milk. These baskets were made from a species of *cyperus*, a strong reedy grass that grows in the springs of Zuure Veld. The workmanship was exceedingly clever and neat, and the texture so close that they were capable of containing the thinnest fluid. The women informed us that the making of these baskets was one part of their employment; and they seemed to feel a pleasure in our admiration of them. They were all nearly made after one model, which in shape was that of a common bee-hive. As they are never washed nor cleaned, the milk thrown into them almost immediately coagulates, in which state it is always used by this people, and never sweet from the animal. Having no bread, nor vegetables, nor roots, but such as grow spontaneously in the country, and as they seldom kill any of their cattle for the sake of the flesh, the necessity of taking something solid into the stomach led them, perhaps, to adopt this manner of drinking their milk; and the best proof of its nutritious quality, in such a state, was the general healthy appearance and vigour of their persons.

‘ Towards the setting of the sun the whole plain was covered with cattle, which in vast herds were brought in from every quarter at the signal of command, which was a particular kind of whistling noise made with the mouth; at another whistle

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the cows separated from the herd, and came forward to have their milk drawn from them. This, and the management of the dairy, form a part of the employment of the men. In the morning a third signal sent them out to graze. The Kaffers and their cattle seem perfectly to understand each other.

‘ Though at this place there could not be fewer than 300 men and women, exclusive of a numerous troop of young boys and girls who were obliged to keep at a distance; yet not a hut of any kind was to be seen. These were all concealed in the midst of the shrubbery: they consisted only of a few living twigs, whose tops were bent and interwoven into each other, forming a frame, of the shape of a parabola, about five feet high and eight in diameter. These frames were rudely covered over with branches of trees and long grass, and were evidently intended only as temporary abodes.

‘ A chief of the name of *Tooley* paid us a visit, drank a few glasses of wine which he seemed very much to relish, and received a small present of beads and tobacco; but the object that seemed most to engage his attention was the wish to procure for himself a pair of breeches. Among our party were a few tolerably stout and tall men, yet none of their breeches would suffer *Tooley’s* thighs to enter into them. He was a strong muscular man, of six feet in height, and well made. He was good-humoured and cheerful, but did not appear to be possessed of much intellect. He declined entering into any conversation that led to the purport of our journey, and said that his brother *Malloo*, who was one of the first of the Kaffer chiefs, would talk to us on that subject. An express was therefore sent for *Malloo*, who was at a little distance on the upper part of the river. It was not long before he made his appearance, followed by a third chief of the name of *Etonic*.

‘ In a conversation with these chiefs, they were asked whether they were not acquainted with the treaty that had been made a long time ago between the Christians and Kaffers, and renewed at the conclusion of the late hostilities, which treaty had fixed the Great Fish river as the line of demarcation between the two nations? *Malloo*, who spoke for the rest,



replied, that they knew it very well. If so, it was demanded why they had infringed that treaty by passing the said river and taking possession of the country belonging to the colonists, to the great injury of the latter, who had been obliged to quit their habitations? Malloo replied in a manner that shewed he was prepared to answer—that there were no habitations in that part of the country where they had fixed themselves; and as to their motive for passing the boundary, he could only say, for his own part, that he had come over for one of the reasons that had carried the colonists *first* after the treaty into the Kaffer country, which was that of hunting for game.

‘ The chiefs were told, that if some few of the colonists had been so imprudent as to transgress the treaty, they had done it contrary to the express orders, and without the knowledge, of government: that the colony was now in the possession of a great and powerful sovereign, the king of England: that one of his first chiefs had deputed us to say, that the established boundary should be observed on the part of the colonists; but he expected also that all those chiefs, who had spread themselves over the country of the colonists, with their families, and dependents, and cattle, would, without any further delay, quietly and peaceably return into their own country; and, as a proof of the good intentions and friendship of the English government towards the Kaffer nation, we were now on our journey to their great chief, or king *Gaika*, carrying for him a present from the English governor at the Cape.

‘ On hearing this, the Kaffer chiefs were apparently uneasy; and it was soon discovered that they not only were on bad terms with the king, but that they had been obliged to fly their country in order to avoid the effects of his displeasure. They now began to change their former tone, and to entreat that an intercession should be made for them with their king, and gave a promise, on condition of a *messenger of peace* being sent to them, immediately to return into their own country. Being assured that every attempt to bring about an amicable adjustment between the king and the fugitive chiefs would be tried, and that from the apparent willingness, on their part,

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to a reconciliation, there could be little doubt of success, they received each a small present, consisting of tobacco, knives, flints and steels, tinder-boxes, and a few glass beads.

‘ On the 2d of Sept. we skirted the banks of the Kareeka, towards the sea-shore, perpetually passing through multitudes of Kaffers and their herds of cattle. Of the latter, the collected opinion of the party was, that there could not have been fewer seen, in the course of this day’s journey, than 5,000 head. Among these were oxen of remarkable size and strength, vast numbers of cows, in general much larger and handsomer than those of the colony, some of them not unlike the Alderney cow; others were without horns, small and strong, resembling the black cattle that come down from the Highlands of Scotland. The horns of the large oxen were twisted with great pains into a variety of shapes. Not a sheep nor goat were to be seen. The Kaffers, in fact, never breed any of these animals. Dogs in innumerable quantities made their appearance, but so miserably poor that it was painful to look at them. They seemed to be a small kind of cur. They had no horses. Dogs and cattle were the only animals they possessed.

‘ The route from Hassagai-bosch river had been taken out of the common track in order to speak with the Kaffer chiefs, as well as to have a view of that part of the coast where the Bosjesman and the Kareeka rivers discharged themselves into the sea. Over the grassy plains of Zuure Veldt there is little difficulty in finding a road, where the deep glens, through which the branches of rivers run, can be avoided; and we had met with no obstacle till our arrival at the *Kowie*, which falls into the sea a little to the eastward of the Kareeka. In order to cross this river it was necessary to descend from the plain into a deep chasm two miles in length; not only down a steep precipice strewn over with fragments of rock, but in several places we had to cut a road through thick clumps of brushwood. A more difficult and dreadful place was certainly never attempted by wheel-carriages. A single false step might have been attended with the total destruction of waggons and cattle. In the space of two hours, however, we found ourselves in the

bottom, where we passed along a narrow defile, hemmed in on either side, sometimes by woods of tall trees creeping up the steep faces of the mountains, and at others between two walls of naked rock. The difficulty of the descent had considerably exhausted the oxen; but to rise the opposite hill, "*hic labor, hoc opus fuit.*" In vain the animals strove; the drivers shouted and stamped, and flogged with their enormous whips, and the Dutchmen swore. The first waggon got about a hundred yards up the ascent, which was near a mile in length, but was unable to be moved a step higher. After an hour's trial, bruising and fatiguing the oxen to no purpose, they had recourse to the method that ought in the first instance to have been adopted. The reserved oxen were yoked before the others, and thus, by double teams, the waggons were at last drawn out of this horrible chasm; not, however, without producing an instance of brutality and cruelty that will scarcely be supposed to exist in a civilized country. While the poor animals were struggling and tearing on their knees, and exerting their strength to the utmost to draw up the waggons, the owner of one of the teams, enraged at their want of success, drew out of its case a large crooked knife with a sharp point, and fixing on one of the oxen for the object on which he might give vent to his fury, cut him with several gashes across the ribs, in the flank, and in the fleshy part of the thigh, some of them from six to seven inches long, and so deep that when the animal walked they opened two inches in width. The size of the wounds is not mentioned loosely for the sake of exaggeration, but is given from actual measurement. The ribs were literally laid bare, and the blood ran down in streams; yet in this condition the poor beast was obliged to draw in the waggon for the space of three hours, after having received such brutal treatment. By two of the gashes a large piece of flesh was very nearly taken out of the thick part of the thigh; and had it not been for the irritable state of mind into which the savage conduct of the fellow had thrown me, but more particularly lest it should seem to give a kind of countenance to his brutality, I should have asked him to have cut it entirely out, as it could not materially have increased the pain to the beast; not for

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the sake of proving the delicacy of an Abyssinian beef-steak, quivering with life, but to have observed the progress of the wound. In three or four days the gashes were skinned over, and appeared to give the animal little uneasiness, but the cicatrices would always remain; and from these sort of scars on the bodies of many of the oxen, it is to be feared that cutting is a practice but too common among them, notwithstanding that most of the peasantry of the party seemed to be shocked at it. This was the second instance of the kind that I had occasion to witness in the course of this tour; the other was perhaps the more cruel, as it was exercised on parts of the body more susceptible of pain, the nose and the tongue. In this instance the animal bellowed most hideously, burst from the yoke, and plunging into the thickets, made his escape. Even in the neighbourhood of the Cape, where, from a more extended civilization, one would expect a greater degree of humanity, several atrocious acts of the kind are notorious. One of the inhabitants, better known from his wealth and his vulgarity than from any good quality he possesses, boasts that he can at any time start his team on a full gallop by whetting his knife only on the side of the waggon. In exhibiting this masterly experiment, the effect of a long and constant perseverance in brutality, to some of his friends, the waggon was overturned, and one of the company, unluckily not the proprietor, had his leg broken. Hottentot Holland's kloof, a steep pass over the first range of mountains beyond the promontory of the Cape, has been the scene of many an instance of this sort of cruelty. I have heard a fellow boast that, after cutting and slashing one of his oxen in this kloof, till an entire piece of a foot square did not remain in the whole hide, he stabbed him to the heart; and the same person is said, at another time, to have kindled a fire under the belly of an ox, because it could not draw the waggon up the same kloof.

Our travellers proceeded forward, and crossed the Great Fish river, which is 600 miles distant from the Cape. On arriving at the residence of the Kaffer monarch, 'we found,' says Mr. Barrow, 'that he had gone to his grazing village 10 or 12 miles to the northward, in consequence of some in-

telligence he had received of the wolves having committed great depredations among his young cattle on the preceding night. A messenger was therefore immediately dispatched after him; and in the meantime the king's mother, a well-looking woman, apparently about five-and-thirty, and his queen, a very pretty Kaffer girl, about fifteen, with their female attendants, to the number of 50 or 60, formed a circle round us, and endeavoured to entertain us with their good-humoured and lively conversation. It was not long before *Gaika*, the king, made his appearance riding on an ox in full gallop, attended by five or six of his people. Our business commenced with little ceremony under the shade of a spreading mimosa. He requested that we might be all seated in a circle on the ground, not as a mark of civility, but that it might the more distinctly be heard what each party had to say. The manner, however, in which he received us, sufficiently marked the pleasure he derived from the visit: of the nature of this he was already aware, and entered immediately upon the subject, by expressing the satisfaction he felt in having an opportunity of explaining to us that none of the Kaffers who had passed the boundary established between the two nations were to be considered as his subjects: he said they were chiefs as well as himself, and entirely independent of him; but that his ancestors had always held the first rank, and their supremacy had been acknowledged on all occasions by the colonists: that all those Kaffers and their chiefs, who had at any time been desirous to enter under the protection of his family, had been kindly received; and that those who chose rather to remain independent had been permitted to do so, without being considered in the light of enemies. He then informed us, that his father died, and left him, when very young, under the guardianship of *Zambie*, one of his first chiefs and own brother, who had acted as regent during his minority; but that having refused to resign to him his right on coming at years of discretion, his father's friends had shewed themselves in his favour, and that by their assistance he had obliged his uncle to fly: that this man had then joined *Khouta*, a powerful chief to the northward, and with their united forces had made war against him: that he had

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been victorious, and had taken Zambie prisoner: that he had never been at war with, nor to his knowledge had ever given the slightest offence to, the chiefs of the other side of the Keiskamma, but, on the contrary, had always endeavoured to conciliate their good-will: that since his friends and subjects had supported him in the assumption and maintenance of his right, he had observed a disposition in those chiefs to withdraw themselves from his friendship: that the people of Malloo and Tooley particularly had committed great depredations on the cattle of his subjects; and that, when he sent to them a civil message to enquire if any had by chance strayed into their territories, to his great surprize he was informed they had quitted the country: that he had more than once, since that period, sent to them his proffers of friendship, but that they had detained, and, as he supposed, put to death his messengers: that still to avoid giving them any pretext for commencing hostilities, he had strictly forbid any of his subjects to molest their habitations, or even to pass the Keiskamma.

‘ Astonished to find so much good sense and prudence in a very young man and a Kaffer, we explained the nature of our visit to him, and submitted for his consideration a short treaty, to which he agreed.

‘ It is a common idea, industriously kept up in the colony, that the Kaffers are a savage, treacherous, and cruel people; a character as false as it is unmerited. Their moderation towards the colonists, and all white people, has shewn itself on many occasions; and if the inhabitants of the bordering parts of the colony had any sense of honour or feeling of gratitude, instead of assisting to propagate, they would endeavour to suppress, such an idea. They know very well that in the height of a war into which this people was iniquitously driven, the lives of all their women and children that fell into the hands of the Kaffers were spared by them, whilst their own fell promiscuously by the hands of the colonists.

‘ Having arranged the business that brought us into Kafferland with the king, we made him a present consisting of sheets of copper, brass-wire, glass-beads, knives for skinning animals, looking-glasses, flints, steels, and tinder-boxes, and a quantity

of tobacco. His mother also received a present of the same nature. Except this lady, all the other women kept in the back-ground during the conversation, as did also Zambie, the uncle and usurper, who was then a prisoner at large in the village. The young king's treatment of this man did him great honour. All his former attendants, his cattle, and his six wives, were restored to him, with as much liberty as the rest of his subjects, except that he was always obliged to be in the same village with the king.

' Gaika was a young man, at this time under 20 years of age, of an elegant form, and a graceful and manly deportment; his height about five feet ten inches; his face of a deep bronze colour, approaching nearly to black; his skin soft and smooth; his eyes dark brown, and full of animation; his teeth regular, well-set, and white as the purest ivory: his countenance open, but more marked with the habit of reflection than is usually observed in that of a Kaffer: he had the appearance, indeed, of possessing in an eminent degree a solid understanding and a clear head: to every question that related to their manners, customs, laws, and various other points, he gave, without embarrassment or reserve, direct and unequivocal answers; his understanding was not more strong than his disposition appeared to be amiable: he seemed to be the adored object of his subjects; the name of Gaika was in every mouth, and it was seldom pronounced without symptoms of joy. He had one wife only, very young, and, setting aside the prejudice against colour, very pretty, by whom he had a little girl called *Jasa*. Like the chiefs in the colony he wore a brass chain suspended, on the left side, from a wreath of copper-beads that encircled his head: on his arm he had five large rings cut out of the solid tusks of elephants, and round his neck was a chain of beads: his cloak was faced with skins of leopards; but he threw this dress aside, and, like the rest of his people, appeared entirely naked.

' The queen had nothing to distinguish her from the other women, except that her cloak seemed to have had more pains bestowed upon it in the dressing, and had three rows behind of brass-buttons extending from the hood to the bottom of the

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skirts, and so close that they touched each other. The rest of the women were contented with a few of these straggling over different parts of the cloak. This weighty covering is never laid aside in the hottest weather; but they wear nothing whatsoever under it, except the little apron that the Hottentot women take such pains to decorate. The Kaffer ladies are not less anxious to appear smart about the head. Their skin-caps were ornamented with buttons, buckles, beads, or shells, according as fancy might suggest or their wardrobe could supply.

‘Every Kaffer is a soldier and a tradesman. The first is not a profession, but taken up occasionally as the state, of which he is a member, may demand his services. War is not made by them for extension of territory or individual aggrandizement, but for some direct insult or act of injustice against the whole, or some member, of the community. His habits and way of life is better suited for the herdsman than for the warrior. From the nature of his food, which is chiefly milk, his manners are mild and gentle, at the same time that the exercise of the chace, which from pleasure he follows as well as for profit, gives him an erect deportment, and a boldness and openness of expression that indicate nothing like fear. This in fact is a passion of the mind which can hardly be said to exist in that of a Kaffer. In time of peace he leads the true pastoral life: his cattle is his only care: he rarely kills one for his own consumption, except on some particular occasion. When a stranger of distinction visits a Kaffer chief, he selects from his herd the fattest ox, and divides it with his visitors. The evening that we departed from the village of the king, curiosity had brought together about a thousand people to see the strangers. Before they returned to their houses the king ordered four oxen to be slain, and the flesh to be distributed among them. For our party he intended a present of three oxen; but these he observed must be selected from his herd with his own hands. The whole management of the cattle is left to the men, and they easily render them uncommonly expert in comprehending their meaning. The horns of their greatest favourites are twisted in their nascent state into very whimsical forms. These are effected by grasp-

ing the young horn with hot irons till it becomes soft, in which state the direction wished for is given to it. Those of the ox on which the king rode were laid along each side of the neck with the points just touching the shoulders.

‘ While the men are employed in rearing and attending the cattle, the women are engaged in the affairs of the house, and in cultivating the ground. These, with the manufacture of baskets with the cyperus grass, and of earthen pots for boiling their meat or corn, which are the chief part of their household utensils, the making their skin-cloaks, and nursing their children, furnish sufficient employment for the women. They are said to be exceedingly prolific; that twins are almost as frequent as single births, and that it is no uncommon thing for a woman to have three at a time. Their children, soon after birth, are suffered to crawl about perfectly naked; and at six or seven months they are able to run. A cripple or deformed person is never seen. The Dutch have an idea that if a Kaffer child should be born imperfect, the parents immediately strangle it. Guaika’s mother seemed shocked at such a question being put to her; and assured me that a woman who could suffer such an unnatural crime to be committed, would be chased out of society. A high degree of civilization may indeed dull the feelings of nature, and policy may sometimes silently approve of crimes committed against it; but a savage feels the full force of parental affection.’

Our travellers having finished the business that brought them to the Kaffer king, they departed to examine the *Keiskammu* river, which is much larger than the Great Fish river, it being as large at its mouth as the Thames at Woolwich. Having re-crossed the Great Fish river they directed their course across a plain towards Graaff Reynet, at which place they arrived on the 30th of September, having made their long circuitous journey in less than two months. ‘ Three weeks had scarcely elapsed,’ says Mr. Barrow, ‘ after our return from the Kaffer country, till we were ready for another expedition to the northward, across the Sneuwberg or Snowy mountains. In these mountains, and in the country immediately behind them, dwells a race of men, that by their

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habits and manner of life, are justly entitled to the name of savage;—a name, however, of which, it is greatly to be feared, they have been rendered more worthy by the conduct of the European settlers. They are known in the colony by the name of Bosjesmans, or men of the bushes, from the concealed manner in which they make their approaches to kill and to plunder. They neither cultivate the ground nor breed cattle, but subsist, in part, on the natural produce of their country, and make up the rest by depredations on the colonists on one side, and the neighbouring tribes of people that are more civilized than themselves, on the other. Twenty years ago, it seems, they were less numerous and less ferocious than at the present day; and their boldness and numbers are said of late to have very much increased. At one time they were pretty well kept under by regular expeditions of the peasantry against them. Each division had its commandant, who was authorized to raise a certain number of men, and these were furnished by government with powder and ball. It was a service at all times taken with reluctance, especially by such as were least exposed to the attacks of the savages; and had not the people of Sneeuwberg conducted themselves with great fortitude, perseverance, and address, that valuable part of the colony, the nursery of cattle, had now been abandoned. The government of the Cape, which seemed to have been as little acquainted with the temper and disposition of its distant subjects as with the geography of the country, formed all its resolutions, respecting the Bosjesmans, on representations made to it by the persons immediately concerned. In consequence of these representations, it decreed that such of the Bosjesmans as should be taken alive in these expeditions made against them, were to be distributed by lot among the commandant and his party, with whom they were to remain in a state of servitude during their lives. Such as have been taken very young and well treated, have turned out most excellent servants; they have shewn great talent, great activity, and great fidelity. An opposite treatment has been productive of a contrary effect; and the brutal conduct of most of the Dutch farmers towards those in their employ has already been noticed. The poor

Hottentot bears it with patience, or sinks under it; but on the temper and the turn of mind of the Bosjesman it has a very different effect. He takes the first opportunity that offers of escaping to his countrymen, and contrives frequently to carry off with him a musket, and powder and ball. With tales of cruelty he excites them to revenge; he assists them in their plans of attack; tells them the strength of the whole, and of individuals; the number of their cattle, and the advantages and the dangers that will occur in the attempt to carry them off; the manner in which expeditions are conducted against them; and, in short, every thing he knows respecting the colonists. Armed with muskets and poisoned arrows, a party of these people was bold enough, a few days before we commenced our journey, to approach within four or five miles of the drosdy, from whence they carried off several hundred sheep. They were followed into a kloof of one of the mountains of Sneeuwberg, where they remained in possession of their plunder, laughing at their pursuers, and inviting them to approach and taste a little of their own mutton. One of them fired a musket, and the ball grazing the hat of a peasant, caused the pursuing party to make a precipitate retreat.

In order therefore to bring about a communication with some of the chiefs of this people; to try if, by presents and a lenient conduct, they could be prevailed upon to quit their present wild and marauding way of life; at the same time to see the state of the colony, and the situation of the inhabitants; to inspect the boundaries, and to examine the nature of the country, a journey to the northward appeared indispensably necessary.

On the 28th of October we departed from the drosdy, crossed the *Sunday* and its accompanying Karroo, and at the distance of 10 miles north-westerly reached the foot of the mountains, within which a narrow defile of five miles in length, and a steep ascent of three miles at the farther extremity, led upon the extensive plains, and among the scattered mountains that compose the Sneeuwberg.

The following day brought us to *Waay Hoek*, or Windy Corner, the habitation of the late provisional landrost of

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Graaff Reynet, who had signified an inclination to accompany us on the intended expedition. Having prepared himself for the journey, we remained with him only for the night; and on the following morning sent forward the waggons, while we made an excursion into the mountains on our left in search of Bosjesmans. A large party of these people had carried off a number of cattle but two days before, and another was supposed to be still hovering about in these mountains. The places of their usual haunts are easily discoverable, but generally very difficult of access, and not safe to approach.

‘In one of these retreats were discovered their recent traces. The fires were scarcely extinguished, and the grass on which they had slept was not yet withered. On the smooth sides of the cavern were drawings of several animals that had been made from time to time by these savages. Many of them were caricatures; but others were too well executed not to arrest attention.

‘In the course of the day we arrived at the house of Krüger, the commandant of Sneeuwberg, who kindly offered his services to be of our party, though he had but just returned from an expedition against the Bosjesmans. He had at this time with him in the house one of these wild men, with his two wives and a little child, which had come to him by lot, out of forty that had been taken prisoners. The man was only four feet five inches high, and his wives were still of a shorter stature, one being four feet two, and the other four feet three inches. He represented to us the condition of his countrymen as truly deplorable. That for several months in the year, when the frost and snow prevented them from making their excursions against the farmers, their sufferings from cold and want of food were indescribable: that they frequently beheld their wives and children perishing with hunger, without being able to give them any relief. The good season even brought little alleviation to their misery. They knew themselves to be hated by all mankind, and that every nation around them was an enemy planning their destruction. Not a breath of wind rustled through the leaves, not a bird screamed, that were not sup-

posed to announce danger. Hunted thus like beasts of prey, and ill-treated in the service of the farmers, he said that they considered themselves driven to desperation. The burthen of their song was vengeance against the Dutch. This little man was intended to have accompanied us; but as he seemed more inclined to abide by his wives, he was permitted to follow his uxorious inclinations.

Proceeding to the northward, a curious but truly deplorable spectacle presented itself. It was a troop of locusts resting upon the ground. They covered a space of about one square mile in extent, so completely that the surface appeared to the eye, at a little distance, to have been burnt and strewed over with brown ashes. Not a shrub nor blade of grass was visible. The waggons passed directly through them, before which they rose up in a cloud that darkened the air on each side. Desirous of seeing the whole troop on the wing, the Hottentots ran amongst them, and the horses were made to gallop through them, but without success; none but such as were immediately under the feet of the men and horses rose up. The peasantry affirm that they are not to be driven away unless the signal for departure should be given from their commander-in-chief, one of which is supposed to accompany every troop.

On the evening of the 23d, we encamped at the foot of a large mountain, remarkable for its pointed peak, and also from its detached situation. It was separated from all the circumjacent mountains, on four sides, by as many large level meadows abundant in springs of water. It forms one of the highest points of south Africa. The waters flow from the surrounding meadows in every direction; a circumstance from which colonel Gordon probably was induced to give it the name of the *Compass mountain*.

The termination of the Snowy mountains is about 12 miles to the north-eastward of Compassberg; and here a port or pass through them opens upon a plain extending to the northward, without a swell, farther than the eye could command. Eight miles beyond this pass we encamped for the night, when the weather was more raw and cold than we had hitherto experi-

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enced on the Sneuwberg. The thick clouds being at length dissipated by the sun, the Compassberg shewed itself white near the summit with snow.

'On the 25th we proceeded about 20 miles to the northward and having understood that beyond this place it would no longer be safe to proceed without an armed force, the inhabitants of the Sneuwberg and its several divisions had been summoned to meet us here, in order that the commandant might select as many as should be deemed sufficient to enable us to march through the country. He took 16 farmers and eight armed Hottentots, which, with our own party and the other Hottentots employed as drivers and leaders, amounted all together to about 50 persons. There were seven waggons, about 100 oxen, and 50 horses, besides a troop of 50 or 60 sheep for consumption on the journey. The people whom the commandant made choice of, were all young men, who, reluctantly as at all times they take the service of the regular exhibitions, seemed delighted on the present occasion, which they considered in the light only as a party of pleasure.

'On the evening of the 26th we collected our forces at the commencement of the *Sea-cow* river, which was about six miles to the northward of the last habitation. The following day we passed over plains that swarmed with game, and 20 miles farther to the northward brought us to that part of the river where governor Van Plettenberg ended his travels towards this quarter.

'Hunting was daily made on the plains, at a distance from the river, where game of all sorts were in the greatest abundance. In the course of our long excursions, several kraals, or dwelling-places of Bosjesmans, had been seen, but all of them deserted; and from many circumstances it was evident that most of them had recently been evacuated. Their inhabitants, no doubt, had fled at the appearance of so large a party of Europeans, which they could consider in no other light than that of an enemy. The commandant now announced to his people, that for a time all hunting parties must be suspended, and that the same regular order and obedience to commands should be observed as in their usual expeditions. He assured

us that unless this plan was adopted we might pass through the heart of the Bosjesmans' country without seeing a human creature, as there was little doubt of their being already well apprised of our approach. This in fact was the principal object of our present journey, that we might be eye-witnesses of the manner in which the farmers conducted their expeditions against these miserable set of beings. I thought it, however, a necessary step to make a previous stipulation with the commandant, that the extent of hostilities against these savages should be that of surrounding one of their kraals; that after this had been done we should act only on the defensive; and he was enjoined to deliver to his people a most serious charge not to fire a single shot unless it should be found absolutely necessary for their own personal security; for that the sole object of our journey was to bring about, if possible, a conversation with some of the chiefs of this people. On these conditions, a party, consisting of six farmers and as many Hottentots, were ordered out after sun-set to reconnoitre, with instructions to examine well if any fires should appear on any of the hills by night; to watch well, from some concealed spot, the plains by day; and to make a circuit from east to north, not exceeding 30 miles from the present encampment. If nothing should appear before the expiration of the third day, they were then to join us again at a certain spot upon the banks of the river, to the northward.

The following morning, at day-break, one of the scouting party, attended by a Hottentot, returned with intelligence that they had discovered from a high hill several fires at the bottom of a narrow defile about 20 miles to the eastward. In consequence of this information we remained still at our encampment the whole day, and at night proceeded towards the place where the fires had been seen. Previous to this movement the colonists prepared themselves for the enterprize by singing three or four hymns out of William Sluiter, and drinking each a glass of brandy.

Travelling slowly along, and without noise, till about one o'clock, we halted the waggons, and, taking the other hymn and glass of brandy, mounted horse and advanced towards the

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hill, where the rest of the reconnoitring party lay concealed, in order to observe the motions of the Bosjesmans. In a country where there is little variety of surface, where no beaten roads exist, and hill after hill occurs nearly alike, it would be no easy matter for a stranger to return upon the same track for a continuance of 20 or 30 miles which he had but once before gone over, and that in the night. A Dutch peasant, though sufficiently expert at this sort of service, always depends more upon his Hottentot than himself. The hill, however, that the reconnoitring party had chosen was so very remarkable that it could not easily be mistaken. It stood quite alone on the middle of a plain; was visible for more than 20 miles from every point of the compass; presented the form of a truncated cone from whatsoever situation it was seen; and a third tier of sand-stone strata that capped its summit appeared as a mass of masonry, a fortification on an eminence that could not be less than 1,000 feet high.

‘About two o’clock in the morning we joined this scouting party at the base of this mountain. They and their horses had been exposed the whole of the preceding day to the scorching rays of the sun, not having dared to move from the spot lest they should be discovered and cut off by the Bosjesmans; and they had but just returned from giving their horses a little water, near 15 miles off, in the Sea-cow river. They gave information, that during the day vast numbers of the savages had appeared upon the plain digging up roots: that they came from different quarters, and in so many groupes that they concluded there must be several hordes in the neighbourhood of this spot: that the nearest, which it was the intention to surprize, was within two or three miles.

‘Having halted here a couple of hours, in order to arrive at the mouth of the defile, in which the kraal was situated, just at the first dawn of day, the march was continued in solemn silence. As we entered the defile it was perceived that at the opposite extremity a hill stretched across, admitting a pass on either side; the party therefore divided into three companies in order to possess all the passes; and they again closed together slowly towards the hill, at the foot of which the horde

was supposed to lie. A Hottentot, having ascended one of the heights, waved his hat as a signal of discovery, and then pointed to the spot where the horde was situated. We instantly set off on full gallop, and in a moment found ourselves in the middle of the kraal. Day was but just beginning to break; and by the faint light I could discover only a few straw-mats, bent each between two sticks, into a semicircular form; but our ears were stunned with a horrid scream like the war-hoop of savages; the shrieking of women and the cries of children proceeded from every side. I rode up with the commandant and another farmer, both of whom fired upon the kraal. I immediately expressed to the former my very great surprize that he, of all others, should have been the first to break a condition which he had solemnly promised to observe, and that I had expected from him a very different kind of conduct. "Good God!" he exclaimed, "have you not seen a shower of arrows falling among us?" I certainly had seen neither arrows nor people, but had heard enough to pierce the hardest heart; and I peremptorily insisted that neither he nor any of his party should fire another shot. In justification of their conduct they began to search on the ground for the arrows, a search in which they were encouraged to continue, in order to give the poor wretches a little time to scramble away among the detached fragments of rocks and the shrubbery that stood on the side of the heights. On their promises I could place no sort of dependance, knowing that, like true sportsmen when game was sprung, they could not withhold their fire. Of this I was presently convinced by the report of a musket on the opposite side of the hill; and, on riding round the point, I perceived a Bosjesman lying dead upon the ground. It appeared that as one of our party, who could speak their language, was endeavouring to prevail upon the savages to come down from the heights, this Bosjesman had stolen close to him behind a rock, and was taking deliberate aim with his drawn bow, which another of the colonists perceiving, levelled his musket and shot him dead. It had been hoped the affair would happily have been accomplished without the shedding of human blood, and that the views of the expedition

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would have met with no interruption from an accident of such a nature. They soon perceived, however, that there was no attempt to pursue them up the heights, which could easily have been done; but that on the contrary the party had laid down their arms and turned their horses out to grass. Upon this, in a short space of time, several little children came down upon the plain. Among these we distributed some biscuits and other trifles, and then suffered them to return: presently afterwards the women and young girls, to the number of thirty or forty, came towards us, not without symptoms of fear. These being treated in the same manner, were sent back to desire their husbands would also come down in order to receive a present of tobacco. The men, however, had less confidence in the Christians than the women. They hovered a long time round the summit of the hill, doubting what step they should take; and the women had gone and returned at least a dozen times, before they were able to prevail upon one man to descend; and when at last he ventured to come down, he approached us half-laughing, half-crying, trembled and acted just like a frightened child. A large piece of tobacco was immediately given to him, and he was sent back to his companions to let them know there was also a present for each of them. Three others mustered resolution to come down to meet us, but no more chose to venture themselves. The manner, indeed, in which their village was attacked, was certainly not calculated to inspire them with much confidence. On the contrary, it was so directly hostile as perfectly to justify their shooting a volley of arrows among us, which was afterwards found to be the case, as the commandant had asserted. The conclusion of the business, however, must have appeared to them very different from what, on former occasions, they had always experienced, when those who escaped from immediate death were incessantly pursued and fired upon, and their wives and children seized and carried away into slavery. In this instance they were well treated, and left at full liberty to remain with us or to depart. The women all staid behind; but three of the men accompanied us to the waggons, where they continued for several days. We had wished to speak with the captain

or chief of the horde, but they assured us there was no such person; that every one was master of his own family, and acted entirely without controul, being at liberty to remain with, or quit, the society as it might best suit them.

‘ Little satisfactory could be obtained from those who returned with us to the waggons. They insisted on their innocence, by asserting that their horde, so long as they had composed a part of it, had never committed depredations on the colonists, but had always remained about the spot we found them, where they subsisted by the chase, and upon the roots of the earth. Having remained with us very contentedly for a few days, they returned to their kraal highly pleased with the treatment they had met with, and with the presents they had received.

‘ The horde or kraal consisted of five-and-twenty huts, each made of a small grass-mat bent into a semicircle, and fastened down between two sticks; open before, but closed behind with a second mat. They were about three feet high and four feet wide, and the ground in the middle was dug out like the nest of an ostrich; a little grass strewed in this hollow served as their bed, in which they seemed to have lain coiled round in the manner of some quadrupeds. It appeared that it was customary for the elderly men to have two wives, one old and past child-bearing, and the other young; that no degree of consanguinity prevented a matrimonial connection, except between brothers and sisters, parents and children. One of these miserable huts served for a whole family. The population of the horde was calculated to amount to about 150 persons. They possessed no sort of animals except dogs, which, unlike those of the Kaffers, were remarkably fat.

‘ The men were entirely naked, and most of the women nearly so. Their only covering was a belt of springbok’s skin, with the part that was intended to hang before cut into long threads like those before mentioned to be worn by some of the Hottentot women; but the filaments were so small and thin that they answered no sort of use as a covering; nor indeed did the females, either old or young, seem to feel any sense of shame in appearing before us naked. Whether in the con-

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fusion and hurry they had scrambled among the rocks before they had time to adjust this their only dress, or whether they were indifferent about concealing any particular part of their bodies, their aprons happened to be very carelessly put on. The fringed part of some was hanging behind; of others, on the exterior part of the thigh; and some had fallen down as low as the knee. Yet they were not entirely without some notions of finery. A few had caps made of the skins of asses, in form not unlike helmets; and bits of copper, or shells, or beads, were hanging in the neck, suspended from their little curling tufts of hair. All the men had the cartilage of the nose bored, through which they wore a piece of wood or a porcupine's quill.

Whether considered as to their persons, turn of mind, or way of life, the Bosjesmans are certainly a most extraordinary race of people. In their persons they are extremely diminutive. The tallest of the men measured only four feet nine inches, and the tallest women four feet four inches. About four feet six inches is said to be the middle size of the men, and four feet that of the women. One of these that had several children measured only three feet four inches. Their colour, their hair, and the general turn of their features, evidently denote a common origin with the Hottentots, though the latter, in point of personal appearance, has the advantage by many degrees. The Bosjesmans, indeed, are amongst the ugliest of all human beings. The flat nose, high cheek-bones, prominent chin, and concave visage, partake much of the apeish character, which their keen eye, always in motion, tends not to diminish. The upper lid of this organ, as in that of the Chinese, is rounded into the lower on the side next the nose, and forms not an angle, as is the case in the eye of an European. It is perhaps from this circumstance that they are known in the colony under the name of *Cineeze*, or Chinese Hottentots. Their bellies are uncommonly protuberant, and their backs hollow; but their limbs seems to be in general well turned and proportioned. Their activity is incredibly great. The klip-springing antelope can scarcely excel them in leaping from rock to rock; and they are said to be so swift, that, on

rough ground, or up the sides of mountains, horsemen have no chance with them. And, as the means of increasing their speed in the chace, or when pursued by the enemy, the men had adopted a custom, which was sufficiently remarkable, of pushing the testicles to the upper part of the root of the penis, where they seemed to remain as firmly and conveniently as if placed there by nature. It is unnecessary to add, that such an operation must necessarily be performed at an early period of life.

‘ Curious as this custom appeared to be, it was less a subject of remark than an extraordinary character that distinguished the other sex from the women of most nations. The well-known story of the Hottentot women possessing an unusual appendage to those parts that are seldom exposed to view, which belonged not to the sex in general, is perfectly true with regard to the Bosjesmans. The horde we had met with possessed it to a woman; and, without the least offence to modesty, there was no difficulty in satisfying curiosity. It appeared on examination to be an elongation of the nymphæ, or interior labia, more or less extended according to the age or habit of the person. Their colour is that of livid blue, inclining to a reddish tint, not unlike the excrescence on the beak of a turkey, which indeed may serve to convey a tolerable idea of the whole appearance both as to colour shape, and size.

‘ Nature seems to have studied how to make this pigmy race disgusting; though a certain French traveller has thought fit to exculpate Nature on this point, by asserting the above-mentioned conformation to be entirely the effect of art. The testimony of the people themselves, who have no other idea but that the whole human race is so formed, is sufficient to contradict such a supposition; but many other proofs might be adduced to shew that the assertion is without any foundation in truth.

‘ The great curvature of the spine inwards, and extended posteriors, are characteristics of the whole Hottentot race; but in some of the small Bosjesmans they are carried to a most extravagant degree. If the letter S be considered as one expression of the line of beauty to which degrees of approxima-

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tion are admissible, these women are entitled to the first rank in point of form. A section of the body, from the breast to the knee, forms really the shape of the above letter. The projection of the posterior part of the body, in one subject, measured five inches and a half from a line touching the spine. This protuberance consisted of fat, and, when the woman walked, had the most ridiculous appearance imaginable, every step being accompanied with a quivering and tremulous motion as if two masses of jelly were attached behind.

‘The Bosjesman, though in every respect a Hottentot, yet in his turn of mind differs very widely from those who live in the colony. In his disposition he is lively and chearful; in his person active. His talents are far above mediocrity; and, averse to idleness, they are seldom without employment.— Confined generally to their hovels by day, for fear of being surprized and taken by the farmers, they sometimes dance on moon-light nights from the setting to the rising of the sun. They are said to be particularly joyful at the approach of the first thunder-storm after the winter, which they consider as so infallible a token of the summer having commenced, that they tear in pieces their skin-coverings, throw them in the air, and dance for several successive nights. The small circular trodden places around their huts indicated their fondness for this amusement. His chearfulness is the more extraordinary, as the morsel he procures to support existence is earned with danger and fatigue. He neither cultivates the ground nor breeds cattle; and his country yields few natural productions that serve for food. The bulbs of the iris, and a few gramineous roots of a bitter and pungent taste, are all that the vegetable kingdom affords him. By the search of these the whole surface of the plains near the horde was scratched.

‘When all these means of subsistence fail them, and they are certainly very precarious, they are driven to the necessity of hazarding a toilsome and dangerous expedition of plunder into the colony. Such a mode of life naturally leads to habits of cruelty.

‘When a horde is surrounded by the farmers, and little chance is perceived by them of effecting an escape, they will

fight it out furiously so long as a man shall be left alive. It frequently happens on such occasions that a party will volunteer the *forlorn hope*, by throwing themselves into the midst of the colonists in order to create confusion, and to give to their countrymen, concealed among the rocks or in the long grass, at the expence of their own lives, an opportunity of exercising more effectually their mortal weapons upon their enemies, and at the same time to facilitate the escape of their wives and children.

‘ On the evening of the 30th we joined the waggons that had proceeded along the bank of the Sea-cow river to that part where it passed through an opening in a cluster of hills, which opening was called the *first poort*. The following day we reached the second poort or pass, through which also the Sea-cow river bent its course.

‘ The kloof we found to be in general so very narrow, and the river serpentinized so much from side to side, passing close under the steep rocky points, that we were obliged to pass it a hundred times, and had almost abandoned the hope of making much progress, when we fell into a large beaten track made by the hippopotami or sea-cows. This carried us, without further interruption, through reeds and shrubbery, and shallow parts of the river, to the very end of the kloof, which we computed to be about 15 miles from the entrance, where we had left our waggons. Here also was the termination of the Sea-cow river; its tranquil waters formed a confluence with another river of prodigious size, whose rapid stream rolled over the rocky bed a vast volume of muddy water. The peasantry had no name for it but that of the *Groot*, or *Great* river; but from the magnitude and direction of its current, there could be no doubt of its being the same which empties itself on the western coast between the two tribes of people called the Great and the Little Namaquas, and to which colonel Gordon there gave the name of the Orange river. In point of size, and bulk of water, all the rivers of the colony, taken collectively, would not be equal to it.’

Our travellers rounded the mountains; and followed the course of the Orange river four days; but, finding no ford

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which might be passed by the waggons, they struck off towards the Kaffer country. On the 5th of December, they turned off to the southward, in which direction they intended to skirt the colony. On the 12th they encamped on the Fish river, and the next day continued their route over a rough, mountainous country: they halted on the 30th near the source of the Baboon's river. On the 24th of the following month they reached Graaff Reynet. 'On our arrival,' says Mr. Barrow, 'the thermometer, when exposed to the wind in the shade, rose to 108 deg.: whilst in the house it was cool and pleasant at 82 deg. It was one of those hot winds, such as we had once before experienced on the banks of the Great Fish river. They happen most frequently upon the Karroo plains, where they are sometimes attended with tournados that are really dreadful. Waggons are overturned, men and horses thrown down, and the shrubs torn out of the ground. The dust and sand are whirled into the air in columns of several hundred feet in height, which, at a distance, look like the water-spouts seen sometimes at sea; and with those they are equally, if possible, avoided,—all that falls in their way being snatched up in their vortex. Sometimes dust and small pebbles are hurled into the air with the noise and violence of a sky-rocket. Rain and thunder generally succeed those heated winds, and gradually bring about a decrease of temperature to the common standard, which, in the summer season at Graaff Reynet, appears to be about 80 deg. to 84 deg. in the middle of the day. The mornings and the evenings are generally cool and pleasant.'

December 9th, they departed from Graaff Reynet; and after travelling some time, over an arid and barren desert, their water failed, the rivers were found to be dried up, the cattle expressed their sufferings by hollow lowings, and the sheep by perpetual bleating. After much pain and fatigue, the party, on the 15th, and after having been four days without water, came to a clear limpid stream called the *Keur fonteyn*, or Choice spring; and never certainly did any stream of water appear to be more truly valuable and delightful. It was with the greatest difficulty that both cattle and Hottentots,

who are equally void with the former of thought or reflection, were restrained from drinking to excess after so long an abstinence.

After this, our travellers passed the Lange kloof, which, though difficult to pass, abounds with streams of good water and pasturage. They next reached Zwart kops bay, which is 320 miles distant from the Cape. From this place they returned to the westward, crossing many deep and dangerous rivers. On the 12th they entered the district of Stellenbosch. 'Proceeding up the valley,' says Mr. Barrow, 'through which the *Emulless* river meanders, we halted, late in the evening, at a place called the Bavian's kloof, where there is a small establishment of Moravian missionaries, or *Hernhüters*, so called from a village in Saxony where an asylum was offered to them after their expulsion from Moravia. These people have been several years in this colony, for the express purpose of instructing the Hottentots in the doctrines of Christianity, but had met with little encouragement, in the object of their mission, under the Dutch government. The number of their proselytes have encreased of late to such a degree, that they have found it necessary to send to Europe for more teachers of the gospel.

'Early in the morning I was awakened by the noise of some of the finest voices I had ever heard, and, on looking out, saw a group of female Hottentots sitting on the ground. It was Sunday, and they had assembled thus early to chaunt the morning hymn. They were all neatly dressed in printed cotton gowns. A sight so very different to what we had hitherto been in the habit of observing, with regard to this unhappy class of beings, could not fail of being grateful; and, at the same time, it excited a degree of curiosity as to the nature of the establishment. The good fathers, who were three in number, were well disposed to satisfy every question put to them. They were men of the middle age, plain and decent in their dress, cleanly in their persons, of modest manners, meek and humble in their deportment, but intelligent and lively in conversation, zealous in the cause of their mission, but free from bigotry or enthusiasm. Every thing about the place



partook of that neatness and simplicity which were the strongest features in the outline of their character. The church they had constructed was a plain neat building; their mill for grinding corn was superior to any in the colony; their garden was in high order, and produced abundance of vegetables for the use of the table. Almost every thing that had been done was by the labour of their own hands. Agreeably to the rules of the society, of which they were members, each had learned some useful profession. One was well skilled in every branch of smith's work, the second was a shoemaker, and the third a tailor.

‘ These missionaries have succeeded in bringing together into one society, more than 600 Hottentots, and their numbers are daily increasing. These live in small huts dispersed over the valley, to each of which was a patch of ground for raising vegetables. Those who had first joined the society had the choicest situations at the upper end of the valley, near the church, and their houses and gardens were very neat and comfortable; numbers of the poor in England not so good, and few better. Those Hottentots who chose to learn their respective trades, were paid for their labour as soon as they could earn wages. Some hired themselves out by the week, month, or year, to the neighbouring peasantry; others made mats and brooms for sale: some breed poultry, and others found means to subsist by their cattle, sheep, and horses. Many of the women and children of soldiers, belonging to the Hottentot corps, reside at Bavian's kloof, where they are much more likely to acquire industrious habits than by remaining in the camp.

‘ On Sundays they all regularly attend the performance of divine service, and it is astonishing how ambitious they are to appear at church neat and clean. Of the three hundred, or thereabouts, that composed the congregation, about half were dressed in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in the ancient sheep-skin dresses; and it appeared, on enquiry, that the former were the first who had been brought within the pale of the church; a proof that their circumstances at least had suffered nothing for their change of life. Persuasion and example had convinced them, that cleanliness in their persons, not only

added much to the comforts of life, but was one of the greatest preservatives of health; and that the little trifle of money they had to spare, was much better applied in procuring decent covering for the body, than in the purchase of spirits and tobacco, articles so far from being necessaries, that they might justly be considered as the most pernicious evils.

‘The deportment of the Hottentot congregation, during divine service, was truly devout. The discourse delivered by one of the fathers was short, but replete with good sense, pathetic, and well suited to the occasion: tears flowed abundantly from the eyes of those to whom it was particularly addressed. The females sung in a style that was plaintive and affecting; and the voices were in general sweet and harmonious. Not more than fifty had been admitted as members of the Christian faith, by the ceremony of baptism. There appeared to be no violent zeal on the part of the fathers, which is the case with most other missionaries, to swell the catalogue of converts to Christianity, being more solicitous to teach their trades to such as might chuse to learn them. Adopting the idea of the humane and ingenious count Rumford, their first great object seemed to be that of making men happy, that they might afterwards become virtuous, which is certainly much sounder philosophy, than the reverse of the proposition.

‘It would be supposed, that men like these, so truly respectable in their missionary character, and irreproachable in their conduct, would be well received and encouraged in any country; yet such is the brutality and gross depravity of the peasantry of this colony, that a party, consisting of about thirty, had entered into a confederacy to murder the three teachers, and to seize and force into their service all the young Hottentots that might be found at the place. These horrid wretches had actually assembled at a neighbouring house, on the Saturday evening, intending on the following day, in the middle of divine service, to carry their murderous purposes into execution. Luckily for the missionaries, they had intimation of what was going on through a Hottentot, who deserted the service of one of the intended assassins for that purpose. They had laid their apprehensions before sir John Craig, who,

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in consequence, issued his injunctions, in a letter to the overseer of the post of Zoete Melk valley, that no inhabitant should in any shape molest the HERNHÜTERS, on pain of incurring the heaviest displeasure of the government. The letter arrived on the very day they were assembled, and the poltroons, on hearing it read, sneaked off each to his own home, and the missionaries since that time have continued to exercise their functions unmolested. The cause of the farmers' hatred to these people, is their having taught the Hottentots the use of their liberty, and the value of their labour, of which they had long been kept in ignorance.

On the 17th our travellers descended the Hottentot's Holland's kloof, a difficult pass across the great north and south chain of mountains; and, on the 18th of January, they reached Cape Town, after a difficult and dangerous tour of seven months.

Mr. Barrow's travels did not terminate here; for it was thought expedient to commence a journey to the northern parts of the colony, along the western coast, at the very moment when the breaking up of the summer monsoon was expected. 'It was the 10th of April,' says he, 'when I set forward from Cape Town, with a covered waggon, and twelve stout oxen, in good condition, a single horse, a slave, a waggoner, and leader, who had accompanied me on the other journies, and an additional Hottentot to attend the oxen for relays: for it must not be supposed, that the same team of oxen should be able to draw daily for a length of time. The farmers, who live only at the distance of ten days' journey from the Cape, seldom come up with less than a couple of teams of bullocks to use alternately. They also travel at nights, for the sake of coolness, and that their cattle may graze or browse during the day.

'None of my Hottentots being acquainted with one step of the northern tour I was about to undertake, we had to depend entirely on the information of the farmers as to the road and most convenient halting places. The first day brought us to *Keoberg*, about 18 miles from the Cape; and the second to *Groene kloof*, about 16 miles farther of deep sandy road, a

hard day's drag for a dozen oxen. 'The *Tea fonteyn*, is the next usual stage beyond Groene kloof.

'From thence we crossed the country to Saldanha bay, which, as a spacious, secure, and commodious sheet of inland sea water, for the reception of shipping, can scarcely perhaps be equalled in any part of the world. It extends in length near 15 miles, in the direction of the coast, which is about north by east, and south by west; and the entrance into it is near the northern end, through a ridge of granite hills, moderately high.'

After describing this bay minutely, our author sets forward, and travels over an extensive and deep sandy ridge of hills, which occupied three days.

Having crossed *Olifant*, or Elephant's river, Mr. Barrow proceeded over the great chain of mountains, with 16 fresh oxen, in about eight hours. On the upper part of the mountains, the weather became suddenly boisterous, when our author took shelter in a small cottage. 'Solitary and wretched,' says he, 'as the hovel appeared to be, it was crowded with persons of both sexes, in the height of gaiety. The owner of the place had just returned from the Cape, and had brought with him a supply of brandy, with which they were making merry. The poorest peasant, on his annual visit to the Cape, never fails to lay in, among other articles of purchase, a cask of *sopie*, and this has little rest day or night till it be exhausted. Friends and strangers are equally welcome to it as long as it will run. Among the present company were two men whom, from their countenances, I could perceive to be Europeans. They had been long enough in the country to forget their own language, but not to have learned that of the Dutch, so that in fact they scarcely had the means of making themselves intelligible to any one. The one was an Irishman, the other English, and both were probably deserters from the army or the navy. The first had taken up the profession of a *water-wyzer* or discoverer of water, and had shewn sagacity enough to establish a sort of reputation in the country. By speaking little, looking wise, and frequent application to the eye of a double convex lens, which happened to have an

air-bubble with it, he had practised with great success on the credulity and ignorance of the Dutch farmers, and had obtained from them, by this and other means, a pair of horses, and several hundred rix-dollars of paper-money. Lighting their pipes at the sun by means of his glass, and the persuasion that the air-bubble within it was a drop of water that possessed the sympathetic quality of always turning towards its kindred element, had such an irresistible effect on the rude minds of the African boors, that the Irishman, like a true quack, appreciated his consequence so highly, that he never deigned to pay a visit to any farmer, in order to examine the state of his water, without a previous fee. Observing me laugh at the credulity of the people gaping at his mountebank tricks, he took occasion to speak to me apart, begging, for God's sake, I would not detect the imposture, as he was now in such good practice that he was able to keep an assistant. Surprize ceases at the credulity of men born and educated in the wilds of Africa, on reflecting to what extent the impostors of Europe have succeeded, in living upon the folly of those who have been weak enough to listen to them.'

After travelling for some time northward, Mr. Barrow approached the skirts of the colony, when it became necessary to increase his company, as a protection against the Bosjesmans. Having passed the Karroo desert he entered the Namaaqua country, and, after proceeding some distance, encamped at the house of a Dutch peasant, situated at the entrance of a narrow defile between two ranges of mountains. 'The figure that presented itself,' says he, 'at the door, truly represented a being of a different country from that which we had left behind. It was a tall old man, with a thin sallow visage, and a beard of dingy black, that extending to the eyes where it met the straggling hair of the forehead, obscured the face like a vizor. Never was a finer figure for the inhabitant of a black tower or enchanted castle, in the page of a romance. Not accustomed to receive strangers, he seemed, on our arrival, to be somewhat agitated. In one corner of the chimney of his hovel, which consisted of one apartment, sat an old Hottentot woman, over whose head had passed at least a

century of years. To her natural sallow complexion was superadded no small quantity of soot, so that she was at least as black as her bearded master. A female slave next made her appearance, of a piece with the two former. The faggot presently crackled on the hearth; a quarter of a sheep was laid on the coals to broil; and the repast was speedily served up on the lid of an old chest, for want of a table, and covered with the remnant of the same piece of cloth worn as a petticoat by the female slave, which, it seemed not unlikely, had also once been employed in the same sort of service.

‘It turned out in conversation, that the old gentleman had long resided in this sequestered spot far removed from all society; without wife or child, relation or friend, or any human being to converse with or confide in, except the old Hottentot and the slave, who were his only inmates, and a tribe of Hottentots in straw huts without. With the appearance of wretchedness and extreme poverty, he possessed immense herds of sheep and cattle, and had several large sums of money placed out at interest. He was literally what the world has properly called a miser. In justice, however, to the old man, he was one of the civillest creatures imaginable. On our return we were much indebted to him for the assistance of his cattle, which he very obligingly sent forward to fall in with our waggons on the midst of the Karroo desert.

‘It is singular enough, that a brother and sister of this man, both old, and both unmarried, should each have their habitations in separate and distant corners of these mountains, and live, like him, entirely in the society of Hottentots; they are nearly related to one of the richest men in the Cape.’

Proceeding to the northward our traveller crossed a chain of mountains, called the Khamies berg. The plains between this and the Orange river are now desolate and uninhabited. ‘All those numerous tribes of Namaaquas,’ says Mr. Barrow, ‘possessed of vast herds of cattle, are, in the course of less than a century, dwindled away to four hordes, which are not very numerous, and in a great measure are subservient to the Dutch peasantry, who dwell among them. The latter, who have seized upon the choicest part of their country, allow them

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to erect their huts in the neighbourhood of their farms, on condition of their furnishing a certain number of people to protect their cattle against the attacks of Bosjesmans, or wild beasts of prey. A dozen years more, and probably a shorter period, will see the remains of the Namaaqua nation in a state of entire servitude. Such are the effects of an encroaching peasantry, sanctioned by the low policy of a government that could descend to employ agents to effect the purchase of whole herds of cattle for a cask of brandy!

‘Though the Namaaqua Hottentots vary but very little in their persons from the other tribes of this nation, their language is widely different. It is obviously, however, of the same nature, and abounds with the clapping of the tongue peculiar to the Hottentot. They are of a taller stature in general than the eastern tribes, and less robust. Some of the women were very elegant figures, and possessed a considerable share of vivacity and activity; and they had the same conformation of certain parts of the body as the Bosjesmans women, and other Hottentots; in a less degree, however, than is usual in the former, and more so than in those of the latter.

‘The huts of the Namaaqua differ very materially from those erected by the Hottentots of the colony, or by the Bosjesmans, or by the Kaffers. They are perfect hemispheres, covered with matting made of seages; and the frame-work, or skeletons, are semicircular sticks, half of them diminishing from the centre or upper part, and the other half crossing these at right angles; forming thus a true representation of the parallels of latitude and meridians on an artificial globe. They are in general from 10 to 12 feet in diameter; and so commodious, that many of the peasantry of the Khamies berg have adopted them.

‘An old Namaaqua Hottentot woman is a figure that the most serious could not behold without laughter, and an old Dutch woman of this part of the country without pity, the first being remarkable for the prominences of the body, the latter from its want of points and uninterrupted rotundity. The breasts of the former are disgustingly large and pendant; the usual way of giving suck, when the child is carried on the

back, is by throwing the breast over the shoulder. In this formation of their persons, they agree with the Latin satirist's description of Ethiopian women on the borders of Egypt:

*' In Meroc crasso majorem infante mamillam.*

' In the women of ancient Egypt, enormous protuberances of the body were very common, and have been attempted to be accounted for, by various authors, from a variety of causes. Though one of these may exist in the impurities of the water, yet the essential difference in the effect produced on a Hottentot and Dutch woman, shews different predispositions to exist inherent in the persons of each.

' A few days before our arrival at the foot of the mountain, a lion had occasioned some little stir in the country, which had not yet entirely subsided. A Hottentot belonging to one of the farmers had endeavoured for some time, in vain, to drive his master's cattle into a pool of water enclosed between two ridges of rock, when at length he espied a huge lion couching in the midst of the pool; terrified at the unexpected sight of such a beast, that seemed to have his eyes fixed upon him, he instantly took to his heels, leaving the cattle to shift for themselves. In doing this he had presence of mind enough to run through the herd, concluding that if the lion should pursue, he might take up with the first beast that presented itself. In this, however, he was mistaken. The lion broke through the herd, making directly after the Hottentot, who, on turning round, and perceiving that the monster had singled him out for a meal, breathless and half dead with terror, scrambled up one of the tree *aloes*, in the trunk of which had luckily been cut out a few steps, the more readily to come at some bird's nests that the branches contained. At the same moment the lion made a spring at him, but, missing his aim, fell upon the ground. In surly silence he walked round the tree, casting every now and then a dreadful look towards the poor Hottentot, who had crept behind some finches' nests that happened to have been built in the tree.

' Having remained silent and motionless, for a length of time, he ventured to peep over the side of the nest, hoping

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that the lion had taken his departure; when, to his great terror and astonishment, his eye met those of the animal, to use his own expression, "flashing fire at him." In short, the lion laid himself down at the foot of the tree, and stirred not from the place for four-and-twenty hours. He then returned to the spring to quench his thirst, and, in the mean time, the Hottentot descended the tree, and scampered to his home which was not more than a mile distant, as fast as his feet could carry him. The perseverance of the lion was such, that it appeared afterwards he had returned to the tree, and from thence had hunted the Hottentot by the scent within 300 paces of the house.

'It seems to be a fact well established, that the lion prefers the flesh of a Hottentot to that of any other creature. He has frequently been singled out from a party of Dutch. The latter being disguised in clothing, and the former going generally naked, may perhaps account for it. The horse, next to the Hottentot, seems to be his favourite food; but, on the sheep, perhaps on account of his woolly covering, which he is too indolent to uncase, he seldom deigns to fix his paw.

'In our descent of the mountain, we were driven to seek shelter from the violence of the rain in a mixed horde of Bastards and Namaaquas. The chief was of the former description. In his younger days he had been a great lover of the chase, and his matted hut within still displayed a variety of the skins of animals that had fallen before his piece. He boasted that, in one excursion, he had killed seven camelopardales and three white rhinoceroses. The latter is not uncommon on the skirts of the colony behind the Hantam mountain, and seems to be a variety only of the African two-horned rhinoceros. These people seemed to live very happily together. They had horses, and cattle, and sheep, and gardens of no inconsiderable extent, well stocked with pumpkins, onions, and tobacco.

'We met also, at this kraal, one of the nation above mentioned under the name of Damaras. From his appearance I took him to be a Kaffer, and he was unquestionably of that race of people. He represented the Damaras as a very poor

tribe; that their country along the sea-coast produced nothing for the support of cattle; and that their whole existence depended on exchanging copper rings and beads, which they themselves manufactured, with the *Briquis* to the east, and the *Namaaquas* to the south.

‘ Having dried our clothes, we took leave of the *kraal*, and continued our descent of the mountain. It was night before we gained the plain, where we once more enjoyed a clear sky and a brilliant moon. The following morning the thermometer was down to the freezing point, and the whole surface of the country was covered with a hoar frost.

‘ From this place we made the best of our way to the *Bokkeveld*, returning nearly by the same route that had brought us to it. At the edge of the desert the *Bosjesmans*’ captain paid us a second visit, with the people of his *kraal*, and a whole string of *Namaaqua* *Hottentots*, generally women, whose husbands and children were in the service of the Dutch farmers. One of these appeared to be the oldest woman I had ever beheld. Much more than a century of years had certainly passed over her head. She produced her eldest daughter, who headed five generations. On being asked if her memory could carry her back to the time when the Christians first came among them, she replied, with a shake of the head, that she had very strong reasons to remember it, for that before she had ever heard of the Christians, she knew not the want of a bellyful, whereas it was now a difficult matter to get a mouthful. The condition of the whole horde certainly appeared to be very deplorable; but I feel a happiness in adding, that, by means of this captain and two or three well-disposed farmers, several hordes of the outcast *Bosjesmans* have since been brought in, and obtained by public subscription a considerable quantity of sheep and horned cattle, of which, it is to be hoped, they will speedily see their advantage in increasing the numbers; and one of that worthy and very useful fraternity of men, the *Hernhüters*, has voluntarily offered his services to go among the *Bosjesman* hordes, and endeavour to promote among them that sense of comfort, which has so effectually crowned their exertions in another part of the colony

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among the poor Hottentots, as has been before noticed. On the morning of the 5th of May, after dropping the commandant at his own house, I proceeded inland to the eastward, and, passing over a rough stony country, reached in two days the foot of the Hantam mountain. The inhabitants at this time were in a state of alarm, on account of the Bosjesmans. A party of these people had carried off into the kloofs of the mountain, several sheep and oxen, after severely wounding two Hottentots with poisoned arrows, one through the upper part of the arm, and the other in the ankle joint. The former seemed likely to do well, but the latter was in a dangerous way.

‘ The Bosjesmans have been generally represented as a people so savage and blood-thirsty in their nature, that they never spare the life of any living creature which may fall into their hands. To their own countrymen, who have been taken prisoners by, and continued to live with the Dutch farmers, they have certainly shewn instances of the most atrocious cruelty. These poor wretches, if retaken by their countrymen, seldom escape being put to the most excruciating tortures. The party above-mentioned, having fallen in with a Hottentot at some distance from any habitation, set him up to the neck in a deep trench, and wedged him in so fast with stones and earth that he was incapable of moving. In this situation he remained a whole night, and the greater part of the following day; when, luckily, some of his companions passed the place and released him. The poor fellow stated that he had been under the necessity of keeping his eyes and mouth in perpetual motion the whole day, to prevent the crows from devouring him.

‘ As in the Sneeuwberg, they are here also very much infested with locusts. One troop of these insects, in their last stage of existence, passed on the wing along the eastern side of the mountain when we were encamped there. For several hours they continued to hover in the air as they passed along, at such a height as not be individually distinguished; but their immense numbers formed a kind of fleecy cloud, that completely took off the radiated beams of the sun, and made it appear as when seen through a mist. Like a thin cloud also, they cast

a confused shadow on the ground. In the Bokkeveld and the Khamies berg, for the two last years, these insects have been particularly troublesome. After repeated experiments to get rid of them, they at last hit upon one that at least saved their corn. This they effected by making fires of sour acrid plants, by the smoke of which they were driven away; having, however, repeatedly extinguished the fires by the myriads that flew into them.

‘ Leaving the Hantam, and proceeding south-easterly, I ascended the heights of Roggeveld, that are separated only from the former by a narrow chasm or opening. The miserable bad roads, the nakedness of the country, and the very few animals that are found in a state of nature, upon the Roggeveld mountain, makes it a disagreeable, uninteresting, and tedious route for one who travels with no other view than that of gratifying curiosity. Crows, kites, and vultures, are almost the only kinds of birds that are met with. Of the last, I broke the wing of one of that species called by ornithologists, the *condor*, of an amazing large size. The spread of its wings was 10 feet and one inch. It kept three dogs for some time completely at bay, and having at length seized one of them with his claws, and torn away a large piece of flesh from its thigh, they all immediately retreated.

‘ Having proceeded for 12 days along the summit of the Roggeveld, till I fell in nearly with the track that had carried me on a former journey to Graaff Reynet, I descended to the Karroo plains, which, in this part, employed me three days in crossing. These plains are every where of the same nature, presenting to the traveller “ a scene of dreadful uniformity; where a barren level is bounded only by the horizon; where no change of prospect, or variety of images, relieves the traveller from a sense of toil and danger; of whirlwinds, which, in a moment, may bury him in the sand; and of thirst, which the wealthy have given half their possessions to allay.” ’

From this place Mr. Barrow proceeded southward towards the Cape, where he arrived on the 2d of June, without having experienced any of those inconveniences which the season of the year seemed to threaten.

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# DR. SHAW'S TRAVELS

IN

## BARBARY.

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HAVING described the southern extremity of the African continent, we will now return to the northern, and survey the states of *Barbary*, a country which has now become an object of considerable attention.

THOMAS SHAW, D. D. was a native of Kendal, in Westmoreland, and resided in the character of chaplain about 12 years, in the English factory at Algiers. During this time he travelled through various parts of Barbary, Egypt, and Syria, and published his remarks on these countries in 1738. His travels have been universally esteemed, not only for their accuracy and fidelity, but on account of the illustrations they contain of natural history, of the classic authors, and especially of the Scriptures.

In the inland towns and villages of Barbary, our author frequently met with difficulties and disappointments, where there was no house set apart for the reception of strangers. 'For,' says he, 'as there were no inns or public houses to entertain us, and private families (contrary to the charitable custom recorded in Job xxxi. 32. and Matt. xxv. 35.) would never admit us, we had now and then occasion enough to meditate upon the same distress with the Levite and his company, (Judges xix. 15.) when *there was no man that would take them into his house for lodging*; and of the propriety there was to place (1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2.) the lodging and entertaining of strangers among good works.'

The caravan with which our author travelled had no tents, being apprehensive of inciting the avarice of the wandering Arabs, for these have all the like inclinations (whenever a proper opportunity or temptation offers itself) of robbing, stripping, and murdering, not strangers only, but also one another. 'In proof of this,' says Dr. Shaw, 'I need only mention the many heaps of stones that we meet with in several places in Barbary, in the Holy Land, and in Arabia, which have been gradually erected (as so many signs, Ezek. xxxix. 15.) over travellers thus barbarously murdered; the Arabs, according to a superstitious custom among them, contributing each of them a stone whenever they pass by them. We read of something like this, Josh. vii. 26. and viii. 29. and 2 Sam. xviii. 17. where great heaps of stones are said to be raised over Achan, over the king of Ai, and over Absalom.

'In our journies betwixt Kairo and mount Sinai, the heavens were every night our covering; the sand, with a carpet spread over it, was our bed; and a change of raiment, made up into a bundle, was our pillow. And in this situation we were every night wet to the skin, by the copious dew that dropt upon us, though without the least danger (such is the excellency of this climate) of catching cold. The continued heat of the day afterwards, made us often wish that these refrigerations could have been hourly repeated. Our camels (for horses or mules require too much water to be employed in these deserts), were made to kneel down (Gen. xxiv. 11.) in a circle round about us, with their faces looking from us, and their respective loads and saddles placed behind them. In this situation, as they are very watchful animals, and awake with the least noise, they served us instead of a guard.

'When we were either to boil or to bake, the camels dung that we found left by some preceding caravan (for wood is very scarce) was our usual fuel; which, after being left a day or two in the sun, quickly catches fire, and burns like charcoal. No sooner was our food prepared, whether it was potted flesh, boiled with rice, a lentile soup (the *red pottage* Gen. xxv. 30.) or unleavened cakes served up with oil or honey, than one of the Arabs (*not to eat his morsel alone*, Job xxxi.

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17.) after having placed himself upon the highest spot of ground in the neighbourhood, calls out thrice, with a loud voice, to all his brethren, *the sons of the faithful*, to come and partake of it, though none of them were in view, or perhaps within a hundred miles of us.

‘ But travelling in Barbary is of a quite different nature. Here we always endeavour to find out the *douwars* of the Arabs (not being fond of visiting the Kabyles, who are a set of sturdy fellows not so easily managed), where we are entertained at free cost, as in the towns and villages above mentioned, and as we read of the *wayfaring man*, Jer. xiv. 8. for the space of one night.

‘ During the excessive heats of summer, and especially when we were apprehensive of being intercepted by the freebooting Arabs, we then travelled in the night, *which having no eyes*, according to their proverb, few of them dare venture out, as not knowing the unforeseen and unexpected dangers and ambuscades which they might possibly fall into. At this time, we have frequent opportunities of calling to remembrance the beautiful words of the Psalmists, Psal. civ. 20. “ Thou makest darkness that it may be night; wherein all the beasts of the forest do move.” The lions roaring after their prey, the leopards, the hyænas, the jackalls, and a variety of other ravenous creatures crying out to their fellows, Isa. xiii. 22. and xxxiv. 14. (the different sexes perhaps finding out and corresponding in this manner with their mates), break in very awfully upon the solitude, and the safety likewise, that we might otherwise promise to ourselves at this season.

‘ Our horses and camels keep generally a constant pace; the latter at the rate of two miles and a half, the other of three geographical miles an hour; 60 of which miles, according to my calculation, constitute one degree of a great circle. The space we travelled over was first of all computed by hours, and then reduced into miles.’

Having premised these remarks on the usual mode of travelling in this country, Dr. Shaw proceeds to treat of the geography of the kingdom of Algiers in general. Its length he

estimates at 480 miles, and the breadth at less than 150 miles where narrowest, and 240 miles where broadest.

That part of the Mauritania Cæsariensis, which is inhabited by the western Moors, extends as far as the river Malva, the most considerable river in Barbary, and which lies opposite to Almeria in Spain. The south of this district is inhabited by a numerous and warlike people. That part of the sea coast which is now called the western provinces, is a fertile, populous, and beautiful country. It contains that chain of moderately high mountains called mount Atlas. Si-nan, one of the brooks which falls into the Wed el Mailah, or *the Salt river*, glides in a variety of beautiful windings through this fruitful district, and is known, as most of the rivers of this country are, by several names, according to the remarkable places that are visited by them. It was near the banks of this river, which might be occasionally swelled, where the elder Barbarossa strewed about his treasure, when he was pursued by the victorious Spaniards; his last, though ineffectual effort to retard the pursuit of his enemies.

This country exhibits many signs of the greatness and industry of its former inhabitants. A considerable part of the Mers' el Kebeer, or the *Great Port* of the Romans, has been hewn out of the natural rock.

Oran is a fortified city of about a mile in circumference. It is built upon the declivity, and near the foot of a high mountain, which overlooks it from the north and north-west, and, upon the ridge of this mountain, there are two castles, that command the city on the one side; and the Mers' el Kebeer, on the other, it being distant about five miles. To the south and south-east there are two castles, erected upon the same level with the lower part of the city, but are separated from it by a deep winding valley, which serves it as a natural trench on the south side; where likewise, at a little distance, there is a very plentiful spring of excellent water. The rivulet formed by this fountain, conforms its course to the several windings of the valley; and passing afterwards under the walls of the city, liberally supplies it with water. We see, at every

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opening of the valley, such a pleasingly confused view of rocky precipices, plantations of orange trees, and rills of water trickling down from them, that nature rarely displays herself in a greater variety of prospects and cool retreats. Near the fountain, there is also another castle, which not only guards the *mattamores* (pits under ground, wherein the Arabs deposit their corn), that are dug under the walls of it, but is, at the same time, an important defence to the city. From all these circumstances, Oran must undoubtedly be a place of great strength, as well by nature as art, much more tenable than Algiers; neither could it have been so easily taken, if an unaccountable panic had not seized upon the bey, otherwise a very valiant man, in abandoning it, upon the first landing of the Spaniards, without shutting the gates, or shewing the least preparation to oppose them.

The Spaniards, when they were first masters of the place, built several beautiful churches, and other edifices, in the manner and style of the Roman architecture, though of less strength and solidity. They have imitated the Romans further, in carving upon the frizes, and other convenient places of them, several inscriptions, in large characters, and in their own language.

Our author discovered several interesting Roman remains in this district. 'The country behind Arzew,' says he, 'for some miles, is made up of rich champain ground: but towards the sea we have a range of steep rocks and precipices, which must have been always a natural safeguard to it, in that direction. The water which the inhabitants use at present, lies lower than the sea; a circumstance that may account for the brackishness of it. However, to supply it, as we may well imagine, with wholesome water, the whole city was formerly built upon cisterns, of which several still remain and serve the inhabitants to dwell in. A great many capitals, bases, shafts of pillars, and other ancient materials, lie scattered all over the ruins. A well finished Corinthian capital of Parian marble supports the smith's anvil; and in the Kaide's house, I accidentally discovered a beautiful mosaic pavement, through the rents of a ragged carpet that was spread over it.

‘ Five miles from the sea coast are the salt pits of Arzew, from whence the neighbouring communities are supplied with salt. This commodity, from the facility of digging it, the shortness afterwards of the carriage, and the advantage of the adjacent port, would, under any other than a Turkish government, be a branch of trade as invaluable, as the pits themselves are inexhaustible.’

In travelling eastward along the sea coast, gardens, orchards, and country seats, are ranged in a beautiful variety, and form a most delightful prospect. The remains of several ancient cities are still discernible, but the greater part have been destroyed by earthquakes. Tennes, which before the Turkish conquests was the metropolis of the petty royalties of this country, is situated near the sea in a low, dirty hollow, and consists of only a few miserable hovels. The ruins of Shershell, the famous Julia Cæsarea of history, are little inferior in extent to those of Carthage. The situation of this place for strength and beauty must have been excellent. Both the old and the new city are said to have been destroyed by an earthquake.

‘ If we return,’ says Dr. Shaw, ‘ to the westward, five leagues to the southward of the mouth of the river Tafna, is the city of Tremezen. It is situated upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices: these make a part of mount Atlas; and upon the first ridge of them, (for there is a much higher one to the southward), we have a large strip of ground, that throws out from every part of it a number of fountains. These, after uniting gradually into little rills, fall in a variety of cascades, as they draw near to Tremezen.’

‘ In the west part of the city, there is a large square bason of Moorish workmanship, 200 yards long, and about half as broad. The inhabitants entertain a tradition, that formerly the kings of Tremezen took here the diversion of the water, whilst their subjects were taught the art of rowing and navigation. But the water of Sachratayn, as Leo well observes, being easily turned off from its ordinary course, this bason might have been rather designed for a reservoir in case of a

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a siege; not to mention the constant use of it at all other times, in preserving a quantity of water sufficient to refresh the beautiful gardens and plantations that lie below it. Edrisi takes notice of a structure of this kind, where the fountain of Om-Iahia discharged itself.

‘Most of the walls of Tremesen have been built, or rather moulded in frames, a method of building which Pliny informs us, was used by the Africans and Spaniards in his time. The mortar of which they consist is made up of sand, lime, and gravel; which, by being at first well tempered and wrought together, has attained a strength and solidity not inferior to stone. The several stages and removes of these frames are still observable, some of which are at least 100 yards in length, and two yards in height and thickness; whereby may be estimated the immense quantity of this compost that was made use of at one time. About the year 1670, Hassan, then dey of Algiers, laid most of this city in ruins, as a punishment for the disaffection of the inhabitants; so that there is not remaining above one-sixth part of the old Tremesen, which, when entire, might have been four miles in circuit.’

The country around mount Atlas is rich and beautiful. Here are several villages whose inhabitants are employed in manufacturing carpets and Burnooses. That part of mount Atlas near the river Minah, is celebrated for the plenty, as well as delicacy of its figs: such as those might be which Cato threw down before the Roman senate, and were admired for their largeness and beauty. This country, through a great extent, is covered with the remains of Roman buildings and Arabic architecture; but the modern Arabs pull down and deface whatever was beautiful and magnificent in the erections of their predecessors.

‘The southern province,’ says our traveller, ‘is much inferior to the western in extent; being, exclusive of the Sahara, scarce 60 miles either in length or breadth. Neither is it, in general, so mountainous; for the sea coast, to the breadth of five or six leagues, is made up chiefly of rich champaign ground; behind which indeed we have a range of rugged mountains, the continuation of mount Atlas, that run, almost

in a direct line, in a parallelism with the sea coast. But beyond them, we have other extensive plains; though none of them equal to those of the Mettjiah. Such is the general plan of this province, which has the city of Algiers, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, for its capital. This port is called by the Turks *Al Jezeire el gazie*, i. e. *Algiers the warlike*.

‘ This place, which for several ages has braved the greatest powers of Christendom, is not above a mile and a half in circuit, though it is computed to contain about 2,000 Christian slaves, 15,000 Jews, and 100,000 Mahometans, of which 30, at most, may be *rengadoes*. It is situated upon the declivity of a hill, that faces the north and north-east, whereby the houses rise so gradually above each other, that there is scarce one but what, in one or other of those directions, has a full prospect of the sea. The walls are weak and of little defence, unless where they are further secured, which is chiefly at the gates, by some additional fortification. The *cassaubah*, or citadel, built upon the highest part of the city towards the south-west, is of an octogon figure, each of the sides in view having port-holes, or *embrasures*, defended with cannon. A ditch formerly surrounded the whole city to the landward, which, at present, is almost entirely filled up, except at the west and south gates, called *Bab el wed*, *the gate of the river*, and *Bab Azoona*; where it is still of little consequence or defence. But towards the sea, it is better fortified, and capable of making a more strenuous defence. For the *embrasures*, in this direction, are all employed; the guns are of brass, and their carriages and other utensils in good order. The battery of the mole-gate, upon the east angle of the city, is mounted with several long pieces of ordnance, one of which has seven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter. Half a furlong to the west-south-west of the harbour, is the battery of *Fisher's gate*, or *the gate of the sea*, which consisting of a double row of cannon, commands the entrance into the port, and the road before it.

‘ The port itself is of an oblong figure, 130 fathoms long, and 80 broad. The eastern mound of it, which was formerly the island that gave name to the city, is well secured by seve-

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ral fortifications. The *Round castle*, built by the Spaniards whilst they were masters of the island, and the two remote batteries erected within this century, are said to be bomb-proof, and have each of them their lower embrasures mounted with 36-pounders. But the middle battery, which appears to be the oldest, is of the least defence. Yet none of these fortifications are assisted either with mines or advanced works; and as the soldiers, who are to guard and defend them, cannot be kept up to any regular course of duty and attendance, a few resolute battalions, protected by a small-squadron of ships, would find little difficulty to take them.\*

‘ There is very little within the city that merits the attention of the curious. The public buildings are not distinguished by any peculiar grandeur or elegance, and the inhabitants have been described by various authors.

‘ The hills and vallies round about Algiers are all over beautified with gardens and country-seats, whither the inhabitants of better fashion retire, during the heats of the summer season. They are little white houses, shaded with a variety of fruit-trees and ever-greens; which besides the shade and retirement, afford a gay and delightful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are all of them well stocked with melons, fruit, and pot-herbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in these hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water, from the many rivulets and fountains which every where abound in this situation. The fountain water made use of at Algiers, universally esteemed for its excellency, is likewise brought through a long course of pipes and conduits, from the same sources.

‘ Bleeda and Medea, the only inland cities of this province (Titterie), are each of them about a mile in circuit; but their

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\* The defences of this city have been much improved and strengthened since our author wrote, as lord Exmouth has found by experience. Never was a better appointed squadron, nor one conducted with more skill than that under his lordship, employed on any service, yet the destruction of the fortifications was but partly effected. Nothing but a permanent conquest of this country will prevent the inhabitants from committing acts of piracy.

walls, which are chiefly of mud, perforated all over by *hornets*, cannot much contribute to their strength and security. Some of their houses are flat-roofed, others tiled, like those of Maliana; with which they also agree, in being well watered, and in having all around them very fruitful gardens and plantations. A branch of an adjacent rivulet may be conducted through every house and garden at Bleeda; and at Medea, the several conduits and aqueducts that supply it with water, some of which appear to be of Roman workmanship, are capable of being made equally commodious. Both these cities lie over against the mouth of the Masaffran, under the shade of mount Atlas.

‘That part of mount Atlas, which lies betwixt these cities, and reaches as far as mount Jurjura, is inhabited by numerous clans of Kabyles, few of which, from their rugged situation, have been made tributary to the Algerines. This mountain is at least eight leagues long; and, if we except a pool of good water, bordered round with arable ground, that lies near the middle of it, the whole, from one end to another, is a continued range of naked rocks and precipices. In the winter season, the ridge of this mountain is always covered with snow; and it is further remarkable, that whilst the inhabitants of the one side of it carry on an hereditary and implacable animosity with those of the other, yet, by consent, this border of snow puts a full stop to all hostilities during that inclement season, which, like those of the cranes and pigmies, as related by the poet, are renewed with fresh vigour in the spring.

‘The southern part of this province is a rugged and mountainous country, which extends into the Sahara, or *desert*. It is inhabited by various tribes, who have preserved their customs from time immemorial.

‘The *eastern province* is nearly equal to the other two in extent, and the tribute it yields is proportionably great. The sea coast almost to Bona is rocky and mountainous. There are a few small towns on the coast.

Bugia is built upon the ruins of a large city. Besides the castle, upon the summit of a hill, which commands the whole city, there are two others at the bottom of it, for the security

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of the port, where several breaches still remain in the walls, made by the cannon-balls that were fired against them by sir Edward Spragg, (A. D. 1671), in his memorable expedition against this place.

‘ A large river runs a little to the eastward of Bugia, which may be the Nasava of Ptolomy. It is of a very great extent; and, if we except the plains of Hamza and Seteef, the whole country, which is watered by several branches of it, is very rocky and mountainous; thereby occasioning such a number and variety of torrents, particularly in the winter season, that infinite losses and calamities are daily sustained by the inhabitants.

‘ The Mansourea, or Sisaris, another large river at a small distance from the Navasa, separates the districts of the Beni Isah and the Beni Maad. The greatest part of the oaken plank and timber that is made use of in the docks of Algiers, is shipped off from the Man-sou-rea.

‘ Bona is known to the Moors by the name of Blaid el Aneb, or *the Town of Jujeb*, from the plenty of fruit which is gathered in its neighbourhood. Besides its capacious harbour to the east, it had formerly a convenient little port under the very walls of it to the southward; but by the constant discharge of ballast into the one, and neglecting to cleanse the other, both of them are every day rendered less safe and commodious. However, a great quantity of corn, wool, hides, and wax, are every year permitted to be shipped off from this place, which, by proper care and encouragement, might become the most flourishing city in Barbary; as, by removing the rubbish, repairing the old ruins, and introducing a supply of fresh water, which is much wanting, it would be one of the most convenient and delightful.

‘ Doubling cape Rosa, five leagues from the Mafragg to the north-east, we turn into the Bastion, where there is a small creek, and the ruins of a fort, that give occasion to the name. The factory of the French African company had formerly their settlement at this place; but the unwholesomeness of the situation, occasioned by the neighbouring ponds and marshes, obliged them to remove to La Calle, another inlet, three leagues

farther to the east, where those gentlemen have a magnificent house and garden, 300 coral fishers, a company of soldiers, several pieces of ordnance, and a place of arms. Besides the advantage of the coral fishery, and of the whole trade of the circumjacent country, they had also at Bona, Tuckush, Sgigata, and Cull, the monopoly of corn, wool, hides, and wax; for which they pay yearly to the government of Algiers, to the Kaide of Bona, and to the chiefs of the neighbouring Arabs, 30,000 dollars, i. e. about 5,000 guineas of our money; a trifling sum for such great privileges.

The coast of this province is mostly inhabited by mischievous, plundering clans, who are perpetually at variance with each other. The inland tract is, for the most part, a continued chain of exceedingly high mountains; few of whose inhabitants, from the ruggedness of their situation, pay any tribute to the Algerines. Dr. Shaw mentions the ruins of several of the ancient cities of Numidia which he discovered.

Our learned traveller next proceeds to give a descriptive sketch of the kingdom of TUNIS, which is bounded to the north and east with the Mediterranean sea, to the west with the kingdom of Algiers, and to the south with that of Tripoly. It is 220 miles in breadth, and 170 in length.

It may be observed, that this kingdom is not divided into provinces, and governed by provincial beys or viceroys, like that of Algiers, but the whole is under the immediate inspection of the bey himself, who collects the tribute in person. For which purpose he visits, with a flying camp, once every year, the principal parts of it; traversing, in the summer season, the fertile country in the neighbourhood of Keff and Baijah, and in the winter, the several districts betwixt Kairwan and the Jereed.

The Zeugitania, or *the summer circuit*, as it is bounded by the river Zain, or Tusca, will answer to the Regio Carthaginiensium of Strabo. It is better inhabited, particularly the Frigeah, as they still call those parts of it which lie near Keff and Baijah, than any portion of the neighbouring kingdom of the like bigness, having a greater number of cities, villages, and dowars.

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Cape Blanco is supposed, by Dr. Shaw, to be the place where Scipio landed in his first African expedition. Eight miles to the southward of this cape, at the bottom of a large gulf, is the city of Bizerta, pleasantly situated upon a canal, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea. It is about a mile in circuit, defended by several castles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the sea.

The lake upon which Bizerta is situated, has an open communication with the sea; and, according to an observation of the younger Pliny, is either continually receiving a brisk stream from the sea, or else discharging one into it.

The channel of communication betwixt the lake and the sea, is the port of Hippo Diarrhytus, which still receives small vessels; though it must have been formerly the safest, as well the most beautiful haven of this part of Africa. There are still remaining the traces of a large pier that was carried out into the sea, to break off the north-east winds, the wants whereof, together with the great aversion of the Turks to repair it, will in a short time make this haven useless, which, in any other country, would be inestimable.

The gulf of Bizerta, the Sinus Hipponensis of the ancients, is a beautiful sandy inlet, near four leagues in breadth. The bottom of it being low, gives us a delightful prospect through variety of groves and plantations of olive trees, a great way into the country. But, to the eastward, the eye is bounded by a high rocky shore, which reaches as far as cape Zibeeb; a place so called, from the great quantity of *zibeeb*, or raisins, that are made upon it.

Cape Zibeeb, the Promontorium Apollinis of the ancients, makes the western point of the gulf of Tunis, 'and seems to be,' says the doctor, 'the very port whither the Carthaginian fleet retired, the night before they engaged with Scipio, near Utica. Livy tell us, that the Africans called it Ruscinona, a word doubtless of Phœnician extraction; and, as the first part of it, *Rus* or *Ras*, *i. e.* the cape, well answers to the situation, the latter (*annona*) may, I presume, be of the like import with the present name, and denoting the great quantity of corn and provisions that were shipped off, as they continue to

be, from this place. This port, especially the *cotton*, or inward part of it, is safe in all accidents of weather, and opens into a large navigable pond, formed by the Me-jerdah, which at present discharges itself through it, in its way to the sea.

‘The Me-jerdah, so famous in history, continues winding, during its whole course, through a rich and fertile country; and becomes thereby so well saturated with soil, that it is of the same complexion with the Nile, and has the same property likewise of making encroachments upon the sea.

‘All agree that Utica was a maritime city, situated betwixt Carthage and the promontory of Apollo, so of course it must be searched for upon the interjacent sea coast. But here are no ruins at all to be met with in this situation; there is no eminence, under which Utica is said to have been built; there is no promontory, which lay at a small distance to the east or north-east, and formed the harbour. On the contrary, the whole extent of the sea shore, from Carthage to the Me-jerdah, lies in a semicircular form, and the land, for some miles behind it, very smooth and level. Utica therefore cannot be found upon the sea coast, according to the present shape and fashion of it, by any of those tokens and characteristics that are left us of it by the ancients.

‘But upon the supposition that the ground, to the breadth of three or four miles from the sea shore, should appear to be an acquisition to the continent, occasioned as above by the easterly winds, and the copious addition of mud that is left at every inundation by the Me-jerdah; if this river, by frequently shifting its channel, took at last the advantage of the lake that lay betwixt Utica and the Castra Corneliana, and forced itself, by that way, into the sea; then Utica may be very justly fixed at a place called at present Boo-shatter, where, besides the eminence taken notice of by Livy, we have a great variety of old walls, a large aqueduct, cisterns to receive the water, and other traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence.

‘The united encroachments of the north-east wind, and the Me-jerdah, have likewise stopped up the ancient harbour of Carthage, and made it almost as far from the sea as Utica. However, the place itself still continues to be called El Mers

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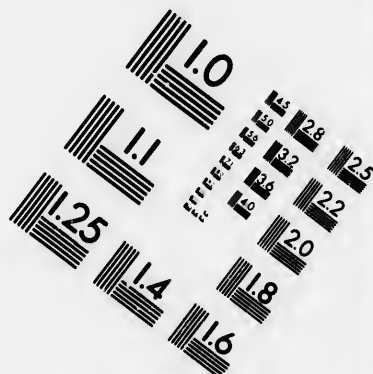
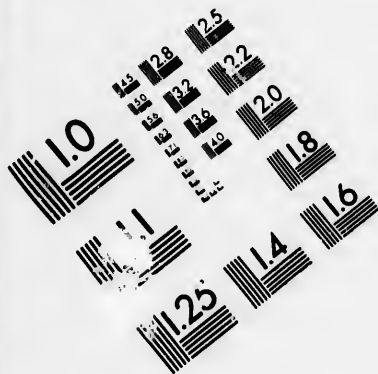
i. e. *the port*, lying to the north and north-west, and forms, with the lake of Tunis, the peninsula upon which Carthage was built. But, upon the other side of the peninsula, towards the south-east, Carthage has been a loser to the sea; in as much as in that direction, for the space of near three furlongs in length, and half a furlong or more in breadth, it lies entirely under water. A little to the northward of these ruins, but to the south-east of El Mersa, are the traces of a cothon, scarce 100 yards square. This was probably the new port, mentioned by Livy, which the Carthaginians built, after Scipio had blocked up the old.

‘ Carthage was built upon three hills or eminences, inferior indeed to those upon which its rival city Rome was erected. Upon that which overlooks the south-east shore, there is the area of a spacious room, with other smaller ones hard by it, some of which have tessellated pavements, though neither the design nor the materials of them are worthy of our notice. The byrsa probably had this situation.

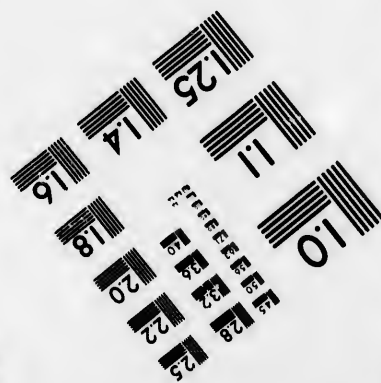
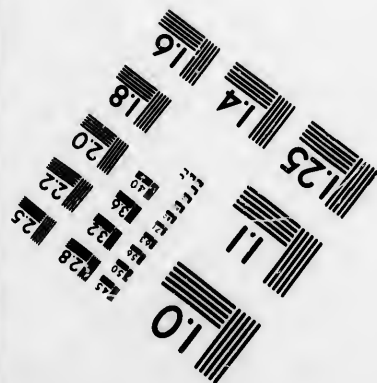
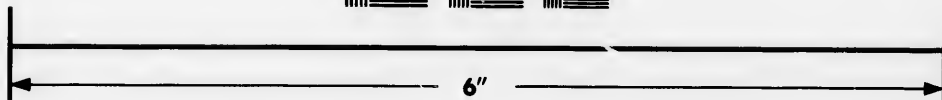
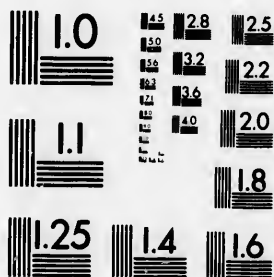
‘ In rowing along the sea shore, the common sewers are frequently discovered; which, being well built and cemented together, length of time has not been able to impair. The cisterns are other structures, which have very little suffered; for besides those appertaining to particular houses, which are very numerous, there were two sets of them belonging to the public; the greater whereof, which was the grand reservoir for the famous aqueduct, (a great part whereof is still standing, lay near the western wall of the city, and consisted of more than 20 contiguous cisterns, each of at least 100 feet long, and 30 broad. The lesser is in a higher situation, near the cothon and the byrsa; being contrived to collect the rain water which fell as well upon the top of it as upon some adjacent pavements made for that purpose. This reservoir might be repaired with little expence; the small earthen pipes, through which the rain water was conducted from the roof, wanting only to be cleansed and opened.

‘ Besides these, there are no other tokens left us of the grandeur and magnificence of this famous place. We meet with no triumphal arches, or sumptuous pieces of architecture;





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here are no granite pillars, or curious entablatures, but the broken walls and structures that remain are either built in the Gothic taste, or according to that of the later inhabitants.'

Livy makes the ancient Carthage 23 miles in circuit, but Dr. Shaw thinks that 15 miles will be sufficient to circumscribe it. The remains of the celebrated aqueduct above mentioned, may be traced all along, from the greater set of cisterns, as far as Zow-wan; and from thence to Zung-gar, which is at the distance of at least 50 miles from them. The whole has been a work of extraordinary labour and expence; and that portion of it in particular, which runs along the peninsula, was all of it elegantly built with hewn stone. At Arri-anna, a little village, two leagues to the northward of Tunis, is to be seen a long range of its arches, all of them entire, 70 feet high, supported by columns 16 feet square. The channel that conveyed the water lies upon these arches, being high and broad enough for a person of ordinary size to walk in. It is vaulted above, and plastered in the inside with a strong cement; which, by the stream running through it, is discoloured to the height of about three feet. This will sufficiently shew the capacity of the channel; but as there are several breaches in the aqueduct, sometimes for three or four miles together, Dr. Shaw had no method to determine the velocity or angle of descent, so as to ascertain the quantity of water that might be daily conveyed through it to Carthage.

'Both at Zow-wan and Zung-gar,' continues our learned traveller, 'there was a temple erected over the fountains which supplied this aqueduct with water. That at Zung-gar appears, by the remaining ornaments, to have been of the Corinthian order, where there is a beautiful dome, adorned with three niches, placed immediately over the fountain. These might probably receive so many statues of the deities presiding over water. Such as were Hercules, Minerva, and Diana.

'Leaving Carthage, and passing over the Salinæ, or salt pits, that were occasionally mentioned, we come to Guletta; as the Italian geographers have translated Ha'ek-el Wed, or *The throat of the river*. This is the channel of communication, as we may call it, betwixt the lake of Tunis and the sea, where

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there is, on each side, a tolerably strong and well built castle, intended as well for the security of this narrow passage, as of the harbour and anchoring ground that lies before it. This lake was formerly, as Procopius informs us, a deep and extensive port, capacious enough to take in the largest navy; but at present, by receiving all the common sewers from Tunis, the deepest part of it does not exceed six or seven feet, while the rest, for the space of a mile or more within the banks, is generally dry and nauseous. However, the prospect of this large piece of water receives no small beauty from the many flocks of the Flamant, or Phœni-copterus, that sometimes frequent it; and from the castle Shickley, which is built within it, and frequently visited by the Tuniseens, and Christian merchants, as a place of pleasure and recreation. Neither is this lake less famous for the number and largeness of its mullets, which are accounted the sweetest upon the coast of Barbary; the roes whereof, after they are pressed and dried, are accounted a great delicacy, and known by the name of *Bo-targo*.

Tunis, or Tunes of the ancients, and the capital of this kingdom, is situated upon a rising ground, along the western banks of this lake. The many lakes and marshes that surround it, might probably render the situation less healthy, were not these inconveniences in a great measure corrected by the great quantity of mastic, myrtle, rosemary, and other gummy and aromatic plants, which frequently communicate a sensible fragrantcy to the air, whilst they are heating their ovens and bagnios with them. The want of water is another complaint of the Tuniseens, who, from the brackishness of their well water, and the scarcity of cisterns, are obliged to fetch the greatest part of what they drink from Bardo, Beer el Kelp, and other places at a mile's distance. If we except this inconvenience, no place enjoys a greater plenty of the necessaries of life.

The Tuniseens are the most civilized nation of Barbary. They have very little of that insolent and haughty behaviour which is too common at Algiers. All affairs likewise with the regency are transacted in such a friendly complaisant manner,

that it was no small pleasure to attend Mr. consul Lawrence at his audiences. This nation, which for many years has been more intent upon trade, and the improvement of its manufactures, than upon plunder and cruising, has always had the character and reputation of living, not like their neighbours, in open war or perpetual disputes with the Christian princes, but of cultivating their friendship, and coming readily into their alliances.

‘ If the suburbs are taken in, Tunis may be three miles or more in circuit. However, it is not, for the bigness of it, so populous as Algiers, though they boast of more than 300,000 inhabitants. Neither are the houses, in general, which are computed to be 12,000, so lofty and magnificent. Neither have the Tuniseens the like number and variety of country-seats; a few villas at Manoubah, on one side, and El Mersa, on the other, being their chief places of diversion and retirement. The vine is less cultivated here than at Algiers; and lately the making of wine has been absolutely prohibited, which has increased the revenue that arises from the duty upon foreign wines, to the sum of 50,000 dollars, it being computed that the merchants import every year upwards of 4,000 hogsheads; a quantity very surprizing indeed, were we not at the same time to consider the great number of Turks and Moors who drink here to excess, beyond the practice perhaps of any other nation.

‘ The country to the southward contains the ruins of many places mentioned by ancient authors. In the interior of this circuit, and not far from the Algerine frontiers, is the city of Beja, a place of trade, and the chief mart indeed of the whole kingdom, particularly for corn, from which all other commodities are estimated; and in the plains of Busdera, which lie below it along the banks of the Mejerdah, there is kept every summer a public fair, frequented by the most distant Arabian tribes, who resort hither with their flocks, their manufactories, and families. The present city is built upon the declivity of a hill, with the conveniency of being well watered; and upon the highest part of it is the citadel, which is of no great strength.

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‘Keff, the Sicca Veneria of the ancients, is 72 miles from Tunis. It is a frontier town, and the third for riches and strength in the whole kingdom. In the late civil wars, the greatest part of the citadel was blown up, which has since been rebuilt with greater strength and beauty. In levelling an adjacent mount, to find materials for this building, they found an entire statue of Venus: which was no sooner found than it was broken to pieces by these Iconoclastics. This statue may not a little authorize and illustrate the appellation of Veneria that was attributed to Sicca.

‘Many parts of the *winter circuit* fall vastly short in fertility of the character which has been attributed to them by the ancients. For such as are adjacent to the sea coast, are generally of a dry sandy nature, with no great depth of soil in the very best portion of them. This is called the Sahul, and is planted for the most part with olive trees, which flourish here in the greatest perfection. Neither is the inland country in a much better condition.

‘Beyond the mountains of Casareen, till we arrive at the skirts of the Sahara, we travel a great many miles over a barren plain, with a ridge of eminences, at some distance on each side of us. The country continues in the same lonesome and barren condition from thence to Capsa, and so forward to the Jereed, our prospect on each hand being all the way bounded with high mountains.

‘Adrumetum, one of the most noted places in this province, was built on a hemispherical promontory, and appears to have been little more than a mile in circuit. This is supposed to be the port to which Cæsar followed Varus. To the southward are the ruins of several places which Cæsar chose for military stations.’ The learned doctor mentions many other cities, spoken of by the ancients, some remains of which are still distinguishable, but their enumeration would not be entertaining to the general reader.

‘The Tell, or cultivated parts of these kingdoms,’ says Dr. Shaw, ‘lying betwixt 34 deg. and 37 degrees north latitude, enjoy a very wholesome and temperate air, neither too hot and sultry in summer, nor too sharp and cold in winter.

During the space of 12 years that I attended the factory of Algiers, I found the thermometer twice only contracted to the freezing point, and then the whole country, which was very unusual, was covered with snow; nor ever knew it rise to sultry weather, unless the winds blew from the Sahara. The seasons of the year insensibly fall into one another; and the great equability in the temperature of this climate appears further from this circumstance, that the barometer shews us all the revolutions of the weather in the space of 1 inch and 3-10ths, or from 29 inches and 1-10th to 30 inches and 4-10ths.

‘ The ordinary quantity of rain which falls yearly at Algiers is, at a medium, 27 or 28 inches. Little or no rain falls in this climate during the summer season; and in most parts of the Sahara, particularly in the Jereede, they have seldom any rain at all. It was likewise the same in the Holy Land, Prov. xxvi. 1. where rain is accounted an unusual thing in harvest. 2 Sam. xxi. 10. where it is also mentioned, “from harvest, till rain dropped on them;” *i. e.* their rainy season fell out, as in Barbary, in the autumnal and winter months; the latter end of the ninth month, which answers to our January, being described particularly. (Ezra x. 9. 13.) to be a time of much rain.

‘ When I was at Tozer in December, A. D. 1727, we had a small drizzling shower that continued for the space of two hours; and so little provision was made against accidents of this kind, that several of the houses, which are built only with palm branches, mud, and tiles baked in the sun, corresponding perhaps to, and explanatory of, the untempered mortar, Ezek. xiii. 11. fell down by imbibing the moisture of the shower. Nay, provided the drops had been either larger, or the shower of a longer continuance, or *overflowing*, in the prophet’s expression, the whole city would have undoubtedly dissolved, and dropt to pieces. The like also, to compare great things with small, might have happened, upon the same occasion, even to such of the Egyptian pyramids as are made of brick; the composition whereof, being only a mixture of clay, mud, and straw (Exod. v. 7.), slightly blended and kneaded together, and afterwards baked in the sun, would have made as

little resistance. The straw which keeps these bricks together, and still preserves its original colour, seems to be a proof that these bricks were never burnt, or made in kilns.

‘The first rains fall here some years in September, in others a month later; after which, the Arabs break up their ground, in order to sow wheat and plant beans. If the latter rains fall as usual in the middle of April, (in the Holy Land we find they were a month sooner, Joel ii. 23.) the crop is reckoned secure; the harvest coming on in the latter end of May, or in the beginning of June, according to the heat and quality of the preceding seasons.

‘I could never learn that Barbary afforded yearly more than one crop; one bushel yielding ordinarily from eight to twelve, though some districts may perhaps afford a much greater increase, for it is common to see one grain produce 10 or 15 stalks. It likewise happens, that one of the stalks will sometimes bear two ears, whilst each of these ears will as often shoot out into a number of lesser ones, thereby affording a most plentiful increase. And may not these large prolific ears, when seven are said to come up upon one stalk, Gen. xli. 5. explain what is further mentioned, ver. 47. of the seven fruitful years in Egypt, viz. that “the earth brought *them* forth by HANDFULS?”

‘All along the Me-jerdah, where there is a great command of water during the whole summer, the inhabitants cultivate rice, Indian corn, and particularly a whiter sort of millet called *drah*, which they prefer to barley in fattening their cattle. The sparrows, which in the open country build upon trees only, the linnets, goldfinches, and other little birds, are so fond of this grain, that, when it grows ripe they are obliged to watch it, and hinder them from settling upon it, by making all the day long a perpetual screaming and noise. The temporary booths which they make with branches of trees, reeds, and bulrushes, to shelter themselves, at these times, from the violent heat of the sun, and are entirely neglected and forsaken in the other seasons, may be the same, and for the like purpose, *with the cottage in a vineyard, and with the lodge in a*



*garden of cucumbers*, mentioned, Isa. i. 8. as emblems of the disconsolate state of Jerusalem.

' Oats are not cultivated at all by the Arabs, the horses of this country feeding altogether upon barley and straw, the latter of which, as their grass is never made into hay, is the usual fodder in the Holy Land. This we learn from 1 Kings iv. 28. where it is said, *they brought barley and straw for the horses and dromedaries.*—*Like an ox that eateth hay*, Psal. cxi. should be, *like a beeve that eateth grass*.

' These nations continue to tread out their corn after the primitive custom of the east. Instead of beeves, they frequently make use of mules and horses, by tying in like manner by the neck three or four of them together, and whipping them afterwards round about the *nedders*, as they call the treading floors, where the sheaves lie open and expanded, in the same manner as they are placed and prepared with us for threshing. This indeed is a much quicker way than ours, though less cleanly. For as it is performed in the open air, Hos. xiii. 3. upon any round level plat of ground, daubed over with cow's dung, to prevent, as much as possible, the earth, sand, or gravel from rising; a great quantity of them all, notwithstanding this precaution, must unavoidably be taken up with the grain. At the same time, the straw, which has been taken notice of as their chief and only fodder, is hereby shattered to pieces; a circumstance very pertinently alluded to, 2 Kings xiii. 7. where the king of Syria is said to *have made the Israelites like the dust by threshing*.

' After the grain is trodden out, they winnow it by throwing it up against the wind with a shovel; which in Matt. iii. 12. and Luke iii. 17. is rendered *a fan*: whereas, the text should rather run, *whose shovel*, or *fork*, which is a portable instrument, *is in his hand*, agreeable to the practice that it recorded, Isa. xxxi. 24. where both the shovel and the fan are mentioned, as *the chaff* that is thereby *carried away before the wind*, is oftener alluded to; Job xxi. 18. Psal. i. 4. Isa. xxix. 5. and xxxv. 5. Hos. xiii. 3. The broken pieces of Nebuchadnezzar's image particularly are very beautifully compared,

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Dan ii. 25. to the *chaff of the summer threshing floor carried away by the wind.*

‘ After the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in *mattamores*, or subterraneous magazines, as the custom was formerly of other nations, 200 or 300 of which are sometimes together, the smallest holding 400 bushels.

‘ Beans, lentils, kidney beans, and garvancos, are the chiefest of their pulse kind. Pease, which till of late were known in the gardens only of the Christian merchants, are sown with the first rains, and blossom in the latter end of February, or in the beginning of March. Beans are usually full podded at that time, and continue during the whole spring; which, after they are boiled and stewed with oil and garlic, are the principal food of persons of all distinctions. After them, lentils, kidney beans, and garvancos, begin to be gathered; the first of which are dressed in the same manner, with beans, dissolving easily into a mass, and making a pottage of a chocolate colour. This we find was the red pottage which Esau, from thence called Edom, exchanged for his birth-right.

‘ They have likewise great plenty and variety of roots, pot herbs, and fruit. The *palm* is a tall, knotless, beautiful tree. *To be exalted*, Eccle. xxi. 14. or, *to flourish like the palm tree*, are as just and proper expressions, suitable to the nature of this plant, as *to spread abroad like a cedar*, Psal. xcii. 11. Except the Lotus, most of the other fruit trees of this country are common in Europe. The early fig, or black and white boccores, drop as soon as they are ripe, and, according to the beautiful allusion of the prophet Nahum, (iii. 12.) *fall into the mouth of the eater upon being shaken.* They are preserved, and made up into cakes.’

This country contains many grand and inexhaustible funds of salt. Also many hot springs and mineral waters. Earthquakes are very common; and our author mentions one that happened in the mountainous districts, ‘ which literally answered,’ says he, ‘ in some degree at least, to the expression of the Psalmist, that *the mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like young sheep*; or that *the earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage*, Isa.

xxiv. 20. The mineralogy of this country has not been properly explored. Lead and iron are almost the only metals that have been discovered.

‘ The principal riches of the Bedoween Arabs, no less than of the eastern patriarchs and princes of old, continue to be valued according to the number and quality of their cattle. The horse, formerly the glory and distinguishing badge of Numidia, has of late years very much degenerated. The ass and the mule are the most hardy and useful creatures, requiring little or no attendance. The first is not so generally trained up for the saddle at Algiers as at Tunis, where they are frequently of a much larger size; but the mule is in general demand at both places, and preferred to the horse for common use and fatigue. To the mule we may join the kumrah, as the Algerines call a little serviceable beast of burden, begot betwixt an ass and a cow. Yet all these species are vastly inferior to the camel for labour and fatigue.

‘ That species of the camel kind, which is known to us by the name of the *dromas*, or dromedary, is much rarer in Barbary than in Arabia. It is chiefly remarkable for its prodigious swiftness, (*the swift dromerary*, as the prophets calls it, Jer. ii. 23.) the Arabs affirming, that it will run over as much ground in one day, as one of their best horses will perform in eight hours; for which reason, those messages which require haste, are, in Gætulia, and the more southern parts, dispatched upon dromedaries, as in Esth. viii. 10. This species is governed by a bridle, which being usually fastened to a ring, fixed in its nostrils, may very well illustrate that expression, 2 Kings xix. 28. of *putting a hook in its nose*, as it is recorded of Sennacherib, and may be further applicable to his swift retreat.

‘ The cows in Barbary give very little milk, but the sheep and the goats contribute also to the dairies, particularly in the making of cheese. Instead of runnet, especially in the summer season, they turn the milk with the flowers of the great headed thistle, or wild artichoke; and putting the curds afterwards into small baskets made with rushes, or with the dwarf palm, they bind them up close, and press them. These

cheeses are rarely above two or three pounds in weight, and in shape and size like our penny loaves; such perhaps as David (1 Sam. xvii. 18.) carried to the camp of Saul.

‘The goat is the same with that of other countries. But there is a species of sheep not known in Europe: it is common all over the Levant, as well as the kingdom of Tunis, and is distinguished by a broad tail, that ends sometimes in a point, sometimes continues broad to the bottom. The flesh tastes generally of the wool; neither has it the tender fibres of the smaller tailed sheep. Yet the tail itself, which is greatly esteemed in their cuscasowes and pilloes, consists of a hard solid fat, not inferior in taste to marrow.

‘The deeb, rendered the *fox* in several places of Scripture, feeds upon fruit and dead carcases, from which we may see the propriety of Psal. lxxiii. 10. where *they that shall fall by the sword* are said to be (to become) a *portion* (or provision) *for the shaalim* (or foxes); and of Cant. ii. 15. where the little shaalim are described to *spoil the vines*, and, as we may further suppose, to eat the tender grapes.’

There are several other curious beasts and birds in this country, which it would be tedious to enumerate; but the *locust* is an insect which frequently darkens the sun, and proves a severe scourge in the districts where they appear.

‘The art wherein the Moors particularly are the most conversant at present is *architecture*; though, as space and convenience are the only points regarded in their plans, the *mal-lums* (as they call those persons who are skilled in the designing and executing of them) are to be considered rather as masters of a craft or trade, than of a science or liberal profession. However, the plaster and cement, which they make use of, particularly where any extraordinary compactness or strength is required, appear, upon comparison, to be of the very same consistence and composition with what we meet with in the most ancient fabrics. The cisterns that were built by sultan Ben Eglib in several parts of the kingdom of Tunis, (and the like may be said of a variety of structures at this time), are of equal solidity with the celebrated ones at Carthage; and continue to this day, unless where they have been designedly

broken down, as firm and compact as if they were just finished. The composition is made in this manner: they take one part of sand, two parts of wood ashes, and three of lime; which, after it is well sifted and mixed together, they beat, for three days and nights incessantly, with wooden mallets, sprinkling them alternately, and at proper times, with a little oil and water, till they become of a due consistence. This is chiefly used in making arches, cisterns, and the terraces or tops of their houses. But the caduces, as they call the earthen pipes of their aqueducts, are joined together and let into each other, by beating tow and lime together with oil only, without any mixture of water. Both these compositions quickly assume the hardness of stone, and suffer no water to pervade them.

‘ Instead of common glue, the joiners frequently use a preparation of cheese, which is first to be pounded with a little water in a mortar, till the wheyey matter is entirely washed out. When this is done, they pound it again with a small quantity of fine lime, and then apply it, as quick as possible, to such boards as are to be joined together; which, after the joints are dry, are not to be separated, I am told, even when thrown into water.

‘ Having premised thus much, let us now speak of their method of building; especially as it relates to their dwelling houses. And as there is a near relation between them, and those that are occasionally mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, a particular account of the structure and contrivance of the one, may not a little contribute to the clearing up such doubts and difficulties as have arisen, from not rightly comprehending the fashion of the other.

‘ Now the general method of building, both in Barbary and the Levant, seems to have continued the same, from the earliest ages down to this time, without the least alteration or improvement. Large doors, spacious chambers, marble pavements, cloistered courts, with fountains sometimes playing in the midst, are certainly conveniences very well adapted to the circumstances of these hotter climates. The jealousy likewise of these people is less apt to be alarmed, whilst, if we except a small latticed window or balcony, which sometimes looks into

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the street, all the other windows open into their respective courts or quadrangles. It is during the celebration only of some *zeenah* (as they call a public festival), that these houses and their latticed windows or balconies are left open. For this being a time of great liberty, revelling, and extravagance, each family is ambitious of adorning both the inside and the outside of their houses with their richest furniture; whilst crowds of both sexes, dressed out in their best apparel, and laying aside all modesty and restraint, go in and out where they please. The account we have, 2 Kings ix. 30. of Jezebel's *painting her face, and tiring her head, and looking out at a window*, upon Jchu's public entrance into Jezreel, gives us a lively idea of an eastern lady at one of these *zeenahs* or *solemnities*.

‘ The streets of these cities, the better to shade them from the sun, are usually narrow, with sometimes a range of shops on each side. If from these we enter into one of the principal houses, we shall first pass through a porch or gate-way, with benches on each side, where the master of the family receives visits and dispatches business; few persons, not even the nearest relations, having further admission, except upon extraordinary occasions. From hence we are received into the court, or quadrangle, which lying open to the weather, is, according to the ability of the owner, paved with marble, or such materials as will immediately carry off the water into the common sewers.

‘ When many people are to be admitted, as upon the celebration of a marriage, the circumcising of a child, or occasions of the like nature, the company is rarely or never received into one of the chambers. The court is the usual place of their reception, which is strewed accordingly with mats and carpets for their more commodious entertainment; and as this is called *ell woorst*, or *the middle of the house*, Luke v. 19. it is probable that the place where our Saviour and apostles were frequently accustomed to give their instructions, might have been in the like situation; *i. e.* in the area or quadrangle of one of these houses. In the summer season, and upon all occasions, when a large company is to be received, this court is commonly



sheltered from the heat or inclemency of the weather, by a vellum, *umbrella* or *veil*; which, being expanded upon ropes from one side of the parapet wall to the other, may be folded or unfolded at pleasure. The Psalmist seems to allude either to the tents of the Bedoweens, or to some covering of this kind, in that beautiful expression of *spreading out the heavens like a veil or curtain*.

\* The court is for the most part surrounded with a cloister, over which, when the house has one or more stories, (and I have seen them with two or three), there is a gallery erected, of the same dimensions with the cloister, having a ballustrade, or else a piece of carved or latticed work going round about it, to prevent people falling from it into the court. From the cloisters and galleries, we are conducted into spacious chambers, of the same length with the court, but seldom or never communicating with one another. One of them frequently serves a whole family, particularly when a father indulges his married children to live with him, or when several persons join in the rent of the same house.

\* A mixture of families of this kind seems to be spoken of by Maimonides, as he is quoted by Dr. Lightfoot upon 1 Cor. x. 16. In houses of better fashion, these chambers, from the middle of the wall downwards, are covered and adorned with velvet or damask hanging, of *white, blue, red, green*, or other colours, Esth. i. 6. suspended upon hooks, or taken down at pleasure; but the upper part is embellished with more permanent ornaments, being adorned with the most ingenious wreathings and devices in stucco and fret-work. The cieling is generally of wainscot, either very artfully painted, or else thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of their koran intermixed. The prophet Jeremiah (xxii. 14) exclaims against the eastern houses, that *were cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion*. The floors are laid with painted tiles, or plaster of terrace. A pavement like this is mentioned, Esth. i. 6, 7. "The beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble."

‘ Along the sides of the wall or floor, a range of narrow beds or mattresses is often placed upon these carpets; and, for their further ease and convenience, several velvet or damask bolsters are placed upon these carpets or mattresses—indulgences that seem to be alluded to by *the stretching themselves upon couches, and by the sowing of pillows to arms-holes*, as we have it expressed, Amos vi. 4. Ezek. xiii. 18. 20. At one end of each chamber, there is a little gallery, raised three, four, or five feet above the floor, with a ballustrade in the front of it, with a few steps likewise leading up to it. Here they place their beds, a situation frequently alluded to in the Holy Scriptures, “Thou wentest up to thy father’s bed—to my couch,” Gen. xlix. 4. “Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up,” 2 Kings i. 6. 16. “I will not go up into my bed,” Psal. cxxxii. 3. which may also illustrate the circumstance of Hezekiah’s *turning his face, when he prayed, towards the wall*, (i. e. from his attendants), 2 Kings xx. 2. that the fervency of his devotion might be the less taken notice of and observed. The like is related of Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 4. though probably not upon a religious account, but in order to conceal from his attendants the anguish he was in for his late disappointment.

‘ The stairs are sometimes placed in the porch, sometimes at the entrance into the porch. The top of the house, which is always flat, is covered with a strong plaster of terrace; from whence, in the Frank language, it has attained the name of *the terrace*. This is usually surrounded by two walls, the outermost whereof is partly built over the street, partly makes the partition with the adjoining houses; being frequently so low, that one may easily climb over it. The other, which I shall call *the parapet wall*, hangs immediately over the court, being always breast high, and answers to the *lorica*, Deut. xxii. 8. which we render *the battlements*. Instead of this parapet wall, some terraces are guarded, like the galleries, with ballustrades only, or latticed work; in which fashion probably, as the name seems to import, was *the net, or lattice*, as we render it, that Ahaziah (2 Kings i. 2.) might be carelessly leaning over, when he fell down from thence into the court.

For upon these terraces, several offices of the family are performed; such as the drying of linen and flax, Josh. ii. 6. the preparing of figs and raisins; where likewise they enjoy the cool refreshing breezes of the evening, "And it came to pass in an evening tide, that David rose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house," 2 Sam. xi. 2. "So they spread Absolem a tent upon the top of the house," *ibid* xvi. 22. "Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house," 1 Sam. ix. 25. "Samuel called Saul to the top of the house," ver. 26. converse with one another, and offer up their devotions: "They that worship the host of heaven upon the house top," Zeph. i. 5. "On the tops of the houses of Moab shall be howling," Isa. xv. 3. "Peter went up upon the house top to pray," Acts x. 9, &c. In the feast of tabernacles, booths were erected upon them, Nehemiah viii. 16. As these terraces are thus frequently used and trampled upon, not to mention the solidity of the materials wherewith they are made, they will not easily permit any vegetable substances to take root or thrive upon them; which perhaps may illustrate the comparison, Isaiah xxxvii. 27. of the Assyrians, and Psalm cxxix. 6. of the wicked, *to the grass upon the house-tops, which withereth before it is grown up.*

'When any of these cities is built upon level ground, one may pass along the tops of the houses from one end of it to the other, without coming down into the street. Such in general is the manner and contrivance of these houses. If then it may be presumed that our Saviour, at the healing of the paralytic, was preaching in a house of this fashion, we may, by attending only to the structure of it, give no small light to one circumstance of that history, which has lately given great offence to some unbelievers. For, according to this explication, therefore, the context may run thus: *When they could not come at Jesus for the press, they got upon the roof of the house and drew back the veil where he was; or they laid open and uncovered that part of it especially which was spread over the place where he was sitting, and having removed, and plucked away* (according to St. Jerome), whatever might incommode them in their intended good office, or *having tied* (according

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to the Persian version) the four corners of the *bed* or bed-stead with cords, *where the sick of the palsy lay, they let it down before Jesus.*

‘ To most of these houses there is a smaller one annexed, which sometimes rises one story higher than the house; at other times it consists of one or two rooms only and a terrace; whilst others that are built, as they frequently are, over the porch or gate-way, have, if we except the ground floor, which they have not, all the conveniences that belong to the house, properly so called.

‘ The little chamber consequently that was built by the Shunamite for Elisha, whither, as the text instructs us, he retired at his pleasure, without breaking in upon the private affairs of the family, or being in his turn interrupted by them in his devotion: “ Let us make a little chamber, I pray thee, on the wall; and let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick: and it shall be, when he cometh to us, that he shall turn in thither,” 2 Kings iv. 10. the summer chamber of Eglon, which, in the same manner with these, seems to have had privy stairs belonging to it, through which Ehud escaped after he had revenged Israel upon that king of Moab: “ And Ehud came unto him (Eglon), and was sitting in a summer parlour, which he had for himself alone—then Ehud went forth through the porch,” Jud. iii. 20,—23. the chamber over the gate, whither, for the greater privacy, David withdrew himself to weep for Absalom: “ And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept,” 2 Sam. xviii. 33. the upper chamber, upon whose terracc Ahaz, for the same reason, erected his altars: “ And the altars that were upon the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made,” 2 Kings xxiii. 12. the inner chamber likewise, or, as it is better expressed in the original, *a chamber within a chamber*, where the young man, the prophet, anointed Jehu (2 Kings ix. 12.)—seem to have been all of them structures of the like nature and contrivance with these olees.

‘ When a funeral is solemnized, it is usual to bring the corpse, at the afternoon prayers, to one or other of the mosques:

from whence it is accompanied by the greatest part of the congregation to the grave.

‘ If we except a few persons, who are buried within the precincts of the sanctuaries of their marabbutts, the rest are carried out at a small distance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for that purpose. Each family has a proper portion of it, walled in like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained undisturbed for many generations. For in these inclosures, the graves are all distinct and separate; each of them having a stone placed upright, both at the head and feet, inscribed with the name or title (2 Kings xxiii. 17.) of the deceased; whilst the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stone, or paved with tiles. The graves of the principal citizens are further distinguished, by having cupolas, or vaulted chambers, of three, four, or more yards square, built over them; and as these very frequently lie open, and occasionally shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, the demoniac (Mark v. 3.) might with propriety enough have *had his dwelling among the tombs*; as others are said, Isa. lxxv. 4, *to remain among the graves, and to lodge in the monuments*. And as all these different sorts of tombs and sepulchres, with the very walls likewise of their respective cupolas and inclosures, are constantly kept clean, white-washed, and beautified, they continue to illustrate those expressions of our Saviour, where he mentions the garnishing of the sepulchres, Matt. xxiii. 29. and (ver. 27.) where he compares the scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites, *to whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness*. After the funeral is over, the female relations, during the space of two or three months, go once a week to weep over the grave and perform their parentalia.

‘ The Bedoweens, as their great ancestors, the Arabians, did before them, Isa. xlii. 20. live in tents called *hhymas*, from the shelter which they afford the inhabitants; and beet el shaar, i. e. *houses of hair*, from the materials or webs of goats hair, whereof they are made. They are the very same which the ancients called *mapalia*; and being then, as they are to

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this day, secured from the weather by a covering only of such hair-cloth as our coal sacks are made of, might very justly be described by Virgil to have, *rara tecta, thin roofs*. The colour of them is beautifully alluded to, Cant. i. 5. "I am black, but comely, like the tents of Kedar." For nothing certainly can afford a more delightful prospect, than a large extensive plain, whether in its verdure, or even scorched up by sunbeams, than those moveable habitations pitched in circles upon them. These tents are kept firm and steady, by bracing, or stretching down their eves with cords, tied to hooked wood pins, well pointed, which they drive into the ground with a mallet; one of these pins answering to the *nail*, as the mallet does to the *hammer*, which Jacl used in *fastening to the ground the temples of Sisera*, Judg. iv. 21.

At Algiers and Tunis the chief branch of manufactories is, the making of *hykes*, or blankets, as we should call them. The women alone are employed in this work, (as Andromache and Penelope were of old), who do not use the shuttle, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers. The *hykes* are of different sizes, and of different qualities and fineness. The usual size of them is six yards long, and five or six feet broad, serving the Kabyle and Arab for a complete dress in the day, and, *as they sleep in their raiment*, as the Israelites did of old, Deut. xxiv. 13. it serves likewise for his bed and covering by night. It is a loose, but troublesome garment, being frequently disconcerted and falling upon the ground; so that the person who wears it, is every moment obliged to tuck it up, and fold it anew about his body. This shews the great use there is of a girdle, whenever they are concerned in any active employment; and in consequence thereof, the force of the Scripture injunction, alluding thereto, *of having our loins girded*, in order to set about it. The method of wearing these garments, with the use they are at other times put to, in serving for coverlids to their beds, should induce us to take the finer sorts of them at least, such as was worn by the ladies and persons of distinction, to be the peplus of the ancients. Ruth's veil, which held six measures



of barley, (Ruth iii. 15.) might be of the like fashion, and have served extraordinarily for the same use; as were also the clothes of the Israelites, Exod. xii. 13. wherein they folded up their kneading troughs; as the Moors, Arabs, and Kaybles, do to this day things of the like burden and incumbrance in their hykes.

‘ Instead of the fibula, that was used by the Romans, the Arabs join together with thread or with a wooden bodkin, the two upper corners of this garment; and after having placed them first over one of their shoulders, they then fold the rest of it about their bodies. The outer fold serves them frequently instead of an apron; wherein they carry herbs, loaves, corn, &c. and may illustrate several allusions made thereunto in Scripture; as *gathering the lap full of wild gourds*, 2 Kings iv. 39. *rendering seven fold, giving good measure into the bosom*, Psal. lxxix. 12. *Luke vi. 38. shaking the lap*, Neh. v. 13. &c.

‘ The burnoose, which answers to our cloak, is often, for warmth; worn over these hykes. This too is another great branch of their woollen manufactory. It is wove in one piece, and shaped exactly like the garment of the little god Telesphorus; viz. strait about the neck, with a cape or Hippocrates’ sleeve, for a cover to the head, and wide below like a cloak.

‘ Under the hyke, some wear a close-bodied frock or tunic (a jillebba they call it), with or without sleeves, which differs little from the Roman tunica, or habit in which the constellation Boötes is usually painted. The coat of our Saviour, which *was woven without seam from top throughout*, John xix. 23. might be of the like fashion. Of this kind probably was the habit wherewith our Saviour might still be clothed, when he is said to *lay aside his garments, (or burnoose and hyke, John xiii. 4.) and to take a tool and gird himself*; as was likewise the *fisher’s coat* (John xxi. 7.) which St. Peter *girded about him*, when he is said to *be naked*; or what the same person, at the command of the angel, (Acts xii. 8.) *might have girded upon him*, before he is enjoined to *cast his garment about him*.

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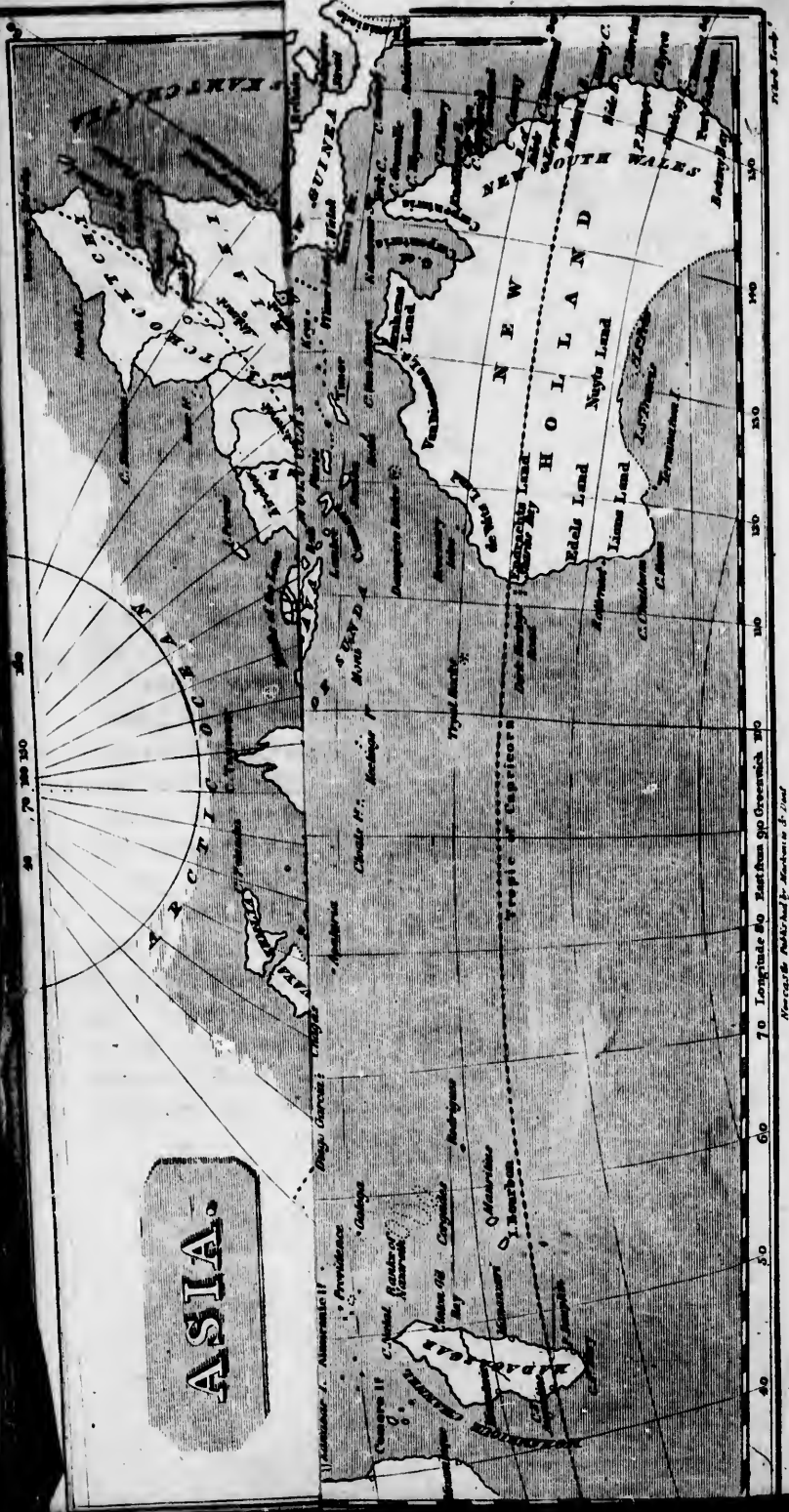
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‘The girdles, which have been occasionally mentioned before, are usually of worsted, very artfully woven into a variety of figures, such as the *rich girdles* of the *virtuous virgins* may be supposed to have been, Prov. xxxi. 24. They are made to fold several times about the body; one end of which being doubled back, and sewn along the edges, serves them for a purse. The Turks make a further use of these girdles, by fixing therein their knives and poinards; whilst the hojias, i. e. *the writers* and *secretaries*, suspend in the same their inkhorns; a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel, (ix. 2.) who mentions a *person clothed in white linen, with an inkhorn upon his loins*.

‘It is customary for the Turks and Moors to wear shirts of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath the tunic; but the Arabs wear nothing but woollen. There is a ceremony indeed in some douwars, which obliges the bridegroom and the bride to wear each of them a shirt at the celebration of their nuptials; but then, out of a strange kind of superstition, they are not afterwards to wash them, or put them off, whilst one piece hangs to another. The sleeves of these shirts are wide and open, without folds at the neck or wrist, as ours have; thereby preventing the flea and the louse from being commodiously lodged: those, particularly of the women, are oftentimes of the richest gauze, adorned with different coloured ribbands, interchangeably sewed to each other.

‘Neither are the Bedoweens accustomed to wear drawers; a habit notwithstanding which the citizens of both sexes constantly appear in, especially when they go abroad or receive visits. The virgins are distinguished from the matrons, in having their drawers made of needle-work, striped silk or linen, just as Tamar’s garment is described, 2 Sam. xiii. 18. But when the women are at home and in private, then their hykes are laid aside, and sometimes their tunics; and instead of drawers, they bind only a towel about their loins. A Barbary matron, in her undress, appears like Silanus in the Admiranda.

‘When these ladies appear in public, they always fold themselves up so closely in these hykes, that even without their





veils, we could discover very little of their faces. But, in the summer months, when they retire to their country seats, they walk abroad with less caution; though, even then, upon the approach of a stranger, they always drop their veils, as Rebekah did upon the sight of Isaac, Gen. xxiv. 65. They all affect to have their hair, the *instrument of their pride*, (Isa. xxii. 12.) hang down to the ground, which, after they have collected into one lock, they bind and plait it with ribbands; a piece of finery disapproved of by the apostle, 1 Pet. iii. 3. Where nature has been less liberal in this ornament, there the defect is supplied by art, and foreign hair is procured to be interwoven with the natural. Absalom's hair, *which was sold* (2 Sam. xiv. 26.) *for two hundred shekles*, might have been applied to this use.

The doctor next notices the ancient custom of tinging the eye lids with the powder of lead ore, which is still retained by the Barbary ladies. In this country provisions are very cheap; and the old mode of cooking, frequently alluded to in the Scriptures, is universally observed. The life of the Arab is one continued round of idleness and diversion. He is outwardly humble and courteous, but inwardly false, thievish, and treacherous. They are very superstitious, and pay great respect to those who pretend to be prophets.

The Arabs have, during many ages, been under the dominion of the Turks; but they are not oppressed, and may live peaceably by paying the produce of the eighth part of their lands, and a small poll tax. They are governed by their own shekh, lord or elder, and princes, though few of these great men know how to write their own names. The prince, who at Algiers is called the *dey*, and at Tunis the *bey*, is chosen out of the army; but, if he be unfortunate, or becomes unpopular, he is sure to be cut off, so that few have the fortune to die in their beds. The punishment for criminal offences are very cruel and severe. The politics of the court at Algiers are mostly swayed by the interests of an insolent soldiery; and the consuls of the European nations are compelled to use both gold and policy to preserve their countrymen from their piratical attacks.

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HAVING now reviewed the natural and moral peculiarities of Africa, we shall proceed to relate the adventures and observations of European travellers in ASIA, the grandest division of our globe, and the acknowledged parent of nations and of civilization. The Asiatics, indeed, have ceased to exercise that important influence upon the destinies of Europe and Africa which they formerly possessed; yet they still constitute above two-thirds of the human race. This prodigious population, if once aroused from the moral stupor into which the whole mass has fallen, would present a most sublime and interesting spectacle, and give an inconceivable impetus to the progress of civilization.

IN examining this interesting portion of the earth, we will commence with the description of the north-eastern part, which was recently explored by an intelligent traveller.

THE progress of discovery, and the introduction of the arms and power of Europe into this continent, will be detailed in our account of the first voyages of the Portugueze and other enterprizing navigators.

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# LESSEPS'S TRAVELS

IN

## KAMTSCHATKA.

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**M. DE LESSEPS**, consul of France, was engaged as interpreter to the count de la Perouse, in the voyage round the world, which ended so unfortunately. He was landed on the extremity of the Asiatic coast; and, in journeying across that vast continent, he encountered difficulties and observed novelties that have rendered his journal extremely amusing and instructive. The style is lively, and his descriptions picturesque; while the faithfulness of his narrative has been acknowledged by the best judges. He thus begins:—

‘ I HAVE scarcely completed my 25th year, and am arrived at the most memorable æra of my life. However long, or however happy may be my future career, I doubt whether it will ever be my fate to be employed in so glorious an expedition as that in which two French frigates, the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe*, are at this moment engaged; the first commanded by count de la Perouse, chief of the expedition, and the second by viscount de Langle.

‘ The report of this voyage round the world, created too general and lively an interest, for direct news of these illustrious navigators, reclaimed by their country and by all Europe from the seas they traverse, not to be expected with as much impatience as curiosity.

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‘How flattering is it to my heart, after having obtained from count de la Perouse the advantage of accompanying him for more than two years, to be farther indebted to him for the honour of conveying his dispatches over land to France! The more I reflect upon this additional proof of his confidence, the more I feel what such an embassy requires, and how far I am deficient; and I can only attribute his preference to the necessity of choosing for this journey, a person who had resided in Russia, and could speak its language.

‘On the 6th of September, 1787, the king’s frigates entered the port of Avatscha, or Saint Peter and Saint Paul, at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Kamtschatka. The 29th, I was ordered to quit the *Astrolabe*; and the same day count de la Perouse gave me his dispatches and instructions. His regard for me would not permit him to confine his cares to the most satisfactory arrangements for the safety and convenience of my journey; he went farther, and gave me the affectionate counsels of a father, which will never be obliterated from my heart. Viscount de Langle had the goodness to join his also, which proved equally beneficial to me.

‘Let me be permitted in this place to pay my just tribute of gratitude to the faithful companion of the dangers and the glory of count de la Perouse, and his rival in every other court, as well as that of France, for having acted towards me, upon all occasions, as a counsellor, a friend, and a father.

‘In the evening I was to take my leave of the commander and his worthy colleague. Judge what I suffered, when I conducted them back to the boats that waited for them. I was incapable of speaking, or of quitting them; they embraced me in turns, and my tears too plainly told them the situation of my mind. The officers who were on shore, received also my adieu: they were affected, offered prayers to heaven for my safety, and gave me every consolation and succour that their friendship could dictate. My regret at leaving them cannot be described; I was torn from their arms, and found myself in those of colonel Kasloff-Ougrenin, governor general of Okotsk and Kamtschatka, to whom count de la Perouse

had recommended me, more as his son, than an officer charged with his dispatches.

‘ At this moment commenced my obligations to the Russian governor. I knew not then all the sweetness of his character, incessantly disposed to acts of kindness, and which I have since had so many reasons to admire. He treated my feelings with the utmost address. I saw the tear of sympathy in his eye upon the departure of the boats, which we followed as far as our sight would permit; and in conducting me to his house, he spared no pains to divert me from my melancholy reflections. To conceive the frightful void which my mind experienced at this moment, it is necessary to be in my situation, and left alone in these scarcely discovered regions, 4,000 leagues from my native land: without calculating this enormous distance, the dreary aspect of the country sufficiently prognosticated what I should have to suffer during my long and perilous route; but the reception which I met with from the inhabitants, and the civilities of M. Kasloff and the other Russian officers, made me by degrees less sensible to the departure of my countrymen.

‘ Count de la Perouse had recommended diligence to me, but enjoined me, at the same time, upon no pretext to quit M. Kasloff; an injunction that was perfectly agreeable to my inclinations. The governor had promised to conduct me as far as Okotsk, which was the place of his residence, and to which it was necessary that he should repair immediately.

‘ The port of St. Peter and St. Paul, is known to be situated at the north of the entrance of the bay, and closed in at the south by a very narrow neck of land, upon which the *ostrog*, or village, of Kamtschatka is built. Upon an eminence to the east, at the interior point of the bay, is the house of the governor, with whom M. Kasloff resided during his stay. Near this house, almost in the same line, is that of a corporal of the garrison, and a little higher to the north, that of the serjeant, who, next to the governor, is the only persons at all distinguished in this settlement, if indeed it deserves the name of settlement. Opposite to the entrance of the port,

on the declivity of the eminence, from which a lake of considerable extent is seen, are the ruins of the hospital mentioned in captain Cook's voyage. Below these, and nearer the shore, is a building which serves as a magazine to the garrison, and which is constantly guarded by a centinel. Such was the state in which we found the port of St. Peter and St. Paul.

'By the proposed augmentation, it will evidently become an interesting place. The entrance was to be closed, or at least flanked by fortifications, which were to serve at the same time as a defence, on this side, to the projected town, which was chiefly to be built upon the site of the old hospital, that is, between the port and the lake. A battery was also to be erected upon the neck of land which separates the bay from the lake, in order to protect the other part of the town. In short, by this plan, the entrance of the bay would be defended by a sufficiently strong battery upon the least elevated point of the left coast; and vessels entering the bay could not escape the cannon, because of the breakers on the right. There is at present upon the point of a rock, a battery of six or eight cannon, lately erected to salute our frigates.

'I need not add, that the augmentation of the garrison forms a part of the plan, which consists only at present of 40 soldiers, or Cossacks. Their mode of living and their dress are similar to the Kamtschadales, except that in time of service they have a sabre, firelock, and cartouch box; in other respects they are not distinguishable from the indigenes, but by their features and idiom.

'With respect to the Kamtschadale village, which forms a considerable part of the place, and is situated, as I have already said, upon the narrow projection of land which closes in the entrance of the port, is at present composed of from 30 to 40 habitations, including winter and summer ones, called *isbas* and *balagans*; and the number of inhabitants, taking in the garrison, does not exceed 100, men, women, and children. The intention is to increase them to upwards of 400.

'The banks of the bay of Avatscha are rendered difficult of access by the high mountains, of which some are covered with wood, and others have volcanoes. The vallies present a



vegetation that astonished me. The grass was nearly of the height of a man; and the rural flowers, such as the wild roses and others that are interspersed with them, diffuse far and wide a most grateful smell.

'The rains are in general heavy during spring and autumn, and blasts of wind are frequent in autumn and winter. The latter is sometimes rainy; but notwithstanding its length, they assured me that its severity is not very extreme, at least in this southern part of Kamtschatka. The snow begins to appear on the ground in October, and the thaw does not take place till April or May; but even in July it is seen to fall upon the summit of high mountains, and particularly volcanoes. The summer is tolerably fine; the strongest heats scarcely last beyond the solstice. Thunder is seldom heard, and is never productive of injury. Such is the temperature of almost all this part of the peninsula.

'Two rivers pour their waters into the bay of Avatscha; that from which the bay is named, and the Paratounka. They both abound with fish, and every species of water fowl, but these are so wild, that it is not possible to approach within 50 yards of them. The navigation of these rivers is impracticable after the 26th November, because they are always frozen at this time; and in the depth of winter the bay itself is covered with sheets of ice, which are kept there by the wind blowing from the sea; but they are completely dispelled as soon as it blows from the land. The port of St. Peter and St. Paul is commonly shut up by the ice in the month of January.'

Our traveller departed from the port of St. Peter and St. Paul on the 7th of November, in company with M. Schmaleff, the inspector general, the governor's secretary, M. Kasloff, and M. Ivashkin, the unfortunate gentleman mentioned in Clerke's voyage, and whose story is thus related by our author:

'The mere recital of his misfortunes,' says he, 'is sufficient to excite the compassion of every reader; but it is necessary to have seen and observed him, to judge of the extreme interest which his unhappy lot is calculated to inspire.

'He was not 20 years of age, when the empress Elizabeth made him serjeant of her guard of Preobrajenskoï. He already

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enjoyed a certain credit at court, and the free access to the sovereign, which his office gave him, opened the most brilliant career to his ambition; when all at once he saw himself not merely disgraced and deprived all his flattering hopes, but treated as the greatest criminal; he was *knowted*, which is the severest and most degrading punishment in Russia, had his nose slit, and was banished for life to Kamtschatka.

‘The English have told us what he suffered for more than 20 years, from the rigour with which he was treated; he was denied even the first necessaries of life, and must infallibly have perished of hunger and misery, or fallen a prey to despair, if the force of his mind and the strength of his constitution had not supported him. The necessity of providing for his own subsistence, compelled him, not without disgust, to naturalize himself with the Kamtschadales, and to adopt entirely their mode of living; he is clothed like them, and by means of hunting and fishing is enabled to procure, not merely a sufficiency for his wants, but a superfluity, from the sale of which he obtains some little conveniences that seem to sweeten his miserable existence. He resides at Verck-neï-Kamtschatka, or Upper Kamtschatka. The Russians are ignorant of the cause of so severe a punishment; they are disposed to attribute it to a misunderstanding, or some indiscreet words, for they know not how to suppose him capable of a crime. It seems as if a change of sentiment had taken place respecting the pretended enormity of his offence, a proposal having been lately made of changing the place of his banishment, and removing him to Yakoutsk, a town that offers a variety of resources, both for profit and pleasure. But this unfortunate being, who is from 60 to 65 years of age, has refused to avail himself of this permission, not wishing, as he said, to make a show of the hideous marks of his dishonour, and to blush a second time at the dreadful punishment he has undergone. He preferred the continuing to live with the Kamtschadales, having but one desire left, that of passing the few remaining days of life with those who knew his integrity, and of carrying with him to his grave the general friendship and esteem, to which he is so justly intitled.’

The governor's suite, that accompanied our author's party, consisted of four serjeants, an equal number of privates, and the commanding officer. Having embarked upon *baiders*, a kind of boats, they arrived in about six hours at a village, or ostrog, where the priest of the district resides. 'The summer houses, or balagans,' says M. Lesseps, 'are elevated above the ground upon a number of posts, placed at equal distances, and about 12 or 13 feet high. This rough sort of collonade supports in the air a platform made of rafters, joined to one another, and overspread with clay: this platform serves as a floor to the whole building, which consists of a roof in the shape of a cone, covered with a kind of thatch, or dried grass, placed upon long poles fastened together at the top, and bearing upon the rafters. This is at once the first and last story; it forms the whole apartment, or rather chamber: an opening in the roof serves instead of a chimney to let out the smoke, when a fire is lighted to dress their victuals; this cookery is performed in the middle of the room, where they eat and sleep pell-mell together without the least disgust or scruple. In these apartments, windows are out of the question; there is merely a door, so low and narrow, that it will scarcely suffice to admit the light. The stair-case is worthy of the rest of the building; it consists of a beam, or rather a tree jagged in a slovenly manner, one end of which rests on the ground, and the other is raised to the height of the floor. It is placed at the angle of the door, upon a level, with a kind of open gallery that is erected before it. This tree retains its roundness, and presents on one side something like steps, but they are so incommodious that I was more than once in danger of breaking my neck. In reality, whenever this vile ladder turns under the feet of those who are not accustomed to it, it is impossible to preserve an equilibrium; a fall must be the consequence, more or less dangerous, in proportion to the height. When they wish persons to be informed that there is nobody at home, they merely turn the stair-case, with the steps inward.

'Motives of convenience may have suggested to these people the idea of building such strange dwellings, which their mode of living renders necessary and commodious. Their

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principal food being dried fish, which is also the nourishment of their dogs, it is necessary, in order to dry their fish and other provisions, that they should have a place sheltered from the heat of the sun, and at the same time perfectly exposed to the air. Under the collonades or rustic porticos, which form the lower part of their balagans, they find this convenience; and there they hang their fish, either to the ceiling or to the sides, that it may be out of the reach of the voraciousness of their dogs. The Kamtschadales make use of dogs to draw their sledges; the best, that is the most vicious, have no other kennel than what the portico of the balagans affords them, to the posts of which they are tied. Such are the advantages resulting from the singular mode of constructing the balagans, or summer habitations of the Kamtschadales.

‘Those of winter are less singular; and if equally large, would exactly resemble the habitations of the Russian peasants. These have been so often described, that it is universally known how they are constructed and arranged. The isbas are built of wood; that is to say, the walls are formed by placing long trees horizontally upon one another, and filling up the interstices with clay. The roof slants like our thatched houses, and is covered with coarse grass, or rushes, and frequently with planks. The interior part is divided into two rooms, with a stove placed so as to warm them both, and which serves at the same time as a fire place for their cookery. On two sides of the largest room, wide benches are fixed, and sometimes a sorry couch made of planks, and covered with bears’ skin. This is the bed of the chief of the family: and the women, who in this country are the slaves of their husbands, and perform all the most laborious offices, think themselves happy to be allowed to sleep in it.

‘Besides these benches and the bed, there is also a table, and a great number of images of different saints, with which the Kamtschadales are as emulous of furnishing their chambers, as the majority of our celebrated connoisseurs are of displaying their magnificent paintings.

‘The windows, as may be supposed, are neither large nor high. The panes are made of the skins of salmon, or the

bladders of various animals, or the gullet. *i* sea wolves prepared, and sometimes of leaves of talc; but this is rare, and implies a sort of opulence. The fish skins are so scraped and dressed that they become transparent and admit a feeble light to the room, somewhat similar to the oiled paper in the windows of manufactories; but objects cannot be seen through them. The leaves of talc are more clear, and approach nearer to glass; in the mean time they are not sufficiently transparent for persons without to see what is going on within: this is manifestly no inconvenience to such low houses.

Every ostrog is presided by a chief, called *toyon*. This kind of magistrate is chosen from among the natives of the country, by a plurality of voices. The Russians have preserved to them this privilege, but the election must be approved by the jurisdiction of the province. This *toyon* is merely a peasant, like those whom he judges and governs; he has no mark of distinction, and performs the same labours as his subordinates. His office is chiefly to watch over the police, and inspect the execution of the orders of government. Under him is another *Kamtschadale*, chosen by the *toyon* himself, to assist him in the exercise of his functions, or supply his place. This vice-*toyon* is called *yesaoul*, a Cossack title adopted by the *Kamtschadales* since the arrival of the Cossacks in their peninsula, and which signifies second chief of their band or clan. It is necessary to add, that when the conduct of their chiefs is considered as corrupt, or excites the complaints of their inferiors, the Russian officers presiding over them, or the other tribunals established by government, dismiss them immediately from their functions, and nominate others more agreeable to the *Kamtschadales*, with whom the right of election still remains.

The rain continuing, we were unable to proceed on our journey; but my curiosity led me to embrace a short interval that offered in the course of the day, to walk out into the ostrog, and visit its environs.

I went first to the church, which I found to be built of wood, and ornamented in the taste of those of the Russian villages. I observed the arms of captain Clerke, painted by

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Mr. Webber, and the English inscription upon the death of this worthy successor of captain Cook; it pointed out the place of his burial at Saint Peter and Saint Paul's.

Our traveller now proceeded on his journey, and, after travelling two days in the midst of heavy rains and snow, he arrived at Natchikin, in the neighbourhood of which are hot springs, that are constructed into baths. While residing here 'M. Kasloff remarked,' says our author, 'a numerous flight of ravens, who all hovered over the same spot, skimming continually along the ground. The regular direction of their flight led us to suspect that some prey attracted them. These birds were in reality pursuing a sable. We perceived it upon a birch tree, surrounded by another flight of ravens, and we had immediately a similar desire of taking it. The quickest and surest way would doubtless have been to have shot it; but our guns were at the village, and it was impossible to borrow one of the persons who accompanied us, or indeed in the whole neighbourhood. A Kamtschadale happily drew us from our embarrassment, by undertaking to catch the sable. He adopted the following method. He asked us for a cord; we had none to give him but that which fastened our horses. While he was making a running knot, some dogs, trained to the chase, had surrounded the tree: the animal, intent upon watching them, either from fear, or natural stupidity, did not stir; and contented himself with stretching out his neck, when the cord was presented to him. His head was twice in the noose, but the knot slipped. At length, the sable having thrown himself upon the ground, the dogs flew to seize him; but he presently freed himself, and with his claws and teeth laid hold of the nose of one of the dogs, who had no reason to be pleased with his reception. As we were desirous of taking the animal alive, we kept back the dogs; the sable quitted immediately his hold, and ran up a tree, where, for the third time, the noose, which had been tied anew, was presented to him; it was not till the fourth attempt that the Kamtschadale succeeded. I could not have imagined that an animal, who has so much the appearance of cunning, would have permitted himself to be caught in so stupid a manner, and would him-



self have placed his head in the snare that was held up to him. This easy mode of catching sables is a considerable resource to the Kamtschadales, who are obliged to pay their tribute in skins of these animals.'

The departure of our author's party was fixed for the 17th of November, and the preceding day was taken up with making preparations for it. The next division of their route being by water, 'ten boats,' says M. Lesseps, 'which properly speaking, appeared to be merely trees scooped out in the shape of canoes, two and two lashed together, served as five floats for the conveyance of ourselves and part of our effects. We were obliged to leave the greater part at Natchikin, on account of the impossibility of loading these floats with the whole, and there were no means of increasing them. We had already collected all the canoes that were in the village, and even some of our ten had been brought from the ostrom of Apatchin, to which we were going.

'The 17th, at break of day, we embarked upon these floats. Four Kamtschadales, by means of long poles, conducted our rafts. But they were frequently obliged to place themselves in the water, in order to haul them along; the depth of the river in some places being no more than one or two feet, and in others less than six inches. Presently one of our floats received an injury; it was precisely that which was freighted with our baggage, and we were obliged to unlade every thing upon the bank, in order to refit it. We waited not, but preferred leaving it behind, in order to proceed on our route. At noon another accident, much more deplorable for men whose appetites began to be clamorous, occasioned us a further delay. The float in which our cookery was embarked, sunk all at once before our eyes. It will be supposed we did not see the loss which threatened us, with indifference; we were eager to save the wreck of our provisions; and for fear of a greater misfortune, we wisely resolved to dine before we proceeded any farther. Our dinner tended gradually to dispel our fears, and gave us courage to discharge the water which over-loaded our boats, and to resume our voyage. We had not advanced a werst, before we met two boats coming to

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our assistance from Apatchin. We sent them to the succour of the damaged float, and to supply the place of the boats which were unfit for service. As we continued to advance at the head of our embarkations, we at last entirely lost sight of them; but we met with nothing disastrous till the evening.'

The river is described as being full of small islands, and having trees growing in its very middle. Tracts of the bear were every where seen, and fish half devoured which these animals had left. Different species of water fowl diverted themselves in the water; but game does not appear to be common.

'Upon the approach of night,' continues our author, 'M. Kasloff rightly judged that it would be more prudent to stop, than to continue our route, with the apprehension of encountering obstacles similar to what had already impeded our navigation. How were we to surmount them? we were unacquainted with the river; and in the obscurity of the night, the least accident might prove fatal to us. These considerations determined us to leave our boats, and to pass the night on the right hand bank of the river, at the entrance of a wood, and near the place where captain King and his party halted. A good fire warmed and dried our whole company. M. Kasloff had taken the precaution to place in his float the accoutrements of a tent; and while we were pitching it, which was done in a moment, we had the satisfaction to see two of our floats arrive, which had not been able to keep up with us. The pleasure which this reunion afforded us, the fatigue of the day, the convenience of the tent, and our beds, which we had fortunately brought with us, all contributed to make us pass a most comfortable night.'

Our traveller in this manner proceeded up the Bolchaïa-reka, until he arrived at Bolcheretsk, where he was most hospitably entertained at the governor's house. The entrance of the above river he describes as very dangerous, and impracticable to ships of 150 tons burthen; nor does the port afford any shelter.

The population of this village, including men, women, and children, amounts to between 2 and 300. Among these in-

habitants, reckoning the petty officers, there are 60 or 70 Cossacks, or soldiers, who are employed in all labours that relate to the service of government. Each in his turn mounts guard; they clear the ways; repair the bridges; unlade the provisions sent from Okotsk, and convey them from the mouth of the Bolchaïa-reka to Bolcheretsk. The rest of the inhabitants are composed of merchants and sailors.

‘These people,’ says Lesseps, ‘Russians and Cossacks, together with a mixed breed found among them, carry on a clandestine commerce, sometimes in one article, and sometimes in another; it varies as often as they see any reason for changing it; but it is never with a view of enriching themselves by honest means. Their industry is a continual knavishness; it is solely employed in cheating the poor Kamtschadales, whose credulity and insuperable propensity to drunkenness, leave them entirely at the mercy of these dangerous plunderers. Like our mountebanks, and other knaves of this kind, they go from village to village to inveigle the too silly natives: they propose to sell them brandy, which they artfully present to them to taste. It is almost impossible for a Kamtschadale, male or female, to refuse this offer. The first essay is followed by many others; presently their heads become affected, they are intoxicated, and the craft of the tempters succeed. No sooner are they arrived to a state of inebriety, than these pilferers know how to obtain from them the barter of their most valuable effects, that is, their whole stock of furs, frequently the fruit of the labour of a whole season, which was to enable them to pay their tribute to the crown, and procure perhaps subsistence for a whole family. But no consideration can stop a Kamtschadale drunkard, every thing is forgotten, every thing is sacrificed to the gratification of his appetite, and the momentary pleasure of swallowing a few glasses of brandy, reduces him to the utmost wretchedness. Nor is it possible for the most painful experience to put them on their guard against their own weakness, or the cunning perfidy of these traders, who in their turn drink, in like manner, all the profits of their knavery.

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‘ This practice is well known to be the ruling passion of all the people of the north; but I have had more than one occasion to observe, that the Kamtschadales are in this respect inferior to none of them. The following story, among others, was told me, that I might be able to judge of the rapacity of these vagabond traders, and the stupid prodigality of their dupes.

‘ A Kamtschadale had given a sable for a glass of brandy. Inflamed with a desire of drinking another, he invited the seller into his house. The merchant thanked him, but said he was in a hurry. The Kamtschadale renewed his solicitations, and proposed a second bargain: he prevailed.—“ Come, another glass for this sable, it is a finer one than the first.” “ No; I must keep the rest of my brandy; I have promised to sell it at such a place, and I must be gone.” “ Stay a moment; here are two sables.” “ It is all in vain.” “ Well, come, I will add another.” “ Agreed, drink.” Meanwhile the three sables are seized, and the hypocrite makes a fresh pretence to come away: his host redoubles his importunities to retain him, and demands a third glass: further refusals and further offers: the higher the chapman raises his price, the more the Kamtschadale is prodigal of his furs. Who would have supposed that it would have ended in the sacrifice of seven most beautiful sables for this last glass! they were all he had.

‘ I shall terminate the article of commerce by adding, that the persons who deal most in wholesale, are merely agents of the merchants of Totma, Vologda, Grand Ustiug, and different towns of Siberia, or the factors of other opulent traders, who extend even to this distant country their commercial speculations.

‘ All the wares and provisions, which necessity obliges them to purchase from the magazines, are sold excessively dear, and at about 10 times the current price at Moscow.

‘ The rest of the merchandize consists of nankins and other China stuffs, together with various commodities of Russian and foreign manufacture, as ribbons, handkerchiefs, stockings, caps, shoes, boots, and other articles of European dress, which may be regarded as luxuries, compared with the extreme simplicity of apparel of the Kamtschadales. Among the provision

imported, there are sugar, tea, a small quantity of coffee, some wine, but very little, biscuits, confections, or dried fruits, as prunes, raisins, &c. and lastly, candles, both wax and tallow, powder, shot, &c.

'The scarcity of all these articles in so distant a country, and the need, whether natural or artificial, which there is for them, enable the merchants to sell them at whatever exorbitant price their voracity may affix. In common, they are disposed of almost immediately upon their arrival. The merchants keep shops, each of them occupying one of the huts opposite the guard house; these shops are open every day, except feast days.

'The inhabitants of Bolcheretsk differ not from the Kamtschadales in their mode of living; they are less satisfied, however, with balagans, and their houses are a little cleaner.

'Their clothing is the same. The outer garment, which is called *parque*, is like a waggoner's frock, and is made of the skins of deer, or other animals, tanned on one side. They wear under this long breeches of similar leather, and next the skin a very short and tight shirt, either of nankin or cotton stuff; the women's are of silk, which is a luxury among them. Both sexes wear boots; in summer, of goats' or dogs' skins tanned; and in winter, of the skins of sea wolves, or the legs of rein deer. The men constantly wear fur caps; in the mild season they put on longer shirts of nankin, or of skin without hair; they are made like the *parque*, and answer the same purpose, that is, to be worn over their other garments. Their gala dress, is a *parque* trimmed with otter skins and velvet, or other stuffs and furs equally dear. The excessive scarcity of every species of stuffs at Kamtschatka, renders the toilet of the women an object of very considerable expence: they sometimes adopt the dress of the men.

'The principal food of these people consists in dried fish. The fish are procured by the men, while the women are employed in domestic occupations, or in gathering fruits and other vegetables, which, next to dried fish, are the favourite provisions of the Kamtschadales and Russians of this country. When the women go out to make these harvests for winter

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consumption, it is high holiday with them, and the anniversary is celebrated by a riotous and intemperate joy, that frequently gives rise to the most extravagant and indecent scenes. They disperse in crowds through the country, singing and giving themselves up to all the absurdities which their imagination suggests; no consideration of fear or modesty restrains them. I cannot better describe their licentious frenzy than by comparing it with the bacchanals of the pagans. Ill betide the man whom chance conducts and delivers into their hands! however resolute or however active he may be, it is impossible to evade the fate that awaits him; and it is seldom that he escapes, without receiving a severe flagellation.

‘ Their provisions are prepared nearly in the following manner; it will appear, from the recital, that they cannot be accused of much delicacy. They are particularly careful to waste no part of the fish. As soon as it is caught they tear out the gills, which they immediately suck with extreme gratification. By another refinement of sensuality or gluttony, they cut off also at the same time some slices of the fish, which they devour with equal avidity, covered as they are with clots of blood. The fish is then gutted, and the entrails reserved for their dogs. The rest is prepared and dried; when they eat it either boiled, roasted, or broiled, but most commonly raw.

‘ The food which the epicures esteem most, and which appeared to me to be singularly disgusting, is a species of salmon, called *tchanwitcha*. As soon as it is caught, they bury it in a hole; and in this kind of larder they leave it till it has had time to sour, or, properly speaking, become perfectly putrified. It is only in this state of corruption that it attains the flavour most pleasing to the delicate palates of these people. In my opinion the infectious odour that exhales from this fish, would suffice to repulse the most hungry being; and yet a Kamtschadale feeds voluptuously upon this rotten flesh. How fortunate does he consider himself when the head falls to his lot! this is deemed the most delicious morsel, and is commonly distributed into many parts. I frequently wished to overcome my aversion, and taste this so highly valued food; but my



resolution was unequal to it; and I was not only unable to taste it, but even to bring it near my mouth; every time I attempted, the foetid exhalation which it emitted gave me a nausea, and disgusted me insuperably.

‘There are three sorts of inhabitants, the natives or Kamtschadales, the Russians, and Cossacks, and the descendants from intermarriages.

‘The indigenes, that is, those whose blood is unmixed, are few in number; the small pox has carried off three fourths of them, and the few that are left are dispersed through the different ostrogs of the peninsula; in Bolcheretsk it would be difficult to find more than one or two.

‘The true Kamtschadales are in general below the common height; their shape is round and squat, their eyes small and sunk, their cheeks prominent, their nose flat, their hair black, they have scarcely any beard, and their complexion is a little tawny. The complexion and features of the women are very nearly the same; from this representation, it will be supposed they are not very seducing objects.

‘The character of the Kamtschadales is mild and hospitable; they are neither knaves, nor robbers; they have indeed so little penetration, that nothing is more easy than to deceive them, as we have seen in the advantage that is taken of their propensity to intoxication. They live together in the utmost harmony, and the more so, it would seem, on account of the smallness of their number. This unanimity disposes them to assist one another in their labours, which is no small proof of their zeal to oblige, if we consider the natural and extreme slothfulness of their disposition. An active life would be insupportable to them; and the greatest happiness, in their estimation, next to that of getting drunk, is to have nothing to do, and to live for ever in tranquil indolence. This is carried so far with these people, as frequently to make them neglect the means of providing the necessaries of life; and whole families are often reduced to all the severities of famine, because they would not take the pains of providing in summer a reserve of fish, without which they are unable to live. If they neglect in this manner the preservation of their existence, it is

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not to be supposed that they are more attentive to the article of cleanliness; it displays itself neither in their persons, nor their habitations; and they may justly be reproached for being addicted to the contrary extreme.

M. Lesseps observes, that the natives, or true Kamtschadales, have preserved almost universally their ignorant simplicity and uncultivated manners; and that a part of the rest of the inhabitants, Russians and mixed breed, who have settled themselves in the ostroms where the governors reside, still retain indeed a faint shade of European manners, but not of such as are most pure. The women, he continues, in their disposition, are extremely cheerful; a little, perhaps, at the expence of decency. They endeavour to amuse the company by every thing which their gaiety and playfulness can furnish. They are fond of singing, and their voice is pleasant and agreeable; it is only to be wished that their music had less resemblance to their soil, and approached nearer to our own.

The entertainments and assemblies of the native Kamtschadales, says our author, at which I was present, offered a spectacle entitled to notice for its singularity. I know not which struck me most, the song or the dance. The dance appeared to me to be that of savages. It consisted in making regular movements, or rather unpleasant and difficult distortions, and in uttering at the same time a forced and guttural sound, like a continued hiccough, to mark the time of the air sung by the assembly, the words of which are frequently void of sense, even in Kamtschadale.

In their dances they are fond of imitating the different animals they pursue, such as the partridge and others, but principally the bear. They represent its sluggish and stupid gait, its different feelings and situations; as the young ones about their dam; the amorous sports of the male with the female; and lastly, its agitation when pursued. They must have a perfect knowledge of this animal, and have made it their particular study, for they represent all its motions as exactly, I believe, as it is possible. I asked the Russians, who were greater connoisseurs than myself, having been oftener present at the taking of these animals, whether their panto-

mime ballets were well executed; and they assured me that the dancers were the best in the country, and that the cries, gait, and various attitudes of the bear, were as accurate as life. Meanwhile, without offence to the amateurs, these dances are, in my opinion, not less fatiguing to the spectators than to the performers. It is a real pain to see them distort their hips, dislocate every limb, and wear out their lungs, to express the excess of pleasure which they take in these strange balls, which, I repeat it, resemble the absurd diversions of savages: the Kamtschadales may indeed, in many respects, be considered as of that rank.

‘ Having given an account of the address with which these people counterfeit the postures and motions of the bear, who may be called their dancing master, it may not be displeasing to relate in what manner they hunt this animal. There is a mode, very much adopted in this country, to which equal strength and courage are necessary. A Kamtschadale goes out, either alone or in company, to find a bear. He has no other arms than his gun, a kind of carabine, whose but-end is very small; a lance or spear; and his knife. His stock of provision is made up in a bundle containing about 20 fish. Thus lightly equipped, he penetrates into the thickest part of the woods, and every place that is likely to be the haunt of this animal. It is commonly in the briars, or among the rushes on the borders of lakes and rivers, that the Kamtschadale posts himself, and waits the approach of his adversary with patience and intrepidity; if it be necessary, he will remain thus in ambuscade for a whole week together, till the bear makes his appearance. The moment it comes within his reach, he fixes in the ground a forked stick belonging to his gun, by means of which he takes a truer aim, and shoots with more certainty. It is seldom that, with the smallest ball, he does not strike the bear in the head, or near the shoulder, which is the tenderest part. But he is obliged to charge again instantly, because the bear, if the first shot has not disabled him, runs at the hunter, who has not always time for a second shot. He has then recourse to his lance, with which he quickly arms himself to contend with the beast, who attacks

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him in his turn. His life is in danger if he does not give the bear a mortal thrust; and in such combats, it may be supposed the man is not always the conqueror; but this does not prevent the inhabitants of this country from daily exposing their lives; the frequent examples of the death of their countrymen has no effect upon them: indeed they never go out; without considering before hand that it is either to conquer or to die; and this severe alternative neither stops nor terrifies them.

‘ They hunt other animals nearly in the same manner, such as rein deer, argali, or wild sheep, called in Russia *diki-barani*, foxes, otters, beavers, sables, hares, &c. but they have not the same dangers to encounter; sometimes they make use of snares, constructed of wood or iron, resembling in their simplicity our pitfalls; no other attention is necessary than that of visiting them from time to time. The Kamtschadales sometimes lie in ambush, armed in the manner I have described; and the only hardship they experience results from their provision being exhausted in consequence of the long duration of their chace. They frequently submit to suffer hunger for many days together, rather than quit their stations till they have obtained the end of their pursuit; but they amply repay themselves for their fasting, by immediately devouring the flesh of the animals, and by the pleasure with which they count over the skins they obtain from them.

‘ The Kamtschadales have different seasons for fishing. Their salmon and trout season is in June, their herring season in May, and that of the sea wolf in spring and summer, but principally in autumn.

‘ Horses are very scarce in Kamtschatka. I saw some at Bolcheretsk belonging to government, and intrusted to the care of the Cossacks. They merely serve during summer for the carriage of merchandize and other effects of the crown, and for the convenience of travellers.

‘ Dogs however abound in this country, and are so serviceable to the Kamtschadales, as to render the privation of the other domestic animals less felt by them. They serve all the purposes of carriage, and are fed without difficulty or expence, their food consisting entirely of the offals, or such decayed fish

as are rejected by their masters; and even these are not allowed, unless when it is necessary. In summer, which is their season of rest, little care is taken of them; the dogs well know how to provide for themselves, by ranging over the country and along the sides of lakes and rivers; and the punctuality with which they return, is one of the most striking proofs of the fidelity of these animals. When winter arrives, they dearly pay for the liberty and temporary repose they have enjoyed. Their labour and slavery begin anew, and these dogs must have extreme vigour to be able to support them. Meanwhile they are not remarkably large, and resemble pretty exactly our mountain dogs, or such as are commonly used by shepherds. There is not an individual inhabitant, Russian or native, that has less than five. They make use of them when they travel, when they go to the forests to cut wood, and for the conveyance of their effects and provisions, as well as their persons. In short, these dogs conduct travellers from place to place, and horses could not in reality be more serviceable. They are harnessed to a sledge two and two together, with a single one before as a leader. This honour is bestowed on the most intelligent, or the best trained dog, and he understands wonderfully the terms used by the conductor to direct his course. The cry of "tagtag, tagtag," turns him to the right, and "kougha, kougha," to the left; the intelligent animal understands it immediately, and gives to the rest the example of obedience: "ah, ah," stops them, and "ha," makes them set off. The number of dogs that it is necessary to harness, depends upon the load; when it is little more than the weight of the person who mounts the sledge, it is considered as a common sledge, or *saunka*, and the team consists of four or five dogs: the sledges for baggage are called *narta*, and are drawn by 10 dogs. The harness is made of leather. It passes under the neck, that is, upon the breast of these steeds, and is joined to the sledge by a strap three feet long, in the manner of a trace: the dogs are also fastened together by couples passed through their collars; these collars are frequently covered with bear's skin, by way of ornament.

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Illustration by J. G. Thompson

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• The dogs are castrated like horses, but the mode of performing the operation is different. The Kamtschadales do not extirpate the testicles, but bruise them, and the instrument they make use of is their teeth. Some of them do not survive, and others are crippled and unfit for service. In the mean time it is imagined that equal advantage could not be derived from these animals, if they were permitted to remain in their natural state; it would not be practicable to harness them with females. All the males, however, are not mutilated; a sufficient number is reserved for the preservation of the species, and these are frequently used for hunting.

• The form of the sledge is like that of an oblong basket, the two extremities of which are elevated in a curve. Its length is about three feet, and its breadth scarcely exceeds a foot. This kind of basket, which composes the body of the sledge, is of a very thin wood; the sides are of open work, and ornamented with straps of different colours. The seat of the charioteer is covered with bear's skin, and elevated three feet from the ground, upon four legs, which diverge towards the lower extremity, and are fastened to two parallel planks, three or four inches broad. These planks are not so thick, but so long as to extend beyond the body of the sledge, to which they serve as supports and as skates. For this purpose they are furnished underneath, in time of thaw, with three or four long pieces of whale-bone, all of them of the same breadth, and fastened to the skates with leathern thongs. In front these planks bend upward, and so meet the poles of the sledge, which gradually lower for that purpose, and are adapted to receive a part of the baggage. The front of the sledge is farther adorned with floating reins or shreds of leather, which are of no use. The charioteer has nothing in his hand but a curved stick, which serves him both for rudder and whip. Iron rings are suspended at one end of the stick, as much for ornament, as to encourage the dogs by the noise which these kind of bells make, and which are frequently jingled for that purpose; the other end is sometimes pointed with iron, to make an easier impression on the ice, and serves at the same time to guide the ardour of these animals. Dogs, that are

well trained, have no need so hear the voice of the conductor, if he strike the ice with his stick, they will go to the left; if he strike the legs of the sledge, they will go to the right; and when he wishes them to stop, he has only to place the stick between the snow and the front of the sledge. When they slacken their pace, and become careless and inattentive to the signals, or to his voice, he throws his stick at them; but then the utmost address is necessary to regain it, as he proceeds rapidly along; and this is one of the strongest tests of the skill of the conductor. The Kamtschadales are singularly expert in this exercise. I was in general astonished at the dexterity they displayed in driving their sledges, and as I was soon to have the happiness of travelling in this vehicle, I conceived that I ought to practice, not so much to reconcile myself to it, as to learn to be my own guide. It was in vain they represented to me the risks I should run, by exposing myself alone in a sledge, before I had sufficient skill to know how to conduct it; at my age we are all confident, and I listened not to their cautions. The lightness of my carriage, which scarcely exceeded 10 pounds, its elevation, which rendered it more liable to be overturned, the difficulty of preserving an equilibrium, and, in short, the consequences that might attend a fall, if I lost my hold of the sledge; all these considerations, which were exposed to my view, could neither intimidate nor dissuade me from so dangerous an apprenticeship. I mounted one day my new car, consenting however to be followed, and a multitude of sledges attended me. It was not long before the company saw their predictions realized; I had advanced a very little way, when I exhibited a complete fall. Scarcely remounted, I repeated the scene, and occasioned a new burst of laughter: in spite of this, I did not lose my courage, but quickly recovered myself to be overturned as quickly. I had sufficient reason to be inured to these accidents, for in every attempt I paid the tribute of my inexperience. Seven times did I fall in taking my first lesson, but without receiving any injury; and I only with more eagerness returned to take a second, then a third; then a fourth; in short, a day scarcely passed, without my making some progress. The number of

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my falls diminished, in proportion as I acquired more knowledge and skill, and my success rendered me such an amateur of this exercise, that in a short time I acquired a degree of reputation; it cost me, however, considerable pains to habituate myself to the observance of the necessary equilibrium. The body is, as it were, in continual motion. Here we must lean to the right, because the sledge inclines to the left; there we must suddenly change to the left, because it leans to the right: the next minute, perhaps our posture must be erect; and if we fail in quickness or attention, it is seldom that an immediate overthrow is not the consequence. In falling, it is still necessary not to quit the vehicle, but to hold it as firm as possible, in order to create a sufficient weight to impede the dogs, who will otherwise advance full speed. The common mode of sitting in a sledge is side ways, as a lady rides on horseback; we may also sit astride; but the point of main difficulty, the *ne plus ultra* of address and of grace, is to be able to stand upon one leg: it is excellent to see an adept in this striking attitude.

For myself, I was no sooner able to drive than I abandoned every other mode of conveyance. Always accompanied, because of the roads, I sometimes took a ride, and sometimes went a hunting. The tracks of hares and partridges were perceptible on the snow, and to such a degree, that it appeared full of holes like a sieve. The snow was frequently so deep in the woods, that it was impossible to proceed a step without sinking in; our resource in that case was to quit our sledges, which were no longer serviceable to us, and turn them upon their side. Having taken this precaution, which was sufficient to retain our dogs, who immediately laid themselves down in a circular form upon the snow, and patiently waited the return of their guides; we fastened to the soles of our feet, with leather thongs, rackets, made of thin board, six or eight inches wide and four feet long, the front of which turned up like plates, and the bottom was covered with the skin of the sea wolf or rein deer. Furnished with these kind of shoes, we continued our chase; I had at first some difficulty to accustom myself to them, and I fell more than once both upon my back and my face; but the pleasure of a good chase made me soon

forget these accidents. Though it was difficult to perceive the hares and partridges, whose whiteness equalled that of the snow, I did not fail, after a little practice, and some instructions, to bring home a tolerable number.'

The Kamtschadales pay an annual tribute to the Russians; but are not much oppressed by their conquerors. Lesseps adduces several particulars to shew the mildness of the government.

When the weather became settled, our traveller and his party prepared to proceed. 'We furnished ourselves,' says he, 'in the best manner we could with brandy, beef, rye, flour, and oat-meal. A considerable quantity of loaves were prepared for us, of which we reserved some to supply us during the first few days of our journey, and the rest were cut into thin slices and baked in an oven like biscuits: what was left of our flour, we put into sacks as a resource in time of need.

'M. Kasloff had ordered that as many dogs as possible should be collected. Multitudes were presently brought from all the neighbouring ostrogs; we had also provision for them in abundance, the only difficulty was how we should carry it. We had resolved to set off early in the morning of 27th January; but when we came to load our sledges, we found our baggage so considerable, that, in spite of the number of hands employed, it was not completed till the evening. We were out of humour; no day in my life ever appeared so tedious. Vexed at the delay, we would not defer our departure till the next day, and were no sooner informed that every thing was ready, than we ran to our sledges and were out of Bolcheretsk in a moment.

'We started at seven o'clock. It was moonlight, and the snow added to its brightness. Our departure merits a description. Conceive of our numerous cavalcade amounting to 35 sledges. In the first was a sergeant of the name of Kabochoff, who was appointed to superintend and direct our procession. He gave the signal, and instantly all these sledges set off in file. They were drawn by 300 dogs of equal courage and speed; 45 of which were harnessed to M. Kasloff's sledge and 37 to mine. Presently the line was broken, the order

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disturbed, and all was confusion. A spirited emulation animated the conductors, and it became as it were a chariot race. It was who should drive fastest; no one was willing to be outstripped; the dogs themselves could not bear this affront; they partook the rivalry of their masters, fought with one another to obtain the precedence, and the sledges were overturned, frequently at the risk of being dashed to pieces. The clamour of those who were overturned, the yelping of the struggling dogs, the mixed cry of those that proceeded, and the confused and continual chattering of the guides, completed the disorder, and prevented us both from knowing and hearing one another.

‘To enjoy this tumult the more at my ease, I quitted my sledge where I was imprisoned, and placed myself in a smaller one, in which, beside the pleasure of driving myself, I could see what was passing around me. Fortunately no accident happened, and I had no reason to repent of my curiosity. This embarrassment was chiefly occasioned by the concourse of the inhabitants of Bolcheretsk, who, from attachment as well as respect, were desirous of accompanying M. Kasloff to Apatchin, where we arrived about midnight: the distance of Bolcheretsk from this ostrog is 44 wersts.

‘A few moments after our arrival a tempestuous wind arose, which would greatly have incommoded us, if it had happened during our route. It continued the rest of the night and all the next day, which we were obliged therefore to spend at Apatchin.

‘Here we received the last adieu of the inhabitants of Bolcheretsk. I was struck with their gratitude and attachment to M. Kasloff, and the regret they expressed at leaving him, as well as their concern for me, and the interest they took in the success of my journey. I was the more pleased with their attentions, as I had observed while at Bolcheretsk, that the French nation was not held in any high esteem by them; they had even so bad an opinion of us, that it was with difficulty they were brought to believe what had been told them of the politeness and cordiality of the crews of the French frigates to the inhabitants of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. In proportion



however as they heard their countrymen extol our conduct, their prejudice grew weaker. I endeavoured by my conversation and behaviour to destroy it entirely. I dare not flatter myself to have succeeded; but it appeared to me that a complete change at last took place in their sentiments respecting us.

The disadvantageous impression which they had imbibed of the character and genius of our nation, originated in the perfidy and cruelty exhibited in the person of the famous Beniowsky in this part of the peninsula. This slave called himself a Frenchman, and acted like a true Vandal.

His history is known. During the troubles of 1769 he served in Poland under the colours of the confederates. His intrepidity induced them to make choice of him to command a medley troop of foreigners, or rather robbers, like himself, whom they kept in pay, not from choice but necessity. With Beniowsky at their head, they ransacked the country, massacring every one they met. He harassed the Russians, to whom he was as formidable as to his own countrymen. They soon felt the necessity of getting rid of so dangerous an enemy: he was taken prisoner, and it may be supposed they adopted no very lenient measures respecting him. Banished to Siberia, and afterwards to Kamtschatka, his fiery and vindictive genius accompanied him. Escaped from the mountains of snow, under which the Russians supposed him to be buried, he suddenly made his appearance at Bolcheretsk with a troop of exiles, to whom he had imparted a spark of his own audacity. He surprized the garrison and took possession of the arms; the governor, M. Nilloff, was killed by his own hand. There was a vessel in this port; he seized it: every one trembled at his aspect; all submitted to his will. He compelled the poor Kamtschadales to furnish him with the provisions he demanded; and not content with the sacrifices obtained, he gave up their habitations to the unbridled licentiousness of his banditti, to whom he set the example of villainy and ferocity. He embarked at length with his companions, and sailed, it was said, towards China, carrying with him the execrations of the people of Kamtschatka. This suppositious Frenchman was the only one they had yet seen in the peninsula; and from such a

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At the close of the first day's journey, our travellers were kindly entertained at the ostrog of Malkin; but our author states, that his repose was terribly interrupted by the noise of their steeds, to which he was not yet accustomed. 'The shrill and incessant howlings of these cursed animals,' says he, 'seemed close at my ears, and prevented me from sleeping during the whole night. It is necessary to have heard this nocturnal music, the most disagreeable I ever experienced, to judge of what I suffered in habituating myself to it; for in the course of my journey I was obliged to learn to rest in defiance of it. After a few bad nights, sleep at last overpowered me, and I was insensible to all noise. By degrees I became so inured to the cries of these animals, that I could repose in the midst of them in perfect tranquillity. I shall mention in this place, that the dogs are only fed once a day, at the end of their journey; their repast consists commonly of a dried salmon distributed to each of them.'

After travelling for some days through the snow, and over very bad roads, our traveller separated from M. Kasloff, that he might travel with the more expedition, so as to be able to spend a day with the baron de Steinheil. 'The cold,' says he, 'was so severe, that notwithstanding the precaution I took of covering my face with a handkerchief, my cheeks were frozen in less than half an hour. I had recourse to the usual remedy, that of rubbing my face with snow, and was relieved at the expence of an acute pain that continued for several days. Though my face was thus frozen, the rest of my body experienced the contrary effect. I conducted my own sledge; and the continual motion which this exercise requires, added to the weight of my Kamtschadale dress, threw me into a violent perspiration, and fatigued me extremely.

'My dress merits a particular description; by which it will be seen that it gave me no very alert appearance. Commonly I wore merely a simple parque of deers' skin, and a fur cap, which upon occasion would cover my ears and part of my cheeks. When the cold was more piercing, I added to my

dress two *kouklanki*, a kind of parque that was larger and made of thicker skin; one of them had the hair on the inside, and the other on the outside. In the severest weather, I put on over all this, another *kouklanki*, still thicker, made of argali, or dogs' skin, the hairy side of which is always undermost, and the leather or external surface of the skin painted red. To these *kouklanki* a small bib is fixed before, so as to guard the face against the wind: they have also hoods behind, which fall upon the shoulders. Sometimes these three hoods, one upon another, composed my head dress, by being drawn over my common cap. My neck was defended by a cravat called *ocheinik*, made of sable, or the tail of a fox, and my chin with a chin-cloth made in like manner of sable, and fastened upon my head. As the forehead is very susceptible of cold, it was covered with an otter or sable fillet, and this was covered again by my cap. My fur breeches gave me more warmth than all the rest of my dress, complicated as it was. I had double deers' skin spatterdashes, with hair on both sides, and which are called in Kamtschatka *tchigi*. I then put my legs into boots made of deers' skins, the feet having an interior sole of *touchitcha*, a very soft grass, which has the quality of preserving heat. Notwithstanding these precautions, my feet, after travelling two or three hours, were very wet, either from perspiration or the gradual penetration of the snow; and if I stood still for a moment in my sledge, they became immediately frozen. At night I took off these spatterdashes, and put on a large pair of fur stockings made of deer or argali skin, and called *ounti*.

Having arrived at Machoure, the residence of the baron, he spent the day very agreeably, and in the evening was joined by M. Kasloff. 'All the Kamtschadales of this village,' he observes, 'men and women, are chamans, or believers in the witchcraft of these pretended sorcerers. They dread to an excess the popes or Russian priests, for whom they entertain the most inveterate hatred. They do all they can to avoid meeting them. This is sometimes impossible, and in that case, when they find them at hand they act the hypocrite, and make their escape the first opportunity that offers. I attribute this

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fear to the ardent zeal which these priests have doubtless shown for the extirpation of idolatry, and which the Kamtschadales consider as persecution. They accordingly look upon them as their greatest enemies. Perhaps they have reason to believe, that in wishing to convert them, the overthrow of their idols was not the only thing these missionaries had in view. These popes probably set them no example of the virtues upon which they declaim. It is suspected that their object is the acquisition of wealth, rather than of proselytes, and the gratification of their inordinate propensity to drunkenness. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the inhabitants retain their ancient errors. They pay a secret homage to their god *Koutka*, and place in him so entire a confidence, that they address their prayers exclusively to him when they are desirous of obtaining any boon, or of engaging in any enterprize. When they go to the chase, they abstain from washing themselves, and are careful not to make the sign of the cross: they invoke their *Koutka*, and the first animal they catch is immediately sacrificed to him. After this act of devotion they conceive that their chase will be successful; on the contrary, if they were to cross themselves, they would despair of catching any thing. It is also a part of their superstition to consecrate to *Koutka* their new-born children, who, the moment they have left their cradle, are destined to become chamans. The veneration of the inhabitants of their village for sorcerers can scarcely be conceived; it approaches to insanity, and is really to be pitied; for the extravagant and wild absurdities by which these magicians keep alive the credulity of their compatriots, excites our indignation rather than our laughter. At present they do not profess their art openly, or give the same splendour they once did to their necromancy. They no longer decorate their garments with mystic rings and other symbolic figures of metal, that jingled together upon the slightest motion of their body. In like manner they have abandoned the kind of kettle, which they used to strike with a sort of musical intonation in their pretended enchantments, and with which they announced their approach. In short, they have forsaken all their magic instruments. The following are the ceremonies

they observe in their assemblies, which they are careful to hold in secret, though not the less frequently on that account. Conceive of a circle of spectators, stupidly rapt in attention and ranged round the magician, male or female, for as I have before observed, the women are equally initiated into the mysteries. All at once he begins to sing, or to utter shrill sounds without either measure or signification. The docile assembly strike in with him, and the concert becomes a medley of harsh and insupportable discords. By degrees the chaman is warmed, and he begins to dance to the confused accents of his auditory, who become hoarse and exhausted from the violence of their exertions. As the prophetic spirit is excited in the minister of their Koutka, the animation of the dance increases. Like the Pythian on the tripas, he rolls his ghastly and haggard eyes; all his motions are convulsive; his mouth is drawn awry, his limbs stiffened, and every distortion and grimace is put in practice by him, to the great admiration of his disciples. Having acted these buffooneries for some time, he suddenly stops, as if inspired, and becomes now as composed as he was before agitated. It is the sacred collectedness of a man full of the god that governs him, and who is about to speak by his voice. Surprized and trembling, the assembly is instantly mute, in expectation of the marvels that are to be revealed. The self-created prophet then utters at different intervals, broken sentences, words without meaning, and whatever nonsense comes into the head of the impostor; and this is invariably considered as the effect of inspiration. His jargon is accompanied either with a torrent of tears or loud bursts of laughter, according to the complexion of the tidings he has to announce; and the expression and gesture of the orator vary in conformity to his feelings. I was furnished with this account by persons entitled to credit, and who had contrived to be present at these absurd revelations.

'There seems to be,' our author adds, 'some analogy between these chamans, and the sect called quakers. The quakers pretend equally to inspiration, and there are individuals among them, who, guided by its supposed impulse, hold forth in their silent meetings, and break out in piteous lamen-

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tations, or sudden starts of extravagant joy. The difference is this: these prompt orators harangue extempore upon the subject of morality, whose fundamental principles they endeavour to recommend; whereas the Kamtschadale declaimers understand not a word of what they utter, and only make use of their mysterious and hypocritical jargon to increase the idolatry of their stupid admirers.

Next day our traveller proceeded on the Kamtschatka, the ice of which was firm and perfectly smooth; and our author discovered three volcanoes in his route. Having passed over many long dreary heaths and dangerous defiles, he at last had the pleasure to reach Nijenei, the capital of Kamtschatka.

'It presents to our view,' says Lesseps, 'merely a cluster of houses, with the steeples rising above them, and is situated upon the borders of the Kamtschatka, in a bason formed by a chain of mountains that raise their lofty heads around it, but which are however at a considerable distance. Such is the position of the town of Nijenei, of which I had a higher opinion before I saw it. The houses, amounting to about 150, are of wood, built in a very bad taste, small, and buried beside under the snow, which the hurricanes collect there. These hurricanes prevail almost continually in this quarter, and have only ceased within a few days. There are two churches at Nijenei, one is in the town, and has two steeples; the other belongs to, and is in the circuit of the fort. These two buildings are wretchedly constructed. The fort is almost in the middle of the town, and is a large palisaded enclosure of a square form. Beside the church, the enclosure contains also the magazines, the arsenal, and the guard-house: a sentinel is stationed at the entrance both day and night. The house of the governor, major Orleankoff, is near the fortress, and, its size excepted, is similar to the rest of the houses; it is neither higher, nor built in a better taste.

'I alighted at the house of an unfortunate exile, named Snafidoff, who had suffered the same punishment as Ivaschkin, nearly at the same time, but for different causes: like Ivaschkin, he had been banished to Kamtschatka ever since the year 1744.



‘ I had scarcely entered, when an officer from M. Orleanhoff came to congratulate me upon my happy arrival. He was followed by many of the principal officers of the town, who came one after another in the most obliging manner to offer me their services. I expressed a becoming sense of their civilities, but was mortified at their having taken me by surprize. As soon as I was dressed, I hastened to return my thanks to each of them separately. I began with major Orleanhoff, whom I found busily preparing for an entertainment that he was to give the next day, upon the marriage of a Pole in the Russian service, with the niece of the prapape, or chief priest. He had not only the politeness to invite me to the wedding, but came to me in the morning, and conducted me to his house, that I might lose no part of this spectacle, which he rightly judged was calculated to interest me.

‘ In the mean time what struck me most was the strictness of the ceremonial. The distinction of rank seemed to be observed with the most scrupulous delicacy. The formality, compliments, and cold civilities, which opened the entertainment, gave it a starchy air, that promised more dulness than gaiety. The repast was the most sumptuous the country could furnish. Among other dishes there was a variety of soups, accompanied with cold meats, upon which we fed heartily. The second service consisted of roasted dishes and pastry. The dinner had less the appearance of sensuality than profusion. The liquors were the produce of the different fruits of the country, boiled up and mixed with French brandy. But a profusion of the brandy of the country, made from the slatkaia-trava, or sweet herb, was almost continually served round in preference. This liquor has no disagreeable taste, and is even aromatic; they use it the more readily, as it is less unwholesome than the brandy distilled from corn. The guests by degrees assumed an air of good humour. Their heads were not proof against the fumes of so strong a beverage, and soon the grossest mirth circulated round the table. To this noisy and sumptuous feast a ball succeeded, that was conducted with tolerable regularity. The company were gay, and amused themselves till the evening with the Russian country dances.

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The festival ended with a splendid firework, that had been prepared by M. Orleankoff, and which he himself let off. It was only a trifling one, but it had a good effect, and left nothing to be desired. I enjoyed the astonishment and extasy of the spectators, who were little accustomed to exhibitions of this nature: it was a subject for a painter. Rapt in admiration, they exclaimed in full chorus at every squib. The regret they expressed at its short duration afforded me equal amusement. It was necessary to attend to extravagant encomiums that were unanimously bestowed upon them; and on departing, every individual sighed over the remembrance of all the pleasures of the day.

‘The next day I was invited to the house of the protapope, uncle to the bride, where the entertainment was similar to that of the preceding one, except the firework. The protapope is chief of all the churches in Kamtschatka. The clergy throughout the peninsula are subordinate to him, and he has the decision of all ecclesiastical affairs. His residence is at Nijenei. He is an old man, not entirely deprived of his vigour, with a long white beard which flows down upon his breast and gives him a truly venerable appearance. His conversation is sensible, sprightly, and calculated to gain him the respect and affection of the people.

‘But what most interested me at Nijenei, and what I cannot pass over in silence, was my finding there nine Japanese, who had been brought thither in the preceding summer, from the Aleutienne islands, by a Russian vessel employed in the trade of otter skins.’

Having spent three days at Nijenei our author departed, and in three days reached Yelofki, where he again joined M. Kasloff, who was astonished at his expedition. Here he was detained five days longer; but, on the 19th of February, he set off in company with his friend.

‘We travelled 54 wersts gently enough;’ says he, ‘but in the afternoon we were suddenly overtaken by a terrible tempest from the west and north-west. We were in an open country, and the whirlwinds became so violent, that it was impossible to proceed. The snow, which they raised in the

air at every blast, formed a thick fog, and our guides, notwithstanding their knowledge of the roads, could no longer be answerable for not misleading us. We could not prevail on them to conduct us any farther: and yet it was dreadful to lie to at the mercy of so impetuous a hurricane. As to myself, I confess that I began to suffer extremely, when our guides proposed to lead us to a wood that was not far off, and where we should at least find some kind of shelter. We hesitated not a moment to avail ourselves of their civility; but before we quitted the road, it was necessary to wait till our sledges could be assembled, or we should otherwise run the risk of being separated from one another, and entirely lost. Having effected this, we gained the wood, which was happily at the distance that we had been informed. Our halt took place about two o'clock in the afternoon.

'The first care of our Kamtschadales was to dig a hole in the snow, which was in this place at least six feet deep; others fetched wood, and a fire being quickly lighted, the kettle was set on. A light repast, and a small dram of brandy, soon recovered all our company. As the night approached, we were employed upon the means of passing it in the least uncomfortable manner. Each prepared his own bed: mine was my vezock, where I could lie down at my ease; but except M. Kasloff, there was no other person who had so convenient a carriage. How, said I to myself, will these poor creatures contrive to sleep? I was soon relieved from my anxiety on their account. The manner in which they prepared their beds, deserves to be mentioned, though they did not observe much ceremony on the occasion. Having dug a hole in the snow, they covered it with the branches of trees, the smallest they could get; then wrapping themselves up in a *kouklanki*, with the hood drawn over their heads, they lay down on their bed as if it were the best in the world. As to our dogs, they were unharnessed, and tied to the trees that were near us, where they passed the night in their usual manner.'

Before it was light our travellers proceeded on their journey, but were obliged to halt at the next ostrog, the dogs being almost exhausted with fatigue. Having again set off

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and travelled two days, they once more approached the sea, which was covered with ice 30 wersts from the land. They travelled along the coast two days and then reached an ostrog on the river Karaga, which forms the limits of Kamtschatka. Here they were compelled to wait for a stock of dried fish, before they attempted to pass the desert; during which our author describes the *yourts* used in this country.

‘These strange houses,’ says he, ‘are sunk in the earth, as I before observed, and the top, which appears above ground, is like a truncated cone. To form a just idea of them, we must conceive of a large square hole about 12 or 14 yards in diameter, and eight feet deep; the four sides are lined with joists or boards, and the interstices of these walls are filled up with earth, straw, or dried grass, and stones. In the bottom of this hole various posts are fixed, that support the cross beams upon which the roof rests. The roof begins upon a level with the ground, and rises four feet above it; it is two feet thick, has a very gradual slope, and is made of the same materials as the walls. Towards the top is a square opening, about four feet long and three wide, which serves as a passage for the smoke and an entrance to the yurt, where the women as well as the men go in and out by means of a ladder, or notched beam, that is raised to a level with this opening. There is another very low entrance in one side of the yurt, but it is considered as a kind of disgrace to make use of it. I shall terminate the description of the exterior part of these habitations by adding, that they are surrounded with tolerably high palisades, doubtless as a protection against the gales of wind, or falls of snow; it is said, however, that these enclosures formerly served as ramparts to defend these people against their enemies.

‘We have no sooner descended these savage abodes, than we wish ourselves out again; the view and the smell are equally offensive. The interior part consists of one entire room, about 10 feet high. A bench, five feet wide, and covered with various skins, half worn out, extends all round it. This bench is only a foot from the ground, and commonly serves as a bed for a number of families. I have counted in

one yourt more than 20 persons, men, women, and children. They eat, drink, and sleep, pell mell together, satisfy all the calls of nature without restraint or modesty, and never complain of the noxious air that prevails in these places. It is true there is a fire almost incessantly. The fire-place is commonly either in the middle of the yourt or against one of the sides. In the evening they rake the coals in a heap, and shut the entrance of the yourt, where the smoke should evaporate; and thus the heat is concentrated, and kept up during the whole night. By means of a dismal lamp, the form and disagreeable smell of which I have before described, we discover in one corner of the apartment a wretched image of some saint, shining with grease and blackened with smoke. It is before these images that the Kamtschadales bow themselves, and offer their prayer. The rest of the furniture consists of seats and some vessels, made either of wood, or the bark of trees. Their cookery utensils are of copper or iron; but they are all disgustingly filthy. The remains of their dried fish is scattered about the room, and the women or the children are continually broiling pieces of salmon skin, which is one of their favourite meats.

‘The singularity of the children’s dress particularly attracted my attention; it is said exactly to resemble that of the Koriacs. It consists of only one garment, that is, of a single deer skin, that covers and sits close to every part of the body, so that the children seem to be entirely sewed up. An opening at the bottom, before and behind, affords an opportunity of cleaning them. This opening is covered with another piece of skin, which may be fastened and lifted up at pleasure; it supports a tuft of moss, placed like a clout between the legs of the child, and which is renewed as often as it becomes necessary. Besides the common sleeves, there are two others hanging to the garment to place the arms of the child in when it is cold; the extremities are sewed up, and the sleeves lined on the inside with moss. There is also a hood fitted to it, made of the same materials as the rest of the dress; but in yourts the heads of the children are always bare, and the hood hangs therefore upon their shoulders. Besides all this, they have a deer skin

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girt, which serves as a sash. The women carry their children on their back by means of a string, which passes round the forehead of the mother and under the buttocks of the child.'

The manners of the inhabitants of this place are very similar to those of the neighbouring Koriacs. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. 'By a refinement,' observes Lesseps, 'that I cannot account for, they mix ashes with the tobacco to make it stronger. We gave them some snuff, and they applied it not to their nose, but to their mouth. I examined their pipes: they are of the same shape as those of the Chinese, made of bone, and very small. When they make use of them, they do not emit the smoke from their mouth, but swallow it with great gratification.'

All the chiefs of the different ostrogs which our travellers had passed, out of respect to M. Kasloff, had escorted them; and now took a most affectionate leave; but not without soliciting M. Lesseps to receive something from them. Their civility and hospitality were indeed uniform and sincere. On the 29th of February, the long expected provisions arrived; but a severe hurricane of wind, accompanied with snow, rendered travelling impossible. Our author continues:

'To divert our attention, it was proposed to us to try the abilities of a celebrated female dancer, who was a Kamtschadale, and lived in this ostrog. The encomiums bestowed upon her excited our curiosity, and we sent for her; but either from caprice or ill humour she refused to dance, and paid no regard to our invitation. It was in vain they represented that her refusal was disrespectful to the governor general; no consideration could induce her to comply. Fortunately we had some brandy by us, and a bumper or two seemed to effect a change in her inclinations. At the same time a Kamtschadale, at our request, began to dance before her, challenging her by his voice and gestures. Gradually her eyes sparkled, her countenance became convulsive, and her whole frame shook upon the bench where she sat. To the enticements and shrill song of the dancer, she answered in similar accents, beating time with her head, which turned in every direction. The movements became at last so rapid, that, no longer able to contain



herself, she darted from her seat, and in turn defied her man by cries and distortions still more extravagant. It is not easy to express the absurdity of the dance. All her limbs seemed to be disjointed; she moved them with equal strength and agility; she tore her clothes, and fixed her hands to her bosom with a kind of rage as if she would tear it also. These singular transports were accompanied with still more singular postures; and in short, it was no longer a woman, but a fury. In her blind frenzy she would have rushed into the fire that was kindled in the middle of the room, if her husband had not taken the precaution of placing a bench before it to prevent her; during the whole dance indeed he took care to keep himself close to her. When he saw that her head was perfectly gone, that she staggered on all sides, and could no longer support herself without laying hold of her fellow dancer, he took her up in his arms and placed her upon a bench, where she fell, like an inanimate clod, without consciousness, and out of breath. She continued five minutes in this situation. Meanwhile the Kamtschadale, proud of his triumph, continued to dance and to sing. Recovering from her swoon, the woman heard him, and suddenly, in spite of her weakness, she raised herself up, uttered some inarticulate sounds, and would have begun again this laborious contest. Her husband kept her back, and interceded for her; but the conqueror, believing himself to be indefatigable, continued his jeers and bantering, and were obliged to exert our authority to quiet them. In spite of the praises that were lavished upon the talents of these actors, the scene, I confess, afforded me no amusement, but on the contrary, considerable disgust.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 2d of March, the weather became calm, and our travellers set off. 'Upon the approach of night,' says our narrator, 'we stopped in the open country and erected our tents. Under the largest, belonging to M. Kasloff, were placed his vezock and mine, the door of the one against the door of the other, so that by letting down the windows, we were able to converse together. The other sledges were ranged two abreast round our tents, and the spaces between, being covered with linen or skins, served our

guides and themselves, of our halt.

'As soon as we were prepared for our corporal preparation, which were scarce, but his agent. He carried a biscuit of bread, which was prepared. He took a piece of boiling water. They were ready in

Our travels in the morning, and the wretched village occurred.

'We had a dispute arose between the village, to which he bluntly that they went to another the little intimidated knives, which but they were. As soon as M. Kasloff ordered that the guides were brought before to awe the rest to hasten the beginning to comply countrymen we murmured still desiring to pacify had left his arms upon a motion of him. He had a

guides and our suite as places where they might shelter themselves, and prepare their beds. Such was the disposition of our halt.

'As soon as our kettle boiled we took tea, and then prepared for our supper, which was our only meal every day. A corporal presided as *maitre d'hote* and as cook. The meats which were prepared by him were neither numerous nor delicate, but his quickness and our appetites rendered us indulgent. He commonly served us up a kind of soup made up of a biscuit of black bread, and mixed with rice and oatmeal. It was prepared in half an hour, and in the following manner. He took a piece of beef, or flesh of rein deer, and put it into boiling water, having first cut it into very thin slices, which were ready in an instant.'

Our travellers proceeded on their journey early in the morning, and after travelling nearly two days, arrived at a wretched village, called Gavenki, where the following incident occurred.

'We had not been an hour at Gavenki, when a dispute arose between a sergeant of our company, and two peasants of the village, to whom he had applied for wood. They answered bluntly that they would not give him any. From one thing to another the quarrel became violent. The Kamtschadales, little intimidated by the threats of the sergeant, drew their knives, which they wear in their girdles, and fell upon him; but they were immediately disarmed by two of our soldiers. As soon as M. Kasloff was informed of this violence, he ordered that the guilty should be punished as an example. They were brought before the yourt in which we were, and in order to awe the rest of the inhabitants, M. Kasloff went out himself to hasten the punishment. I was left with the toyon, who began to complain to me of the rigour with which his two countrymen were treated. The family surrounded me and murmured still louder. I was alone; meanwhile I was endeavouring to pacify them, when I perceived that the governor had left his arms behind him. I hastily caught up our sabres, upon a motion which the toyon made to go out, and followed him. He had already joined M. Kasloff, and stirring up all

his neighbours, he demanded in a high tone that the delinquents should be released. He was himself, he said, their sole judge, and it belonged to him only to punish them. To these seditious clamours M. Kasloff answered by a stern look, which disconcerted the effrontery both of the peasants and their chiefs. The toyon still muttered some words, but he was seized and forced to assist in the chastisement that he had been so desirous of preventing. One of the culprits was a young man about 18 years of age, and the other from 28 to 30. They were stripped and laid prostrate on the ground; two soldiers held their hands and their feet, while four others bestowed upon their shoulders a copious distribution of lashes. They were whipped in this manner one after another with rods of dried fir, till their bodies were covered with blood. At the entreaties of the women, whom the weakness of the sex renders every where compassionate, the intended punishment was lessened, and the young man given up to them. They immediately gave him a fine lecture on the folly of his conduct, which they might have spared, as he was scarcely in a situation to attend to it, and still less to think of repeating his crime.

'In this place,' our author continues, 'in spite of all our importunities, we could get no provision for our dogs. They coldly informed us that they had none; but their equivocal answers betrayed them, and our people soon satisfied themselves of its falsehood. By means of our dogs, whose nose and hunger were infallible guides, they quickly discovered the subterraneous reservoirs, where the inhabitants had, upon our approach, buried their provisions, though the utmost care had been taken to conceal all vestiges of them, by artfully covering them with earth and snow. At the sight of these caves, and the fish that were drawn from them, these peasants began to allege the most paltry reasons to justify their conduct, and which only tended to increase our indignation. We had some sentiments of humanity, or we should have taken their whole stock; we contented ourselves with a small part. From the nature of the provisions it appeared that these coasts afforded them salmon, herring, cod, morse, and other amphibious animals.'

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When our travellers left this inhospitable place they journeyed above five days, in bad weather, with little water or wood, and with a scanty supply of provisions. Many of the dogs died of hunger and fatigue; and, at last, they were obliged to leave their equipage with a guard, and proceed with such dogs as seemed most able to travel. For upwards of 150 miles they were more on foot than in their sledges, as the dogs were continually dropping down dead. 'Our conductors,' says Lesseps, 'could not make them go on without harnessing themselves in like manner to the sledge, and thus assist them to draw us along; we encouraged them also by showing them a handkerchief folded up in the shape of a fish. They followed this bait, which disappeared the moment they approached near enough to lay hold of it.

'It was by these contrivances that we were able to pass the mountain that leads to Poustaretsk. From the civil manner in which the women received us, I considered myself as safe the moment I set foot in this hamlet. Six of them came to meet us, exhibiting the most absurd demonstrations of joy. We understood, from some words they spoke, that their husbands were gone to the ostrog of Potkagornoï in pursuit of whales. They conducted us to their habitations, singing and skipping about us like so many maniacs. One of them took off her *parque*, made of the skin of a young deer, and put it upon M. Kasloff; the rest by loud bursts of laughter expressed their satisfaction at our arrival, which they said was unexpected. This was scarcely probable, but we pretended to believe them, in hopes of meeting with the better fare.

'We entered Poustaretsk on the 9th of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon. Our first precaution was to visit the reservoirs of fish. How great was our mortification to find them empty! We immediately suspected that the inhabitants had acted in the same manner as those of Gavenki; and we questioned the women, and ransacked every probable place, persuaded that they had concealed their provisions. The more they denied it, the farther we pursued our researches. They were however fruitless, and we could find nothing.

‘ During this interval our dogs had been unharnessed in order to be tied up in troops as usual. They were no sooner fastened to the posts, than they fell upon their strings and their harnesses, and devoured them in a moment. It was in vain that we attempted to retain them; the majority escaped into the country, and wandered about consuming whatever their teeth could penetrate. Some died, and became immediately the prey of the rest. They rushed with eagerness upon the dead carcasses, and tore them to pieces. Every limb that any individual seized upon was contested by a troop of competitors, who attacked it with equal avidity: if he fell under their numbers, he became in turn the object of a new combat. To the horror of seeing them devour one another, succeeded the melancholy spectacle of those that beset our yourt. The leanness of these poor beasts was truly affecting: they could scarcely stand upon their legs. By their plaintive and incessant cries, they seemed to address themselves to our compassion, and to reproach our incapacity to relieve them. Many of them, who suffered as much from cold as from hunger, laid themselves down by the opening made in the roof of the yourt to let out the smoke. The more they felt the benefit of the heat, the nearer they approached; and, at last, either from faintness, or inability to preserve an equilibrium, they fell into the fire before our eyes.

‘ Shortly after our arrival the guide returned, who had accompanied the soldier sent out six days before to Kaminoi to procure us succour. He informed us that our messenger was reduced to the last extremity, and considered himself as fortunate in having found, 12 wersts to the north of Pousteretsk, a miserable deserted yourt, where he had sheltered himself from the tempests, which had misled him no less than 10 times. The provision we had given him for himself and his dogs was all consumed, and he waited impatiently till he should be relieved from his embarrassment, without which it was impossible for him to come out of his asyllum, either for the purpose of executing his commission, or of returning back to us.

‘ M. Kasloff, far from being cast down by this new disappointment, animated our courage by communicating to us the

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last expedients he had resolved to employ. He had already, upon the intelligence of a whale being driven on shore near Potkagornoi, dispatched an express to that village. The utmost expedition was recommended, and he was to bring as much of the flesh and fat of the whale as he could. This resource however being uncertain, M. Kasloff proposed that we should sacrifice the small quantity of provision which each of us had intended to reserve for the support of his own dogs. This contribution was for sergeant Kabechoff, who had offered to go to Kaminoi. In the distress in which we were, the most feeble ray of hope was sufficient to induce us to risk our all. We embraced therefore the proposal with transport, confiding in the zeal and ability of this sergeant.

‘He departed on the 10th, minutely instructed upon the subject of his journey, and carrying with him the whole of our provisions. In his way he was to take up our poor soldier, and from thence to proceed to fulfil the commission in which he had failed. Having taken all these precautions, we exhorted one another to patience, and endeavoured to divert our anxiety by waiting till it should please providence to deliver us.’

This village was situated on the sea coast. The inhabitants spend the summer in fishing and hunting. The women are much employed in dressing and sewing deer skins. Their thread is made of the sinews of the deer stripped very slender. They are very fond of smoking. Their pipes will scarcely contain more than a pinch of tobacco, which they renew till they have satiated themselves; and this is effected in the following manner. By swallowing the smoke, instead of blowing it out, they gradually become so intoxicated that they would, if they were near it, fall into the fire. Experience has happily taught them to attend to the progress of this species of trance, and they have the precaution to sit down or to lay hold of the first object within their reach. The fit lasts them at least for a quarter of an hour, during which time their situation is the most painful that can be conceived. Their bodies are covered with a cold perspiration, the saliva distils from their lips, their



breathing is short, and attended with a constant inclination to cough. It is only when they have brought themselves into this situation, that they conceive themselves to have enjoyed the true pleasure of smoking.

Here our travellers were detained by a terrible storm, which increased their difficulties and prolonged their misery; nor were their painful reflections lessened by being informed that no succour was to be expected from Kaminoi. This melancholy news deprived them of all hope; and M. Kasloff of any pleasure from the news which he received here of being advanced to the government of Yakoutsik. In this state of cruel suspense our author thus expresses himself:

‘In a moment thus critical, I can only ascribe to the inspiration of heaven, the idea that suddenly occurred to me of separating myself from M. Kasloff. In reflecting upon it, I perceived every thing there was in it disobliging to him, and mortifying to me. I endeavoured to drive the idea from my mind, but it was in vain. It returned, it fixed itself there in spite of me. I thought of my country, of my family, of my duty. Their power over me was invincible, and I disclosed myself to the governor. Upon the first view it appeared to him to be a wild project, and he failed not to oppose it. The desire of executing it, furnished me with a ready answer to all his objections. I proved to him, that by continuing together, we deprived each other of the means of pursuing his journey. We could not set off together without a strong reinforcement of dogs. We had scarcely more than 27 that were at all tolerable, the rest having died or being unfit for service. By giving up these 27 dogs, one of us would be able to proceed, and his departure would relieve the other from the difficulty of maintaining this small number of famished steeds. But, said M. Kasloff, you must still have provision for them, and what means are there of procuring it?’

At this juncture the party received a fortunate supply of the flesh and fat of the whale; and M. Lesseps was enabled to set off on the 18th. He was furnished by the friendly Russian with letters, a soldier for an escort, and a chosen guide from the Koriacs.

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In travelling along the sea coast our author was frequently in danger of being dashed to pieces, by the piles of ice which every way presented themselves. On the second day the way appeared still more terrible, and 'in a few hours,' says he, 'I felt myself' so fatigued that I was going to mount my sledge, when a sudden jolt instantly turned it upon its side, and effectually cooled my desire. I had no resource but to drag myself on as well as I could. My legs bent under me, I was in a profuse perspiration, and a burning thirst still added to my weariness. The snow was a poor relief, and I had nothing else with which to quench my thirst. Unfortunately I perceived a river; absolute necessity conducted my steps to it, and, without reflecting upon the consequences of my imprudence, I instantly broke the ice, and put a piece into my mouth. This precipitation was purely mechanical, and I soon repented it. My thirst was relieved; but from the excessive heat of which I before complained, I passed to the contrary extreme; a universal chill seized me, and all my limbs trembled.

'The sharpness of the night increased my agueish feeling, and my weakness at last was so extreme, that I was unable to proceed a step farther. I entreated my companions to halt in the midst of this desert. They complied out of pure civility to me, for the difficulty of procuring wood was otherwise a sufficient reason to determine them to proceed. Scarcely could they collect enough to place under a kettle; it consisted of a few little shrubs, so green that it was impossible to make them burn. How happy were we to succeed so far as to be able to make tea!

'After drinking a few cups, I retired to my tent, where I lay down upon a small mattress spread upon the snow, and covered myself with a number of furs, in order to revive perspiration. It was in vain; I did not close my eyes during the whole night. To the anguish of a dry and burning fever, were added a continual oppression, and all the restlessness peculiar to the first symptoms of a disorder. I conceived myself, I acknowledge, to be dangerously ill, particularly when I found, upon getting up, that I could not articulate a single

sound. I suffered infinitely both in my breast and throat; the fever was not abated; nevertheless the idea that a longer halt in this place would be of no benefit to me, and that I could only hope for succour by proceeding, determined me to conceal my extreme illness from M. Schmaleff. I was the first to propose going on, but in this I consulted my courage more than my strength.

'I had advanced but a few wersts, when my sufferings became insupportable. I was obliged to drive myself, and consequently to be in continual motion; frequently also I was compelled from the badness of roads, either to run by the side of my sledge, or call to the dogs to make them proceed. My hoarseness prevented their hearing me; and it was only by efforts that exhausted my strength, and tortured my lungs, that I at last succeeded. This exercise however, painful as it was, proved salutary to me; by degrees it created a perspiration; in the evening I could breathe more freely; the fever left me; I had no complaint but a violent cold, which was removed in a few days. Fatiguing exercise was the only remedy I used. I took particular care to continue the perspiration it occasioned, and to this I am persuaded I owe the rapidity of my cure. My breast however was so sore, that I felt the effects of it for a considerable time.

'During this interval I had nothing to suffer from the rigour of tempests; the air was calm, and the weather clear. We were blessed with the finest days of winter, or I should perhaps never again have seen my native country. Heaven seemed to favour my journey, that I might forget my sufferings.'

Our traveller in pursuing his route had to climb a chain of steep mountains, after which he had to cross a wide river, and to hoist his dogs and sledges over large heaps of ice that covered it. Shortly after he reached Kaminoi, where the chief of the Koriacs resides. On the following day he was obliged by a dreadful hurricane to pitch his tent, and await its termination, during which he was agreeably consoled by the arrival of seven Tchoukchis. These people appeared very inquisitive, and, after receiving some presents, departed highly pleased with

their reception. The chief of the tribe, who resides at the camp, says that the sledges are arranged in a line and fastened in form, and made use of straps to fasten the sledges to spears and arrows, to guard the camp. The tent is covered by being stretched over, and there is a bed in the tent. The bed resembles a litter, and consists of a layer of litter, and covered with skins. The space is so narrow that people can crowd in, but by it are insupportable disgust at seeing offensive objects. Indolence.

'Among the Koriacs, about 40, there are many children, who are very fond of the deer. Every part of the deer is used in the care of the deer. The dress of the Koriacs is of a single deer skin, which has an opening in the shape of a keyhole, and is put on by means of a strap. The other way of taking the skin is to tie it under the arm, and leaves the wrist open. It may easily be imagined that the Koriacs are of divesting themselves of a *koukjancki* over

their reception. Next day he reached an encampment of this tribe, who received him with transports and huzzas. 'The camp,' says our author, 'contained about a dozen tents ranged in a line along the bank of a river. They were of a square form, and made of rein deer skin, suspended by leathern straps to four poles erected at the four corners. Bundles of spears and arrows, fixed in the snow before every tent, seem to guard the entrance, which is very low, and shuts *hermetically*. The tents are extremely hot. The partitions and the covering being made of deer skin, the air cannot penetrate, and there is beside a stove in the middle of each of them. The bed resembles that of the Kamtschadales when they halt, and consists of small branches of trees spread on the snow like litter, and covered with deer skins. Here a whole family will lie down and sleep together without distinction of age or sex. The space is so narrow that it is astonishing how so many people can crowd into it. The air and filthiness occasioned by it are insupportable; let it suffice to say, that they feel no disgust at seeing their food and their drink close to the most offensive objects, for no words can describe the excess of their indolence.

'Among these Tchoukchis, whose number amounted to about 40, there were 15 or 16 women, and nearly as many children, who are employed in preparing the tents and provisions. Every principal person has valets in his service to take care of the deer, and guard them during the night from the wolves with which these coasts abound.

'The dress of the women is very remarkable. It consists of a single deer skin that is fastened round the neck, where it has an opening both before and behind, and which descends in the shape of large breeches below the knee. This garment is put on by means of the opening at the neck, and there is no other way of taking it off but by loosening the strings which tie it under the chin, when it instantly falls from the body, and leaves the woman naked. The inconvenience of this habit may easily be imagined, from the frequent necessity there must be of divesting themselves of it. When they travel, they wear a *kouk|anki* over their common dress, and their feet have no

other covering than boots made of the legs of rein deer. Their hair is of a deep black. Sometimes it is turned up in tufts behind, but it is oftener separated upon the forehead, and hangs in long braids on each side. Their ears and their neck are loaded with ornaments of glass beads of different colours; and when they are cold, the head of their parque serves them for a head-dress.

‘ Their countenance is by no means agreeable; the features are coarse, though their nose is not flat, nor their eyes sunk in their head like the Kamtschadales. They resemble them in these respects less than do the Koriac women. They are also taller, but not slender. The thickness and bulk of their dress give them an appearance the very opposite to alert. In the mean time they perform the most laborious offices, such as lighting fire, cutting wood, fetching water, and other things required in their domestic economy. These cares devolve principally upon the oldest.

‘ The Tchoukchis at present go every year to Ingiga. The merchandize they take consists chiefly of sable and fox-skin parques, and morse teeth, which afford a very fine ivory. They receive in exchange kettles, tobacco, lances, muskets, knives, and other iron instruments. As yet they are little accustomed to the musket, and scarcely make any use of it; but they are very expert in shooting an arrow, and managing a lance, which are therefore their principal arms.

‘ Like all the northern people, they have an astonishing propensity to drunkenness. Their love of brandy is so extreme, that if you once let them taste it, you must repeat your kindness till they are perfectly intoxicated, or they would consider themselves as insulted, and probably have recourse to menaces and violence, to obtain their ends. As incessant smokers as the Koriacs, they have the same pipes and the same method of using them.’

Early in the morning our traveller pursued his journey. Near the sea coast, about mid-day, he reached an ostrog, called Pareiné, where the chief, a notorious bad character, evinced a hostile disposition, which it required all the courage of Lesseps to oppose. However, after speaking with autho-

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rity, and demanding leave to depart, he accepted an invitation to dine with this chief; 'but to speak the truth,' says he, 'I was not without trouble, when, upon coming to his yourt, I found it necessary to descend 40 feet under ground. The extraordinary depth of this retreat delivered me entirely to the mercy of my host. My companions could neither have heard nor assisted me. I shuddered at my own imprudence, but it was too late to draw back. I was well armed, and I prepared to defend myself as well as I could in case of an insult.

'The first care of Youltitka (the name of the chief) was to seat me in the place of honour, that is, in a kind of alcove reserved for the chief of the family. His was a very numerous one, nearly 80 persons living with him in this yourt. They had all deserted it upon the report of my arrival, and were still about my people, so that I was alone to contend with three or four companions or relations of Youltitka, who surrounded me, thrusting their noses almost in my face. Supposing themselves to be adepts in the Russian language, because they were able to murder a few words, they asked me, in turn, a variety of questions, each more absurd than the preceding. My situation dictated politeness, and I answered them with mildness and precision. I thus passed an hour in the midst of these savage figures, truly calculated to inspire dread, particularly that of their chief. It is difficult to conceive of a man more completely ugly. Large and squat, his whole face scamed with the small pox, and various other scars, a sullen countenance, black hair, that joined enormous eye-brows, under which there was only one eye, and that sunk in his head, haggard and fierce; the other he had lost by accident: such is the exact picture of this Koriac prince.

'My soldier did not make his appearance, and I began to be uneasy. Upon a motion I made to come out, these Koriacs placed themselves before me. One of them caught hold of my arm to make me sit down, asking me if I wanted to escape. I endeavoured to look as stoutly as I could, but I confess my heart palpitated. I again took my seat; and in spite of the alteration which they might perceive in my face, I replied, that I did not imagine I had any reason to fear them.



Youltitka then endeavoured to excite my confidence. He swore that he had the highest esteem for me, and that I was in perfect safety. His past conduct, he added, might have given me reason to suspect his character, but he considered it as a point of honour to set me right. Proud of having been received among the judges of the tribunal of Ingaga, he valued his reputation too much to suffer any one to treat me ill in his presence.

‘ I knew my man too well to place any faith in these asseverations, and I considered myself as happy that he dared not do what was in his power, and probably what was in his heart. I hastened therefore to quit the yourt, upon pretext of seeking for my people, and giving them orders for dinner. I could not rid myself of this treacherous Koriac. He persisted in accompanying me. Every word I uttered seemed to alarm him. Not understanding the Russian language, he immediately asked the meaning of what I said, and watched all my motions with singular attention.

‘ I found my people occupied in bartering the bad dogs they had left, for furs, and articles of dress made of rein deer-skin. Their avarice had made them forgetful of what I had recommended to them, and the danger in which they had left me; but I concealed my displeasure on account of my witnesses. I again descended the yourt, accompanied by Youltitka and my two soldiers, who began immediately to prepare our dinner. The women assisted them in cleaning the dishes; and with the help of brandy, good humour gradually succeeded to fears and distrust. Our repast was very jovial, and I frequently endeavoured to imitate my guests in their loud peals of laughter, outrageous expression of sentiment being the only thing that pleases them. The dinner being finished, I sent one of my soldiers to order the dogs to be harnessed, a part of which was a fresh supply. My provisions were also ready, and in 10 minutes I was prepared to take leave of my Koriacs. They appeared to be satisfied with me; I know not whether they were really so, but I acknowledge as to myself that I was glad to escape from them, and I set off therefore as quick as possible.’

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After travelling three days longer, our author perceived the indications of an approaching storm, but as his guides were confident that the weather would continue fine, he adjusted his compass, and took the proper direction of their route. When the hurricane came on his companions were surprized and terrified; but he now took the lead, and conducted them safely to Ingiga, which feat his astonished followers concluded was performed by magic. Here he was kindly welcomed by the commander, major Gageun.

'This town,' says he, 'is the largest and most populous I have yet seen. It is situated upon a river of the same name, 30 wersts from its mouth, and is defended by a square inclosure of palisades, the height and thickness of which surprized me, and by wooden bastions, erected on piles, at the four angles. These bastions are provided with cannon, and contain a variety of warlike stores. They are guarded day and night by centinels, as are also the three gates of the town, of which one only is open. There is a small square, before the house of the governor, and a guard, stationed on one side of this square, defends it from attack. I was equally struck with the houses. They are of wood, and very low, but have all a regular front, and are evidently built upon one plan. M. Gagueun intends by degrees to give this uniformity to the whole town. The isbas that have been constructed since his arrival, besides a pleasant appearance, have all the conveniences that such places will admit of. He has it in contemplation also to rebuild the church, which is a wretched edifice, and also in ruins.

'The population amounts to about 5 or 600 inhabitants, who are either merchants, or in the service of government. The latter are most numerous, and form the garrison of the place. They are kept under the severest discipline, which is indispensable, from the frequent occasion there is to defend themselves. The circumspection and zeal of the governor in this respect cannot be surpassed. Their tribunals are the same with those of Nijenei Kamtschatka.'

Our author embraces the opportunity his leisure now afforded him to describe the manners of the Korjaes, who inhabit a vast extent of country. They are divided into fixed and wan-

dering Koriacs; but their number is very small. 'The manners of the former,' says he, 'are the reverse of estimable, and are a mixture of duplicity, mistrust, and avarice. They have all the vices of the northern nations of Asia, without the virtues. Robbers by nature, they are suspicious, cruel, incapable either of benevolence or pity. To procure the least service from them, it is first necessary to offer, and even to give them some recompence. Nothing but presents can excite their attention, or rouse their activity.

'From this perfidious and savage disposition, it would not be easy for them to live in peace, or form any durable ties with their neighbours. So unsociable a spirit must also give them an abhorrence of all foreign dominion. Hence their continual insurrection against the Russians, their atrocious robberies, their daily incursions on the people who surround them; hence the respective animosities and revenge that incessantly spring up.

'This state of war fomented in every individual a ferocious spirit. The practice of attacking, and of defending themselves, creates in them an inflexible courage that delights in perpetual combats, and glories in a contempt of life. Superstition lends its aid to ennoble in their eyes this thirst of blood, by imposing a law that they must either conquer or die. The more important is the cause that calls them to arms, the more greedy are they of death. Neither the bravery, nor the number of their adversaries, can intimidate them; it is then they swear *to destroy the sun*. They discharge this terrible oath by cutting the throats of their wives and children, burning all their possessions, and rushing madly into the midst of their enemies. The combat can only terminate by the total destruction of one of the parties. The vanquished never seek their safety in flight; honour forbids it; and not a Koriac will survive the slaughter of his countrymen.

'The vicinity of the Russian settlements has hitherto produced no change in the mode of life of the resident Koriacs. Their commercial intercourse with the Russians only renders them susceptible to the attraction of wealth, and desirous of plunder. Insensible to the advantages of a more polished life,

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they seem to feel a repugnance to civilization, and to consider their own manners and customs as absolutely perfect.

‘ Among their strange customs I shall mention the probation to which a young man subjects himself when he is desirous of marrying. As soon as he has fixed his choice, he waits upon the relations of his mistress, and offers to *drudge for them*, as the phrase is. The young lady is immediately enveloped in a multiplicity of garments, which conceal her to such a degree, that the face itself is scarcely visible. She is not left alone for a single instant; her mother, and a number of old matrons accompany her wherever she goes, sleep with her, and do not lose her from their sight upon any pretext whatever. The aim of the lover, the point of happiness to which all his cares tend, is to touch her naked body, the only way by which he can attain her. In the mean time he executes with zeal and submission all the functions that the relations impose on him. His eye is invariably fixed on the idol of his heart, he watches her motions, follows her steps, and intrudes himself incessantly in her way. But how deceive the Argus eyes of the duennas that surrounded her! It is a continual contest of vigilance against cunning; each person acts with equal zeal and perseverance. From such assiduities, from the agitation of the lover, and the precautions that are taken to counteract his manœuvres, one would suppose that he was about to carry off some extraordinary beauty. Who would imagine that the object of the thoughts and desires of this whining Koriac, was ugliness itself, and that he aspired to no other reward for so many exertions, than to touch a callous, yellow, and greasy skin? In his leisure moments, at liberty to see and approach his mistress, he endeavours to merit her affection by some sly attempt to obtain a touch; but the number and thickness of her garments are an invincible barrier. Enraged at so many obstacles, he tears and pulls off this teasing dress. Woe betide him if he be surprized in his rash attack! The relations, the inexorable spies, dart upon him, and force him to relinquish his prize. It is commonly by the eloquence of the foot, or a stick, that they entreat him to withdraw, and find some better opportunity. If he resist, he is dragged by the hair,

or the nails of these old hags are imprinted in his face. If he be disheartened, or murmurs at the cruel treatment, he is instantly dismissed, and forfeits for ever all claim to the alliance, which is considered as the most signal disgrace that can be inflicted on a Koriac lover. But difficulties only render his desires more vehement. He rejoices, he glories in all the tribulations he experiences during his amorous and painful servitude. It is frequently not till after the expiration of two or three years, more or less, that he obtains his end. Elate with his victory, he flies to inform the relations of his success. The witnesses are summoned, and the young lady interrogated. Her confession is necessary, as well as some proof that she was taken by surprize, and made fruitless efforts to defend herself. Her hand is then bestowed on the conqueror, but he is obliged still to wait till it is seen whether she can reconcile herself to living with him. From this moment, freed from his labours, he makes his court to his future wife, who is not perhaps sorry to find herself delivered from her cumbersome attire. The second stage of courtship is seldom very long; the damsel, in the presence of the family, soon accords her assent, and nothing more is requisite to give him all the claims of a husband. The nuptial ceremony and feast consist merely in assembling the relations of the parties, who are eager to get drunk in imitation of the new married couple.

‘When a Koriac dies, his relations and neighbours assemble to pay him their last respects. They erect a funeral pile, upon which they place a portion of the wealth of the deceased, and a stock of provisions, consisting of rein deer, fish, brandy, in short whatever they conceive he will want for his great journey, and to keep him from starving in the other world. If it be a wandering Koriac, his deer conduct him to the pile; if a resident Koriac, he is drawn by his dogs, or carried by his relations. The body is exhibited, clothed in his best attire, and lying in a kind of coffin. There it receives the adieu of the attendants, who, with torches in their hands, consider it as an honour speedily to reduce their relation or friend to ashes. They feel only the regret of a short absence, and not of an eternal separation. They wear no mourning, and the

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funeral pomp terminates in a scene of intemperance, where the fumes of their liquor and tobacco gradually efface the remembrance of death.

On the 6th of April, our traveller departed from Ingiga, accompanied by two soldiers, a young merchant, and a Koriac prince, of the name of Eviava, as his guide. 'We travelled,' says Lesseps, 'very slowly till the evening. The only inconvenience I felt was the not being able, for want of an interpreter, to enjoy the conversation of my princely guide. It doubtless deprived me of a fund of information which it was in his power to have furnished, and our mutual taciturnity did not render my journey the more pleasant.

'We stopped at seven o'clock. It was necessary to gain a mountain well known to our Koriacs, and which had been marked in our itinerary as our first stage. I should in vain have wished to seek shelter in a wood, as had been my custom when drawn by dogs. The convenience of the traveller is left out of the account in the choice of a resting place; that of the rein deer only is consulted, and the spot that most abounds with moss is invariably preferred. Half way up the mountain our steeds were unharnessed, and no other care taken of them than that of tying them with leathern thongs. I saw them instantly scrape away the snow, under which they well knew how to come at their food. At a short distance we made a fire, and set on our kettle, and the length of our supper answered to its frugality. I admitted my Koriac prince to my mess, who appeared highly flattered with the honour. I then laid myself down on the snow, and was permitted to sleep a few hours; but when the time was expired, they awoke me without compunction to proceed on our journey.

'It is necessary to observe that the Koriacs will travel four, five, or six days incessantly without taking scarcely any repose. The rein deer are habituated to run day and night. In every two or three hours they are unharnessed, and allowed the interval of an hour to feed, after which they set off again with equal ardour; and this mode is repeated till they arrive at the end of the journey. It may be supposed from this account, that I considered myself as fortunate, when the night came,



to be indulged with two hours uninterrupted sleep. The favour however was not long accorded to me, and by degrees I was obliged to accustom myself to the practice of my inflexible conductors, though it was not without extreme difficulty.

‘ Before I remounted, Eviava informed me that he was under the necessity of lightening our vehicle, the weight of two persons being for a continuance too much for our steeds, and that if I wished to make the experiment of being my own charioteer, he would take one of the empty sledges, with which we were furnished as a resource in case of accident, or the loss of any of our deer. The proposal coincided too well with my inclination for me to hesitate a moment in accepting it, and I instantly seized the reins, and began my new apprenticeship.

‘ I found it equally arduous with that to which I subjected myself at Bolcheretsk, with this difference, that I was then the first to laugh at the frequency of my falls; whereas in the present case, I obtained the conviction of their danger at the risk of my life. The trace of the deer on the left, being fastened to the supporter of the sledge on the corresponding side, nearly touches the left foot of the conductor, who must be continually on his guard to keep clear of it. From forgetfulness, or inexperience, I failed in this precaution, and my leg became entangled. The violence of my fall, or more probably the sudden and acute pain in my leg, led me imprudently to relinquish my hold of the reins, in order to apply my hand to it. By what means could I disengage myself? The deer, finding no longer the same restraint, advanced with greater speed, and every effort I made to get free encouraged and irritated them. Dragged along in this manner, my head sweeping the snow and striking continually against the skate of the sledge, and feeling every moment as if my leg would be shivered in pieces, it is scarcely conceivable what I suffered. I was no longer able to cry out; I had lost all consciousness; when, by a motion purely mechanical, I extended my left hand exactly upon the reins that floated by chance. A new jolt of the sledge made me draw back my hand, and this involuntary check stopped my deer. Some of my people came up at the same time, expecting to find me either dangerously

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wounded, or already deprived of life. Meanwhile after a swoon of a few minutes, my senses returned, and I recovered my strength. The only injury I received was a violent contusion on my leg, and a head ache, which were attended with no very material consequences. The joy of having escaped from this danger, gave me additional courage, and I ascended my sledge, and pursued my journey as if nothing had happened.

‘ Become more circumspect, I took care in future whenever I was overturned, to check immediately my deer, for I ought to consider myself as fortunate that, in their impetuosity, they did not proceed with me to the mountains. In that case how could they have been stopped? Three or four days are frequently spent in this pursuit, and sometimes without success. This intelligence, which I received from my Koriacs, made me tremble for my dispatches, which were in a box fastened to my sledge, and were thus liable to be taken from me every moment.’

Our traveller continued with his friendly guide two days longer, when, having arrived at the Koriac's yurt, he was hospitably received by his noble host, whose exertions in favour of the liberty of his country merited applause. ‘ On the evening of my arrival,’ says our author, ‘ I had an opportunity of seeing a multitude of deer. They had been assembled in order to select what were necessary for my use, which required only a quarter of an hour. Upon a particular cry of their keepers, the tame deer came towards us. The young ones, and those which are accustomed to, or exempt from, labours, go off in a different direction. The slow and the restive ones were next separated from the rest, and those that were wanted were easily caught by means of a running noose which they threw over them with singular dexterity. The choice being made, they separated those destined for my use, and which if they had not been detained by force, would speedily have gone to rejoin the rest.

‘ They do not ordinarily employ in labour the female deer, which are reserved for the propagation of the species. They are coupled in autumn, and foal in the spring. The young

males designed for draught, are castrated nearly in the same manner as the dogs of Kamtschatka.

' There are almost always three or four deer in a flock that are trained for the chace. The instinct of these animals is inconceivable; they hunt even while they are feeding. If a tame deer perceives a wild one, he immediately, without showing any sign either of joy or surprize, imitates in browsing the gait and manner of the other, who sometimes approaches him without suspecting a snare. Presently one sees them play together; their horns become entangled, they part, they join each other again, they fly and pursue each other by turns. In these sportive amusements the tame deer gradually draws his prey within musket shot of the hunter. With a well managed deer, one is able to seize his companion alive; a cord is hung upon the horns of the former, which, in their play, he entangles in the horns of his adversary. From that time the greater the efforts made by the wild deer to escape, the closer the running knot is drawn, and the more strongly the tame deer pulls at the cord, in order to give his master time to come up. It frequently happens however that the wild deer suspects the trick, and escapes the danger by flight.

' When a Koriac comes out of his yourt in the morning, the deer flock about him in expectation of a drink, which is the highest treat to them; this is nothing more than human urine, which is carefully preserved in vessels, or hampers made of straw, and of so nice a contexture that the liquor cannot penetrate through them. The flock are so extremely fond of this beverage, that whatever quantity you give them, it is all swallowed in an instant.'

Next morning, our traveller again set off, with the brother of his former guide for a conductor: but had nearly perished by leaving his company to visit a hot spring. He had also great difficulty in passing a high chain of mountains. The next day the snow was more than three feet deep; the deer sunk to their necks, and were unable to proceed. During two days he was detained by the storm, while he used every effort to obtain a supply of dogs. On the third day, having taken leave of his guide, he proceeded in five sledges, each drawn

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by eight or ten dogs. But, after travelling for some distance along the sea coast, the storm became so terrible, that he was compelled to return, and to lie in a deserted stinking yourt for three days. The intensity of the cold was inconceivable. The dampness became equally insupportable with the cold; for the fire, by melting the ice that surrounded them, caused a thousand dribblings over their heads, and a stream of water under their feet. Some sea wolves also which were found in the yourt began to thaw, and diffuse a noxious odour; while the exhalations which arose from seven filthy Koriacs, and two others, who accompanied our traveller, made their asylum a true sink. Our author became very ill, and had a long swoon.

At length, on the 21st, he was enabled to proceed; and at the end of three days passed the river Yamsk, and reached the ostrog of that name. Here he obtained a supply of provisions; and, as the force of the sun announced an approaching thaw, he resolved to travel in the night. At 11 o'clock at night, he left Yamsk, with nine large sledges. At daybreak, he passed a dangerous mountain; and, next day, reached the last ostrog in the Koriac territory, where he was obliged to fasten whalebone under the skates of his sledges, in consequence of the melting of the snow. Next day, he reached Ola, a Tougouse ostrog; and found that the yourts of this people were of a superior construction to those of the Kamtschadales and Koriacs.

'The instant of my arrival at Ola,' says Lesseps, 'I was visited by a number of women, some dressed in the Russian, and others in the Tougouse mode. Expressing my surprize at seeing them so fine, I was informed that it was the village feast; it was also, I understood, a part of their coquetry to appear in their best attire before strangers. Of their most esteemed ornaments, embroideries of glass beads seem to have the preference. Some of them are wrought with tolerable taste; among others, I observed one on the boot of a young girl that had an admirable air of lightness; it concealed in no respect the beauty of the leg, that was covered with a kind of pantaloon of skin, nicely fitted, over which hung a small petticoat.

‘ There is a striking resemblance between the Russians and Toungouses; they have similar features and the same language. The men are strong and well made; some of the women have an Asiatic appearance, but not the flat nose and broad face of the Kamtschadales and the majority of the Koriaks. Mildness and hospitality seem to be the characteristic qualities of these people. It was not from a defect of zeal, on their part, that I did not procure the succour I wanted; but their ability was so small, that they could only change a part of my dogs.’

Next morning, our traveller found great difficulty in surmounting a steep promontory. At the foot of the mountain the danger increased, the sea was broken up, and his guides advised him to abandon the baggage and cross a bay by leaping from one sheet of ice to another. Lesseps knew not what plan to follow; but the danger of his situation will be best described in his own words.

‘ A chain of rocks,’ says he, ‘ which, through its whole extent, presents to the sea a flat perpendicular surface, and consequently without the least appearance of strand, was the description of the shore I visited. The sea, in carrying off the mountains of ice which had concealed its surface, had left a horizontal crust suspended to the side of this enormous wall, which was not more than two feet wide, frequently not more than one, and scarcely one foot in thickness. Eight feet below this sort of cornice, you saw the waves beating against the rock, and innumerable shelves that the eye discovered in the sea, and that seemed about 10 feet below its surface.’

‘ I did not suffer these observations to discourage me, but immediately committed myself to this perilous cornice. Emboldened by its solidity, I advanced softly in a sidelong direction, my face turned towards the rock. It offered no hold to the hands, but only now and then a narrow cavity, into which I threw myself to recover breath; after having passed the gaps of the crust, which continually presented themselves to my steps, the ice being in certain places completely washed away, and a breach left of two or three feet in length. At first I must confess I felt myself intimidated, and did not leap them

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without trembling: the least error in position, the most trifling accident would have destroyed me. My companions could not have relieved, nor even so much as have seen me. This progress continued for three quarters of an hour, at the end of which I reached the other extremity of the rock, and no sooner had I arrived than I forgot the dangers of the way to think only of my dispatches. I had left them under the care of my soldiers, but I alone could undertake to save them. The experiment I had made encouraged me, and proud of my discovery, I did not hesitate to return upon my steps.

‘ My people condemned my conduct, which they considered as rashness, and expressed their astonishment at seeing me again. I concealed not from them that the way was hazardous; “but as no accident had happened to me, why,” I asked, “should you be deterred from following me? I will once more make the attempt, and I hope upon my return to find you free from apprehension, and disposed to imitate my example.”

‘ I immediately took up my port-folio, and the box that contained my dispatches. My two soldiers, Golikoff and Nedarezoff, whose dexterity I had already experienced, consented to accompany me. Without their assistance it would, I believe, have been impossible to save this precious deposit; we carried it in turn, exchanging it from one to another. He that had last received it, for instance, who always marched foremost upon this narrow parapet, threw it suddenly into a hollow place of the rock, advancing at the same time a few steps; the others came after him, took up his burthen, and relieved themselves from it by the same manœuvre. I cannot express what I felt during this operation; at every stride of the bearer over the gaps of the path, I imagined I saw my box ready to fall into the sea. Twenty times it was upon the point of escaping from our hands, and I felt my very blood curdle as if I had seen death itself gaping under my steps. Indeed I am not able to say what would have been the effect of my despair, if I had had the misfortune to lose it. I knew not a moment’s ease till I had deposited this solemn charge in a



place of safety ; my joy was then as vehement as had been my anxiety.

‘ This second success inspired me with so much confidence, that I no longer doubted of the possibility of transporting our sledges in the same manner. I communicated my ideas to my soldiers ; animated by my example, and by the event of their first experiment, they cheerfully returned with me for this new undertaking. By my order they had unharnessed a part of the dogs ; they now fastened to the four corners of the sledges long thongs of leather, which I directed to be held by those who were before and behind the vehicle. We presently found the utility of this precaution ; our sledges were sometimes wider than the parapet, and of consequence only rested on one skate, so that the load must have overturned them into the water if they had not been strongly supported ; at other times the ice, as I have said, was entirely gone, when it was necessary to give them a sudden elevation in order to preserve their equilibrium. The muscular arms of my guides were scarcely equal to the weight, and it was sometimes as much as all of us could do to keep one another from falling. It was to no purpose for us to grapple the rock ; it was perpetually to be feared that one of us should draw in the other, or that the ice should suddenly fail under our feet. We however suffered nothing but the apprehension.

‘ We returned once more to fetch the rest of our dogs. It seemed as if these poor animals judged better than ourselves of the extent of the danger, so much did they bark and draw back, particularly at the difficult passages. It was to no purpose to cheer them with our voice, it was necessary to strike them, or to pull them rapidly after us. There were four of them, who from awkwardness or terror, could not leap like the rest. The first perished in our sight without the possibility of our assisting him, the second remained suspended by his fore feet ; one of my guides, supported by his comrade and leaning forward, was fortunate enough to save him ; the other two were supported by their traces, and were easily extricated from the peril.

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' These various crossings backward and forward occasioned us seven hours incessant labour and apprehension. We were no sooner out of danger than we returned thanks to heaven like so many persons escaped from death. We embraced one another with transport, as if each had owed to his companion the preservation of his life. In short, our happiness was better felt than it is in my power to describe.'

In the evening our traveller reached the village of Armani, where he was kindly entertained by a Yakout; and enjoyed the luxury of milk provisions. He departed the same evening, and spent the following day at the fort of Taousk. After travelling another day he had advanced so far inland as to lose sight of the sea; but, at the end of four days, he again came upon the coast; and, on the following day, May 5, he reached Okotsk, and alighted at the house of major Kokh, who conducted him to the residence of M. Kasloff, the governor. Madame Kasloff received him as the friend of her husband and the companion of his dangers: but he found great difficulty in calming her apprehensions for M. Kasloff's safety.

This town is the principal mart of commerce for those parts. The port is very insignificant; but M. Lesseps found lieutenant Hall, in the navy, building two small vessels for the voyage of discovery intrusted to M. Billings. On the 10th of May, notwithstanding the wretched state of the roads, our traveller set off; but, after struggling against the most fearful dangers, his guides refused to proceed, and he was compelled to return to Okotsk, overcome with fatigue and chagrin; but the kindness of the Russian officers gradually restored his mind to tranquillity.

On the 26th, the ice on the river Okhota broke up, and on the thaw being ended the seine was immediately used. A prodigious quantity of small fish were caught; and, as a great scarcity prevailed, the joy and clamour at the sight was inconceivable. Whole families contended for the fish, which were instantly devoured raw.

At last, our traveller again prepared to depart. He was amply provided with bread and biscuit by his friends, although these articles could be little spared. M. Loftsoff, inspector,

lieutenant Hall, and M. Allegetti, the garrison surgeon, signified their wish to accompany him. Horses were also provided; but the want of food had rendered these poor animals very unfit for the service.

'At sight of the horse I was to mount,' says Lesseps, 'I drew back with horror and compassion. I had never seen so wretched an animal. His sides were lank and hollow, his buttocks narrow and peaked, so that you might count every bone they contained, his neck unsupported, his head between his legs, his haunches nerveless and weak. Such is the exact description of my steed. You may judge of the figure of the other horses, among which mine passed for one of the least despicable. The saddle had a considerable resemblance to our own. Those which were provided for our baggage were smaller, made of wood, and perforated with holes; upon the top there were two sticks fastened cross-wise on which the load was suspended, taking care however to make the weight equal on both sides, as the smallest disproportion would infallibly have prevented the beasts from maintaining their equilibrium.

'It was in this pitiful plight that our caravan set out. To console ourselves for the slow pace we travelled, each was merry at the expence of his steed. Twelve wersts from Okotsk, a tolerably large salt work was pointed out to me on the sea coast; the men employed in it were all malefactors or convicts. Beyond this house we left the sea at our left, and travelled for some time on the banks of the Okhota.

'If the breaking up of this river occasion such alarm to the inhabitants of the town, its overflowings are not less fatal to the environs. Rising above the banks, the water not only floods the adjacent country, but becomes a torrent, that swells as it extends itself. It has been said to rise two feet above the tops of the highest trees. From this account one may suppose its ravages to be dreadful, and certain it is that I saw in the forests gulfs of an astonishing depth, said to be the work of these floods.

'Within a short distance from Medvejéolova, my horse fell under me, and it was impossible to make him get up again; I had fortunately time to quit the saddle, and received

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therefore no injury. We left the beast on the spot, where it doubtless expired a few hours after. We had still 11 horses remaining; I was therefore remounted in an instant, and reached the village without meeting with any other accident.

‘ We proceeded the next day, at nine o’clock in the morning, and forded the river Okhota, the course of which we were no longer to pursue. I perceived here and there some Yakout yurts at a considerable distance from each other: seldom are any number of them seen together.

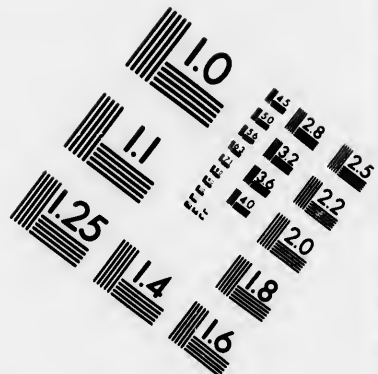
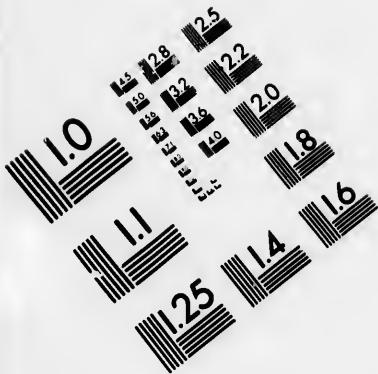
‘ The disposition of these families to live in this isolated manner, results from a motive of interest that is of the first importance. Horses being their chief source of wealth, if the proprietors (some of whom possess more than a thousand) built their habitations nearer to each other, how would they be able to procure nourishment for their numerous studs? The neighbouring pastures must soon be exhausted, and it would be necessary to send multitudes of them to a considerable distance; but how many inconveniences would result in consequence of the negligence or dishonesty of the keepers.’

Having arrived at a village, named Moundoukann, our author was obliged to stop a day to refresh the horses. He here parted with Messrs. Hall and Loftsoff, and set off at break of day. The weakness of the horses again rendered a halt necessary, in a place where many voracious bears were prowling about. The following description explains the nature of these halts.

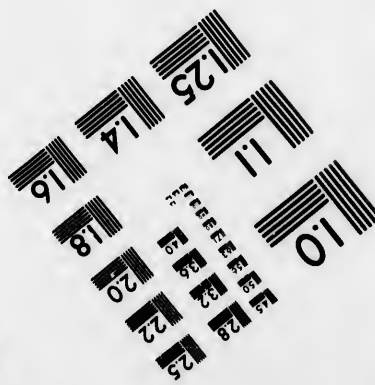
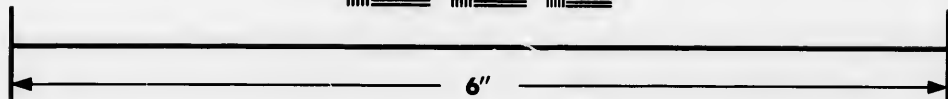
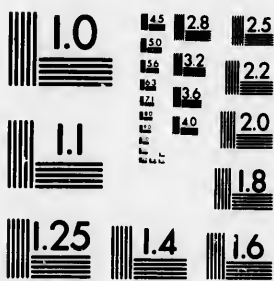
‘ Having fixed upon the spot, the horses were eased of their burthens and permitted to graze at liberty. Fires were then kindled at equal distances round our little camp, and at the entrance of my tent I repeatedly discharged my musket, being assured that the report and smell of the powder would terrify and drive away the bears. At break of day our horses are assembled; if any of them were dispersed they came at the cry of my Yakouts, who possess the same talent in this respect as the Koriacs with their rein deer.’

The principal food of the Yakouts who attended our traveller, he says, was ‘ a kind of thick frumenty, made of rye meal and water, into which, after it is taken off the fire, they pour





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
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fish oil: the quantity they eat of it astonished and shocked me. I was told that in general they were not very great eaters; it was however added, that they now and then, as a treat, roast a horse, which is demolished in a few hours by a very small number of guests, and the intestines of the animal are by no means the least precious morsel. Who would suppose that men of such voracious appetites, practice at other times a frugality that seems scarcely sufficient to support life, and frequently continue a number of days together without food?

Lesseps had several dangerous rivers to pass. In one the current carried him away on horseback; but he was saved by the skill and intrepidity of a soldier that escorted him. The horses had now become so weak, that a Yakout was obliged to alight and whip them behind. At last, he arrived at the river Yadoma, which he intended to descend. After much difficulty, an old crazy boat was repaired: our traveller took leave of M. Allegetti, and set sail with two soldiers, who had been appointed to attend him, and two others whom he engaged to row. 'The rapidity of the current,' says he, 'carried us on with such violence, that we could easily dispense with the oars. At the rate we sailed my soldiers had no doubt that we should reach the famous cataract before night, which was more than 80 wersts from the place of my departure. Their conversation turned wholly on the dangers we should have to encounter. Though I was already prepossessed with the idea of their inexperience, by continually hearing these discourses, dictated by fear, I began at last to be alarmed myself, and resolved to act with all possible prudence, that I might have no reason to reproach myself. I frequently went on shore, and walked along the river to see how far the navigation was safe. Towards the evening a north-west wind brought on rain. Rather than run any risk in such bad weather I halted, and ordered my tent to be pitched over the boat.

'The next day, after four hours navigation, interrupted by frequent landing to observe the approach of the cataract, we at last perceived it. Accompanied by my two pilots, I went to examine the spot. At a short distance from it I saw a little stony island, which is only perceptible when the waters

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begin to fall. My soldiers advised me to pass, if the waters were sufficiently high, by the way of a canal which we should find at the right; though the descent was very rapid, they assured me that it was nothing in comparison with that of the cataract. This advice engrossed my whole attention, and having convinced myself of its utility, I returned to the boat, resolved to put it in practice. I encouraged my people in the best manner I could, and then took the helm. Nedarezoff sat by me, and Golikoff assisted one of the rowers, for we had only two oars. We proceeded in this manner till we reached the conflux of the two streams, one of which led to the canal, and the other lost itself in the cataract. The impetuosity of the latter would have drawn us into the abyss, but for the skill and strength of my rowers. The instant the signal is given, their nervous arms are stretched to strike the oar, and to struggle against the waves; the waters rage and foam, and the violent shocks they give to our boat, my unceasing exhortations, and more than all the fear of being destroyed, redouble the ardour of my soldiers. We are at length extricated from the treacherous current, and enter into the canal. How smooth did its waters appear after this terrifying passage! To give my people rest, I abandoned myself to the gentle declivity of the stream: the helm was sufficient to direct the boat.

‘When we were at the foot of the cataract, curiosity led me to turn my head. I trembled at its dreadful aspect, and thanked heaven for having afforded me a different way. Nine boats out of ten that should attempt this passage, would infallibly be wrecked.

‘We had still a difficult pass to make, that terrified my people; it is called the *Podporujenei*, or the ebb of the cataract, which is about the distance of a werst from it. They were still talking of it when we arrived, and I had scarcely time to explain to them the manœuvre which I thought it necessary to practise. Our object was to choose the deepest side; the blackness of the water seemed to point it out, and I steered towards it. The multiplicity and bulk of the waves tossed us about with more violence than if we had been in the open sea. All at once our boat was pitched upon a rock that

was on a level with the water, and which none of us had perceived. We were thrown down by the force of the shock; my companions imagined themselves to be lost, and had not the courage to raise themselves; it was in vain I called upon them to row on; they paid no attention to my cries. I caught hold of the helm, and perceiving that the boat had sustained no injury, I animated their drooping spirits, and prevailed on them to take their stations. We owed our safety to the moss with which the rock was covered; the boat touched it in its passage, and glided along without suffering any damage.

‘ I felt myself indisposed by the attack of a fever, but I paid no great attention to it; I merely laid myself down in the boat, and observed no other regimen than that of drinking cold water. We did not halt during the night, as our navigation was become perfectly easy.

‘ I entered the Maya on the 22d, at two o'clock in the morning, and proceeded in a direction nearly north, but inclining now and then to the east. The banks of this river are less steep, less dreary than those of the preceding, though at intervals there are mountains and even rocks. The difference of the current was still more perceptible, as we only sailed four wersts an hour.

‘ In the afternoon of the 23d, I quitted the river Maya for another, larger and more rapid, called the Aldann; but I merely crossed it, in order to gain a habitation on the other side, opposite to the mouth of the Maya.’

Here our traveller agreed to leave the boat, and cross the country with a party of Yakouts. He travelled for a long time over a moving swamp, in which the horses sunk so deep that they could not be extricated without assistance. On the second day there was no rain, and he was much annoyed with flies. On the third day he reached the habitation of a Yakout prince, where he was kindly received. The prince spoke the Russian language tolerably well, and from him our author obtained the following particulars respecting his countrymen.

‘ When summer commences, they leave their winter habitations, and with their families, and a small number of horses, go to make their harvests of fodder for consumption during

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the frosty season. They repair to a considerable distance from their yourt, and to the most fertile cantons. In their absence, the horses are left to the care of the servants, and the neighbouring pastures serve for the maintenance of all their herds.

‘ I very much regret the not having been present at their festival in the month of May, in celebration of the return of spring. They assemble in the open country, where they roast oxen and horses; and being supplied with an abundance of fermented koumouiss, they eat and drink to satiety, dancing and singing at intervals, and concluding at last with necromancies. Their chamans preside in these festivals, and deal out their extravagant predictions.

‘ These sorcerers are more at liberty and more revered than in Kamtschatka. Regarded as interpreters of the gods, they grant their mediation to the stupid Yakout, who implores it with trembling, but always pays for it. I have seen these dupes give their finest horse to conduct a chaman to his village. Nothing can be more frightful than the magic exhibitions of these impostors. I shall content myself with describing the chaman that exhibited before me.

‘ Dressed in a habit that was ornamented with bells and plates of iron, which made a deafening noise, he beat besides on a *bouben*, or tabor, with a degree of force that was terrifying. He then ran about like a maniac, with his mouth open, and his head turned in every direction. His black dishevelled hair concealed his face, and beneath it proceeded at one moment real groans, the next tears and sobs, and then loud peals of laughter, the usual preludes of these revelations.

‘ Remains of old tombs of the Yakouts were frequently pointed out to me in the woods. They were coffins clumsily made, and suspended on the branches of trees. I know not from what motive they have renounced this custom of exposing their dead in the open air, and at a distance from their habitations; but at present their mode of interment is similar to that of Christians.

‘ The funerals are attended with a kind of pomp more or less magnificent, in proportion to the rank and wealth of the defunct. If a prince, he is arrayed in his finest habits, and

most splendid arms. The body, placed in a coffin, is carried by the family to the tomb; deep groans announce the solemn procession. His favourite horse, and another the best of his stud, both richly caparisoned, and led by a valet, or near relation, walk by the side of the corpse. When arrived at the burying place, they are tied to two stakes fixed near the grave, and while the master is interred, their throats are cut over the corpse. This bloody libation is the homage paid to his attachment to these animals, who are supposed to follow him into the other world, where it is imagined that he will again be able to enjoy them. They are then flayed; the head and hide, in one entire piece, are fixed horizontally upon the branches of trees at a small distance from the grave: such is the memorial that is erected. A fire is then kindled, and the last proof of friendship for the deceased consists in roasting and eating upon the spot these favoured animals. The feast being concluded the company disperses. The same ceremonial is observed for a woman, except that instead of a horse, they sacrifice her favourite cow.

‘The Yakouts are robust, and in general large. They resemble the Tartars in the cast of their features, and there is said also to be a great similarity in the idioms of these two people; I can only affirm that the Yakouts are very abrupt in their manner of speaking, and do not connect their words.

‘They pretend to ride better than any other nation in the world, and their vanity in this respect is carried so far, that they avoid from a sentiment of disdain, giving to travellers their most mettlesome steeds. The stirrups which they use are very short.

‘Polygamy forms a part of the political code of these people. Obligated to make frequent journies, a Yakout has a wife in every place where he stops, but he never assembles them together. Notwithstanding this licence, they are jealous to excess, and the sworn enemies of whoever shall dare to violate the rights of hospitality.’

On the 27th, at an early hour, our traveller left his friendly host; and, in the evening, alighted at the house of another Yakout prince. On the 29th he reached the border of the

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Lena, which he was four hours in crossing in a diagonal direction. He supposed that the river was at least six miles wide. When landed he was conducted to the governor of Yakoutsk, by whom he was introduced to M. Billings.

Yakoutsk is built on the western side of the Lena, and is a tolerably pleasant and populous town. After staying five days in this place, our traveller embarked in a boat, to sail up the Lena, on the 5th of July. The boats are dragged by convicts and malefactors, and these miserable beings are only allowed a small quantity of flour for performing this painful service. At the end of nine days he reached Olekma, the first town he had seen since his departure from Yakoutsk. Continuing his voyage up the Lena until the 4th of August, when his boat lost both keel and rudder, he found it necessary to take horses and travel by land to Irkoutsk, which he reached in two days. Here he was most hospitably entertained by the governor, and received many marks of civility from the other officers.

This town, the capital of the government of Irkoutsk and Kolivania, is situated on the border of the Angara, and near the mouth of the Irkout, from which it takes its name. Within its vast circumference many stone edifices are seen, and churches built with bricks; the wooden houses are large and commodiously distributed; its population is numerous, and its society brilliant; the multitude of officers and magistrates who reside there, have introduced the modes and customs of Petersburg. Every person in office has an equipage; rank and quality regulate the number of horses that draw their carriages, which are similar to ours.

All the tribunals of the neighbouring provinces are under the jurisdiction of this town; it is also the see of an archbishop, a venerable prelate, who exercises the functions of that office through the whole extent of this part of the Russian empire.

But it is to commerce that this capital is chiefly indebted for its splendour. By its situation, it is the entrepôt of that which is carried on between Russia and China.

'I had no preparation to make for my departure,' says Lesseps, 'but that of purchasing a kibitk. I no longer trou-

bled myself about provisions, as I was sure of finding where-with to subsist myself at every stage. The governor gave me a *poradojenei*, or a passport, as far as Petersburg. It was resolved that I should be escorted by a soldier of the garrison, whose courage and fidelity were known, and that one of the couriers of the governor general, who had particularly recommended him, should accompany me to assist me by his services and experience.

‘ I took leave of M. Arsenieff; his son and M. Dolgopoloff insisted upon conducting me to the first stage, in spite of all my remonstrances. We were seated in the carriage, when my honest Golikoff came with tears in his eyes, conjuring me to permit him to accompany me as far as these gentlemen; it was, he said, the sweetest recompence I could bestow on him. This last instance of attachment affected me, and I felt that in complying with his request, my pleasure was not less than his.

‘ Having crossed in a ferry boat the river Angava, we soon arrived to the place of our separation. While I repeated my thanks, and took leave of my two friends, Golikoff, concealed behind my carriage, endeavoured to hide his tears, and recommend me to the care of the soldier who succeeded him. His despair burst forth when my horses were harnessed; he embraced my knees, and exclaimed that he would never quit me. It was to no purpose I repeated that, as he well knew, I had no right to take him; my reasonings, my caresses, nothing could prevail on him to leave his hold; it was necessary to force him from my feet, then from the carriage, which he seized on being torn from me. Never, I believe, had my sensibility experienced a more violent shock; I departed with a wounded heart. The regret of not having been able to follow the dictates of my gratitude still torments me, and I can only hope that he may be informed of it, for I cannot flatter myself that I shall ever see him again.

‘ I am obliged at present to discontinue my practice of making notes every day. My journey to Petersburg was so rapid, that is, from the 10th of August to the 22d of September, that it was impossible to observe the same accuracy; for this reason also the reader will pardon the brevity of my ob-

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servations. The country through which I passed has beside been described by so many accurate and intelligent pens, and these travellers have given so much attraction and interest to their recitals, that I should only be accused of presumption, or plagiarism, if I attempted to enlarge on a subject, which they profoundly studied, while I had scarcely time to skim the surface.'

While travelling beyond the Wolga, with great rapidity, M. Lesseps, on thrusting his head out of his kibitk, received a violent blow on the head, from part of the wheel that was broken. He fell back in his carriage, and, conceiving the skull was injured, considered himself a dead man. Thus to die at the close of a perilous journey filled him with inconceivable despair. Some strong brandy was poured into the wound, a good compress placed on it, and, shortly after, a drunken surgeon's mate probed the wound with a pin, and assured him the skull was not fractured. He then pursued his journey with pleasure.

On the 26th of September, our ingenious and indefatigable traveller left St. Petersburg; and, on the 17th of October, arrived at Versailles. On the same day he was presented to his majesty; who, on the following day, rewarded him for his zeal and services, by appointing him consul at Cronstadt.

# T R A V E L S

IN

## CHINA,

BY

JOHN BARROW, ESQ.

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**T**HE stability of the Chinese government, the permanence of its civil institutions, the vast extent of empire, and immense population, offer the grandest collective object that can be presented for human contemplation or research. The customs, habits, and manners; the events and resources; the language, sentiments, and religious notions of the most ancient society; and the most populous empire existing amongst men, are without doubt objects interesting to every description of readers.

The splendid embassy sent from the British court to China, under the earl of Macartney, in 1793, was the means of discovering and illustrating many important particulars respecting this extraordinary empire. The late sir George Staunton, secretary to the embassy, published a very learned work on the subject, which was followed by a production from the pen of Mr. Barrow, private secretary to the ambassador, containing much popular and interesting information. From this curious and valuable work, we have selected those parts which seem best calculated to amuse and inform the general reader.

On the 3d of May, 1792, lord Macartney was nominated ambassador from the king of Great Britain to the emperor of

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China. He was admitted, that same day, to the honours and trust of a privy-counsellor. On the 28th of the same month, he was farther graced by his sovereign by a patent advancing him to the dignity of viscount Dervock, in the county of Antrim in Ireland. He proceeded without delay on his embassy. Sir George Staunton, his friend and former secretary, was again in this embassy his secretary and companion. A suitable train of servants and followers were appointed to attend him. A ship of war, under the command of sir Erasmus Gower, was, with certain smaller vessels, assigned for his voyage. Many rich presents were sent by the ambassador from the British to the Chinese sovereign. He arrived in safety in the Indian seas. When his approach was notified at the Chinese court, the emperor and his minister agreed, though not without hesitation, to receive the ambassadors and presents of a monarch so great and so remote. To approach Peking, the northern capital of the Chinese empire, his lordship was obliged happily to direct his voyage round the south-east coast of China, by a tract hitherto unknown to European navigation. The advantage even alone of exploring that tract might have been enough to compensate for all the difficulties and expense of the embassy.

Having reached the Chu-san Archipelago, at the entrance of the Yellow sea, our navigators found the sea studded with a cluster of nearly 400 islands. The squadron dropped anchor near one of the largest. 'At the sight of our ships,' says Mr. Barrow, 'so different in their appearance from any of those belonging to the Chinese, a vast number of boats, issuing from every creek and cove, presently crowded together, in such a manner, and with so little management, as to render it difficult to pass through without danger of upsetting or sinking some of them; a danger, however, to which they seemed quite insensible. Vessels of a larger description, and various in the shape of their hulls and rigging, from 20 tons burden and upwards, to about 200 tons, were observed in considerable numbers, sailing along the coast of the continent, laden generally with small timber, which was piled to such a height

upon their decks, that no extraordinary force of wind would seem to be required to overturn them. Beams of wood, and other pieces that were too long to be received upon the deck of a single ship, were laid across the decks of two vessels lashed together. We saw at least a hundred couple thus laden in one fleet, keeping close in with the coast, in order to be ready, in case of bad weather, to put into the nearest port, being ill calculated to resist a storm at sea. The ships indeed that are destined for longer voyages appear, from their singular construction, to be very unfit to contend with the tempestuous seas of China. The general form of the hull, or body of the ship, above water, is that of the moon when about four days old. The bow, or forepart, is not rounded as in ships of Europe, but is a square flat surface, the same as the stern; without any projecting piece of wood, usually known by the name of cutwater, and without any keel. On each side of the bow a large circular eye is painted, in imitation, I suppose, of that of a fish. The two ends of the ship rise to a prodigious height above the deck. Some carry two, some three, and others four masts. Each of these consists of a single piece of wood, and consequently not capable of being occasionally reduced in length, as those of the European ships. The diameter of the mainmast of one of the larger kind of Chinese vessels, such as trade to Batavia, is not less than that of an English man of war of 64 guns. And it is fixed in a bed of massive timber laid across the deck. On each mast is a single sail of matting, made from the fibres of the bamboo, and stretched by means of poles of that reed, running across, at the distance of about two feet from each other. These sails are frequently made to furl and unfurl like a fan. When well hoisted up and braced almost fore and aft, or parallel with the sides of the ship, a Chinese vessel will sail within three and a half, or four points of the wind; but they lose all this advantage over ships of Europe by their drifting to leeward, in consequence of the round and clumsy shape of the bottom, and their want of keel. The rudder is so placed, in a large opening of the stern, that it can occasionally be taken up, which is generally done on approaching sands and shallows.

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‘The Chinese, in fact, are equally unskilled in naval architecture, as in the art of navigation. They keep no reckoning at sea, nor possess the least idea of drawing imaginary lines upon the surface of the globe, by the help of which the position of any particular spot may be assigned; in other words, they have no means whatsoever of ascertaining the latitude or the longitude of any place, either by estimation from the distance sailed, or by observation of the heavenly bodies, with instruments for that purpose.

‘The present system of Chinese navigation is to keep as near the shore as possible; and never to lose sight of land, unless in voyages that absolutely require it; such as to Japan, Batavia, and Cochin-China. Knowing the bearing, or direction of the port intended to be made, let the wind be fair or foul, they endeavour, as nearly as possible, to keep the head of the ship always pointing towards the port by means of the compass. This instrument, as used in China, has every appearance of originality.

‘Yet even with the assistance of the compass, it is surprising how the clumsy and ill-constructed vessels of the Chinese can perform so long and dangerous a voyage as that to Batavia. For, besides being thrown out of their course by every contrary wind, their whole construction, and particularly the vast height of their upper works above the water, seems little adapted to oppose those violent tempests that prevail on the China seas, known by the name of *Ta-fung*. These hurricanes sometimes blow with such strength that, according to the assertion of an experienced and intelligent commander of one of the East India company’s ships, “Were it possible to blow 10,000 trumpets, and beat as many drums, on the fore-castle of an Indiaman, in the height of a *Ta-fung*, neither the sound of the one nor the other would be heard by a person on the quarter-deck of the same ship.” In fact, vast numbers of Chinese vessels are lost in these heavy gales of wind; and 10 or 12,000 subjects from the port of Canton alone are reckoned to perish annually by shipwreck.

‘When a ship leaves this port on a foreign voyage, it is considered as an equal chance that she will never return; and

when the event proves favourable, a general rejoicing takes place among the friends of all those who had embarked in the hazardous enterprize. Some of these ships are not less than 1,000 tons burden, and contain half that number of souls, besides the passengers that leave their country, in the hope of making their fortunes in Batavia and Manilla. A ship is seldom the concern of one man. Sometimes 40 or 50, or even 100 different merchants purchase a vessel, and divide her into as many compartments as there are partners, so that each knows his own particular place in the ship, which he is at liberty to fit up and to secure as he pleases. He ships his goods, and accompanies them in person, or sends his son, or a near relation, for it rarely happens that they will trust each other with property, where no family connexion exists. Each sleeping-place is just the length and breadth of a man, and contains only a small mat, spread on the floor, and a pillow. Behind the compass is generally placed a small temple, with an altar, on which is continually kept burning a spiral taper, composed of wax, tallow, and sandal-wood dust. This holy flame answers a double purpose; for while the burning of it fulfils an act of piety, its 12 equal divisions serve to measure the 12 portions of time, which make up a complete day.

One of the small brigs, attending the expedition, was dispatched without loss of time to the port of *Chu-san*, to take on board the pilots that, agreeable to the order contained in the imperial edict, were expected to be found in readiness to embark. The brig was met by a large Chinese vessel, which had some officers on board destined to conduct the English to *Chu-san*. 'With a pleasant breeze,' says Barrow, 'we sailed in company with the clumsy-looking *junk*, which, however, to the surprize of our seamen, sailed quite as well as the smart-looking *Clarence*.' Having arrived before the town, they were told that the military governor would be ready next day to receive them. Our author continues:

'Accordingly, at an early hour in the morning, the gentlemen of the embassy, who had been sent on this business, went on shore, and were received by the governor with great politeness, and abundant ceremony, in his hall of public audience,

which, as usual minute Chinese go of his visit the name a explained t there would old gentlen haste, and meant to g take charge the next pr them still fa tion was utte that such pil allowed the r little expecte pilots, in one where, at that The remaind *Ting-hai*; b was so excessi of a street, w the priests ven The officer w chairs, an off stopped every might satisfy window, and e man, or, litera tified, we were into our cots o A number of suspected of ha able-looking w on their knees, qualifications. sea for many y

which, as a building, had little to attract our notice. The usual minute inquiries being gone through, which, it seems, Chinese good-breeding cannot dispense with, such as the health of his visitors, of their parents and relations, and particularly the name and age of each person, the object of our visit was explained to him; and at the same time a hope expressed that there would be no delay in getting the pilots on board. The old gentleman appeared to be much surprized at such violent haste, and talked of plays, feasts, and entertainments, that he meant to give us. Pilots, however, he said, were ready to take charge of the ships, and to carry them along the coast to the next province, where others would be found to conduct them still farther. On being told that such a mode of navigation was utterly impracticable for the large English ships, and that such pilots would be of no use to us, he begged to be allowed the remainder of the day to enquire for others. We little expected to have met with any difficulties with regard to pilots, in one of the best and most frequented ports in China, where, at that time several hundred vessels were lying at anchor. The remainder of the day was spent in a visit to the city of *Ting-hai*; but the crowd became so numerous, and the day was so excessively hot, that before we had passed the length of a street, we were glad to take refuge in a temple, where the priests very civilly entertained us with tea, fruit, and cakes. The officer who attended us advised us to return in sedan chairs, an offer which we accepted; but the bearers were stopped every moment by the crowd, in order that every one might satisfy his curiosity by thrusting his head in at the window, and exclaiming, with a grin, *Hung-mau! English-man*, or, literally, *Redpate!* Rather disappointed than gratified, we were glad, after a fatiguing day, to throw ourselves into our cots on board the *Clarence*.

A number of soldiers were employed to impress every one suspected of having been at sea; and presently a set of miserable-looking wretches were thrust into a hull, and, dropping on their knees, were examined in that attitude, as to their qualifications. At last two poor fellows, who had quitted the sea for many years, and were comfortably settled in trade;

were brought in; and, notwithstanding their supplications, were ordered to be ready to embark in the course of an hour. From this circumstance, however, it appeared that long voyages are seldom undertaken, and that the commerce of the Yellow sea is carried on from port to port.

It presently appeared that the Chinese pilots were of little use. They were surprized and terrified at all they saw, and had no idea of the depth of water required by the English vessels. In a shallow sea, and amidst rocky islands, safety depended more upon the skill and vigilance of the crews, than upon the knowledge of these poor men, who soon lost all idea of the course they were sailing. At last, the lowness of the sea, in the gulf of *Pe-tche-lee*, compelled the ships to cast anchor, about 15 miles from the shore; and 'one of the tenders,' says Mr. Barrow, 'was dispatched to the mouth of the *Pei-lo* to report our arrival.

'Here two officers from the court had already embarked to wait on the ambassador, carrying with them a present of refreshments, consisting of bullocks, hogs, sheep, poultry, wine, fruit, and vegetables, in such quantities, as to be more than sufficient for a week's consumption of the whole squadron, amounting nearly to 600 men. It consisted in 20 small bullocks, 100 hogs, 100 sheep, 1,000 fowls, 3,000 pumpkins, as many melons, apples, pears, plumbs, apricots, and other fruits, with an abundance of culinary vegetables. The wine was contained in large earthen jars whose covers were closely luted. Numbers of the hogs and the fowls had been bruised to death on the passage, which were thrown overboard from the *Lion* with disdain, but the Chinese eagerly picked them up, washed them clean, and laid them in salt.

'The number of vessels they had dispatched to take on shore the presents and baggage was between 30 and 40, the capacity of each not being less, and many of them more, than 200 tons; so imperfect a judgment had these people formed of the quantity of articles to be transhipped. These were the vessels whose hold were divided into 13 distinct compartments, separated by partitions of two inch plank, the seams of which were caulked with a preparation of fine lime made from shells,

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and fibres of bamboo, in order to render them water-tight. Their sails, cables, rigging, and cordage, were all made of bamboo; and neither pitch nor tar was used on these or any part of the wood-work.

‘ We detained about 15 of these vessels to take on shore the ambassador’s suite, the presents for the emperor, and the baggage; after which the British ships returned to Chu-san without the assistance of the Chinese pilots, whose skill in navigation was held very cheap, by the lowest seamen on board.

‘ On entering the Pei-ho we observed a number of buildings erected on the right bank, with roofs of matting, but decorated in the most fantastical manner, with different coloured ribbons and variegated silks; and about 300 soldiers in their uniforms (which appeared to our eye not much adapted to military purposes) were drawn out, with a band of music, near a temporary landing-place constructed of wood; all of which we understood had been hastily prepared for the reception of the ambassador; but as his excellency was desirous of reaching the capital without delay, he declined going on shore, preferring to step into the accommodation yachts at once, that were ready to receive him, a little higher up the river, the moment that the presents should be transhipped into the river-craft. The officers who were deputed to conduct him to the capital observed, that so much haste was not at all necessary, as the emperor’s birth-day was yet distant; these people having no other idea of an embassy, as it seemed, than that of its being a mere compliment to their sovereign. The yellow flags displayed at the mast-heads of the river fleet, laden with the presents, and consisting of 17 sail, gave, indeed, a more extended meaning of such a mission. These flags, in broad black characters, bore the following inscription; *The English Ambassador carrying Tribute to the Emperor of China.*

‘ We found the yachts that were destined to convey us exceedingly convenient, more so indeed than any I have seen on our canals of England. They are flat bottomed, and draw only about 15 inches of water. Their upper works are high, appearing indeed like a floating house. They have three

apartments for the accommodation of passengers; the first an antichamber for the servants and baggage; the middle a commodious sitting and dining room, about 15 feet square; and the third divided into two or three sleeping rooms. Behind these is a kitchen; and still farther aft, small places like dog-kennels for the boatmen. Sometimes there is a kind of second story, upon the apartments, divided into little cells, that are just the length and breadth of a man.

‘The two officers that were sent from the court, to conduct the ambassador to the capital, paid a visit to every yacht, and shewed the most earnest desire to please and to make us comfortable. Their names were *Van* and *Chou*, to which they annexed the title of *Ta-gin*, or *great man*. *Van* had the rank of lieutenant-general in the army, and *Chou* was the governor of a district in *Pe-tche-lee*. We observed in their manners no indication of that stiff and ceremonious conduct, which custom obliges them to put on in public. On the contrary, they sat down to table with us, endeavouring to learn the use of the knife and fork, and made themselves extremely agreeable; lamented they were not able to hold conversation with us in our own language; and on going away, shook hands with us like Englishmen.

‘Provisions, fruit, and wines, (such as the country affords), were sent on board in such profusion, that I really believe the Chinese boatmen, in the course of the passage up this river, were enabled to lay by their winter’s stock from the surplus. In truth, as sir George Staunton has observed, the hospitality, attention, and respect we hitherto experienced, were such as strangers meet with only in the eastern parts of the world.

‘Nothing that could convey the idea of extraordinary wealth or comfort among the inhabitants, or of extraordinary abundance and fertility in the country, (unless in the copious supplies of our provisions) had yet occurred, either at *Chu-san* or in the first three days’ sail up the *Pei-ho* towards the capital. The land on both sides was low and flat, and instead of hedges, trenches were dug to mark the boundaries of property. A small proportion only was under cultivation. The greater part appeared to be sour swampy ground, covered with coarse

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grass, with rushes, and the common reed. There were few trees, except near the villages, which were of mean appearance, the houses generally consisting of mud walls, one story in height, and thatched with straw or rushes. Here and there a solitary cottage intervened, but nothing that bore any resemblance to the residence of a gentleman, or that could even be called a comfortable farm-house. And although villages were numerous, no assemblage of houses were perceived, that properly could be classed under the name of a town, except that of *Sze-koo*, near the mouth of the river, and *Ta-koo* a few miles higher, until we proceeded to the distance of about 90 miles, when we entered the suburbs of the large city of *Tien-sing*, stretching like London on the Thames, for several miles along each bank of the river *Pei-ho*. But neither the buildings nor the river would bear any comparison, even with those parts about Redriffe and Wapping. Every thing, in fact, that we had hitherto seen wore an air of poverty and meanness. After a long confinement on board a ship, to those at least who are not accustomed to it, almost any country appears to possess the charms of a Paradise; yet on our first landing in this celebrated empire to the present place, which is no great distance from the capital, I am persuaded, that every individual of the embassy felt himself rather disappointed in the expectations he had formed. If any thing excited admiration, it was the vast multitudes of people that, from our first arrival, had daily flocked down to the banks of the river, of both sexes and of all ages. Their general appearance, however, was not such as to indicate any extraordinary degree of happiness or comfort. The best dressed men wore a sort of velvet cap on their heads; a short jacket, buttoned close round the neck, and folded across the breast, the sleeves remarkably wide; the materials cotton cloth, black, blue, or brown silk, or European camblet; they wore quilted petticoats, and black satten boots. The common people were dressed in large straw hats, blue or black cotton frocks, wide cotton trowsers, and thick clumsy shoes, sometimes made of straw. Some had coarse stockings of cotton cloth; the legs of others were naked. A

single pair of drawers constituted indeed the whole clothing of a great portion of the crowd.

‘ Never were poor women fitted out in a style so disadvantageous for setting off their charms as those who made their appearance on the banks of the Pei-ho; and we afterwards found that the dress of these, with some slight variations, was the common mode of the country. Bunches of large artificial flowers, generally resembling *asters*, whose colours were red, blue, or yellow, were stuck in their jet-black hair, which, without any pretensions to taste or freedom, was screwed up close behind, and folded into a ridge or knot across the crown of the head, not very unlike (except in the want of taste) to the present mode in which the young ladies of England braid their locks. Two bodkins of silver, brass, or iron, were conspicuously placed behind the head, in the form of an oblique cross, which is the common mode of Malay women. Their faces and necks were daubed with white paint, the eyebrows blackened, and on the centre of the lower lip, and at the point of the chin, were two spots, about the size of a small wafer, of a deep vermilion colour. A blue cotton frock, like that of the men, reaching in some to the middle of the thigh, in others to the knee, was almost universal. A pair of wide trowsers, of different colours, but commonly either red, green, or yellow, extended a little below the calf of the leg, where they were drawn close, in order the better to display an ankle and a foot, which for singularity at least, may challenge the whole world. This distorted and disproportionate member consists of a foot that has been cramped in its growth, to the length of four or five inches, and an ankle that is generally swollen in the same proportion that the foot is diminished. The little shoe is as fine as tinsel and tawdry can make it, and the ankle is bandaged round with party-coloured clothes, ornamented with fringe and tassels; and such a leg and foot, thus dressed out, are considered in China as superlatively beautiful.

‘ The constant pain and uneasiness that female children must necessarily suffer, in the act of compressing, by means of bandages, the toes under the sole of the foot, and retaining

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them in that position until they literally grow into and become a part of it; and by forcing the heel forward, until it is entirely obliterated, make it the more wonderful how a custom, so unnatural and inhuman, should have continued for so many ages, at least such is the opinion, that its origin is entirely unknown, or explained by such fabulous absurdities as are too ridiculous to assign for its adoption.

‘The interior wrappers of the ladies’ feet are said to be seldom changed, remaining, sometimes, until they can no longer hold together; a custom that conveys no very favourable idea of Chinese cleanliness. This, indeed, forms no part of their character; on the contrary they are what Swift would call a *frowzy* people. The comfort of clean linen, or frequent change of under-garments, is equally unknown to the sovereign and to the peasant. A sort of thin coarse silk supplies the place of cotton or linen next the skin, among the upper ranks; but the common people wear a coarse kind of open cotton cloth. These vestments are more rarely removed for the purpose of washing than for that of being replaced with new ones; and the consequence of such neglect or economy is, as might naturally be supposed, an abundant increase of those vermin to whose productions filthiness is found to be most favourable. The highest officers of state made no hesitation of calling their attendants in public to seek in their necks for those troublesome animals, which, when caught, they very composedly put between their teeth. They carry no pocket handkerchiefs, but generally blow their noses into small square pieces of paper which some of their attendants have ready prepared for the purpose. Many are not so cleanly, but spit about the rooms, or against the walls like the French, and they wipe their dirty hands in the sleeves of their gowns. They sleep at night in the same clothes they wear by day. Their bodies are as seldom washed as their articles of dress. They never make use of the bath, neither warm nor cold. Notwithstanding the vast number of rivers and canals, with which every part of the country is intersected, I do not remember to have seen a single group of boys bathing. The men, in the hottest day of summer, make use of warm water for washing the hands and face.

They are unacquainted with the use of soap. We procured, in Pekin, a sort of barilla with which and apricot oil we manufactured a sufficient quantity of this article to wash our linen, which, however, we were under the necessity of getting done by our own servants.

‘ On approaching the town of Tien-sing we observed a prodigious number of large stacks of salt, piled up in sacks of matting. The quantity thus stored was found, on rough calculation, to be sufficient for the consumption of 30,000,000 of people, for a whole year. Such a surprizing aggregate of one of the useful and almost necessary, articles of life, was a preparative, in some measure, for the vast multitudes of people which appeared on our passing this northern emporium of China. The gabelle, or duty on salt, which the government here, as well as elsewhere, had found convenient to impose on one of the indispensable articles of life, partly accounted for such an extraordinary accumulation. The collector of the salt duties of Tien-sing held one of the most lucrative appointments in the gift of the crown.

‘ The crowds of large vessels lying close together along the sides of the river; the various kinds of craft passing and re-passing; the town and manufactories and warehouses extending on each bank as far as the eye could reach, indicated a spirit of commerce far beyond any thing we had hitherto met with. The large vessels, the small craft, the boats, the shores, the walls surrounding the houses, the roofs, were all covered with spectators. Our barges, being retarded in the narrow passages among the shipping, were at least two hours in reaching the head of the town. During the whole time the populace stood in the water, the front rank up to the middle, to get a peep at the strangers. Hitherto among the spectators there had generally appeared full as many of the fair sex as of the other; and the elderly dames, in particular, had been so curious as to dip their little stumps into the water in order to have a peep into the barges as they glided slowly along; but here, among the crowd, not a single female was visible. Although the day was extremely sultry, the thermometer of Fahrenheit being 88 degrees in the shade, as a mutual accom-

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modation their heads were all uncovered, and their bald pates exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. It was an uncommon spectacle to see so many bronze-like heads stuck as close together, tier above tier, as Hogarth's group, intended to display the difference between character and caricature, but it lacked the variety of countenance which this artist has, in an inimitable manner, displayed in his picture.

' The deep sounding *gong*, a sort of brazen kettle struck with a mallet, and used in the barges to direct the motions of the trackers on shore, the kettledrums and the trumpets in the military band, the shrill music and squalling recitative in the theatre, which was entirely open in front, and facing the river in full view of the crowd; the number of temporary booths and buildings erected for the use of the viceroy, governor, judges, and other officers of government, and gaily decorated with ribbons and silken streamers; the buzz and merriment of the crowd, had, altogether, so striking an affinity to the usual entertainments of Bartholomew fair, that no extraordinary stretch of the imagination was required to suppose ourselves for the moment to have been transported into Smithfield. We instantly acquitted the Chinese of any want of curiosity. The arrival of Elfi Bey in London drew not half the crowd; and yet the Chinese account us much greater barbarians than we pretend to consider the mamelukes. The old viceroy of the province, a Tartar of mild and winning manners, had prepared for us a most magnificent entertainment, with wine, fruits, and great variety of pastry and sweetmeats, together with presents of tea, silk, and nankins, not only to the ambassador and his suite, but also to the servants, musicians, and soldiers.

' The cheerful and good-natured countenances of the multitude were extremely prepossessing; not less so their accommodating behaviour to one another. There was an innocence and simplicity in their features, that seemed to indicate a happy and contented turn of mind. This, however, being a sort of gala day, we might, on account of the extraordinary occasion, perhaps have viewed them to the best advantage; yet the same cheerful and willing mind had

constantly shewn itself on all occasions, by all those who were employed in the service of the embassy. On board the yachts constant mirth and good humour prevailed among the seamen. When the weather was calm, the vessels were generally pushed on by means of two large sculls, or oars turning upon pivots that were placed in projecting pieces of wood near the *bow* of the vessel, and not the stern, as is the practice of most other nations. From six to ten men are required to work one of these oars, which, instead of being taken out of the water, as in the act of rowing, are moved backwards and forwards under the surface, in a similar manner to what in England is understood by sculling. To lighten their labour, and assist in keeping time with the strokes, a rude air was generally sung by the master, which the whole crew used to join in chorus.

‘Of their honesty, sobriety, and carefulness, we had already received convincing proofs. Of the number of packages, amounting to more than 600, of various sizes and descriptions, not a single article was missed or injured, on their arrival at the capital, notwithstanding they had been moved about, and carried by land, and transhipped several times. Of the three state-officers, who had been deputed from court to attend the embassy, two of them were the most obliging and attentive creatures imaginable. The third, a Tartar, who first made his appearance at Tien-sing, was distant, proud, and imperious. The Chinese indeed were invariably more affable than the Tartars. In short, had we returned to Europe, without proceeding farther in the country than Tien-sing, a most lively impression would always have remained on my mind in favour of the Chinese.

‘Leaving Tien-sing on the 11th of August, we found the river considerably contracted in its dimensions, and the stream more powerful. The surface of the country, in fact, began to assume a less uniform appearance, being now partly broken into hill and dale; but nothing approaching to a mountain was yet visible in any direction. We saw no gardens nor pleasure-grounds, but considerable tracts of pasture or meadow-land intervened between the villages, on which however were few cattle, and those few remarkably small. Those we



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*London Echo*

**ECONOMY OF TIME AND LABOUR EXEMPLIFIED IN A CHINESE WATERMAN.**

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procured for the use of the ships along the coast of the gulf of Pe-tche-lee, seldom exceeded the weight of 200 pounds. The few sheep we saw were of the broad-tailed species. The cottages of the peasantry were very mean, without any appearance of comfort, and thinly scattered; seldom standing alone, but generally collected into small villages.

‘ If, however, cities, towns, villages, and farm-houses, were less abundant so near the capital, than from the relations of travellers we had expected to find them, the multitudes of inhabitants whose constant dwelling was on the water, amply made up the apparent deficiency on shore. We passed, in one day, upon this river, more than 600 large vessels, having each a range of 10 or 12 distinct apartments built upon the deck, and each apartment contained a whole family. The number of persons in one of these vessels, we reckoned, on an average, to be about 50, and we actually counted above 1,000 vessels of this description, that were floating on that part of the river, between Tien-sing and Tong-tchoo. The different kinds of craft, besides these, that were perpetually passing or re-passing, or lying chained to the banks of the river, all of which were crowded with men, women, and children, contained full as many as the large vessels above mentioned; so that, in the distance of 90 miles, on this small branch of a river, there were floating on the water not fewer than 100,000 souls.

‘ Among the different cargoes of cotton wool, copper money, rice, silk, salt, tea, and other commodities, for the supply of the capital, we observed an article of commerce, in several of the large open craft, that puzzled us not a little to find out for what it was intended. It consisted of dry brown cakes, not much larger but thicker than those we call crumpets. A close examination, however, soon discovered the nature of their composition, which, it seemed, was a mixture of every kind of filth and excrementitious substances, moulded into their present shape, and dried in the sun. In this form they are carried to the capital as articles of merchandize, where they meet with a ready market from the gardeners in the vicinity; who, after dissolving them in urine, use them for manure.

‘ The whole distance, from the entrance of the Pei-ho to the city of *Tong-tchoo* is about 170 miles. Here we found two buildings, that had been erected in the space of two days, for the temporary purpose of receiving the presents and baggage: and they were constructed of such large dimensions, that they were capable of containing at least 10 times the quantity. The materials were wooden poles and mats, and a fence of wooden paling surrounded the whole.

‘ We took up our lodging in a spacious temple in the suburbs, from whence the priests were turned out without the least ceremony, to make room for us, consisting in the whole of 100 persons nearly. And here it was settled we should remain until every article was landed, and coolies or porters procured sufficient to carry the whole at once to Peking, which was computed to be about 12 miles to the westward from this place. And although near 3,000 men were required for this purpose, they were supplied the instant the goods were all on shore, nor did it appear that any difficulty would have been found in raising double that number, as there seemed to be 10 times the number of idle spectators as of persons employed. The plain between the landing-place and the temple was like a fair, and cakes, rice, tea, and fruit upon masses of ice, and many other refreshments were exposed for sale, under large square umbrellas, that served instead of booths. A slice of water-melon, cooled on ice, was sold for one *tchen*, a piece of base copper coin, of the value of about 3-10ths of a farthing. Not a single woman appeared among the many thousand spectators that were assembled on the plain.’

The Chinese porters, whose expedition, strength, and activity, were unparalleled, fixed their bamboo poles to each package, and awaited the order to proceed, which took place as follows:

‘ According to the arrangement, on 21st of August, about three o’clock in the morning, we were prepared to set out, but could scarcely be said to be fairly in motion till five, and before we had cleared the city of *Tong-tchoo*, it was past six o’clock. From this city to the capital, I may venture to say, the road never before exhibited so motley a group. In front marched

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about 3,000 porters, carrying 600 packages; some of which were so large and heavy, as to require 32 bearers: with these were mixed a proportionate number of inferior officers, each having the charge and superintendence of a division. Next followed 85 waggons, and 39 hand-carts, each with one wheel, loaded with wine, porter, and other European provisions, ammunition, and such heavy articles as were not liable to be broken. Eight light field pieces, which were among the presents for the emperor, closed this part of the procession. After these paraded the Tartar legate, and several officers from court, with their numerous attendants; some on horseback, some in chairs, and others on foot. Then followed the ambassador's guard in waggons, the servants, musicians, and mechanics, also in waggons; the gentlemen of the suite on horseback, the ambassador, the minister plenipotentiary, his son, and the interpreter, in four ornamented chairs; the rest of the suit in small covered carriages on two wheels, not unlike in appearance to our funeral hearses, but only about half the length; and last of all Van and Chou, with their attendants, closed this motley procession.

Though the distance was only 12 miles, it was thought advisable by our conductors to halt for breakfast about half way; for, as heavy bodies move slowly, what with the delay and confusion in first getting in order, and the frequent stoppages on the road, we found it was eight o'clock before the whole of the cavalcade reached the half way house. Here we had a most sumptuous breakfast of roast pork and venison, rice and made dishes, eggs, tea, milk, and a variety of fruits served up on masses of ice.

The porters and the heavy baggage moved forwards without halting; and having ended our comfortable repast, we followed without loss of time. We had scarcely proceeded three miles till we found the sides of the road lined with spectators on horseback, on foot, in small carriages similar to those we rode in, in carts, waggons, and chairs. In the last were Chinese ladies, but, having gauze curtains at the sides and front, we could see little of them. Several well-looking women in long silken robes, with a great number of children,

were in the small carriages. These we understood to be Tartars. A file of soldiers now moved along with the procession on each side of the road, armed with whips, which they continually exercised in order to keep off the crowd that increased as we approached the capital, and, at length, was so great as to obstruct the road. We observed, however, that though the soldiers were very active and noisy in brandishing their whips, they only struck them against the ground, and never let them fall upon the people. Indeed a Chinese crowd is not so tumultuous and unruly as it generally is elsewhere.'

Our author proceeds: 'The excessive heat of the weather, the dustiness of the road, the closeness of the carriages, and the slow manner in which we moved along, would have made this short journey almost insupportable, but from the novelty of the scene, the smiles, the grins, the gestures of the multitude, and above all, the momentary expectation of entering the greatest city on the surface of the globe. Those also who had been so unlucky as to make choice of the little covered carriages, found themselves extremely uncomfortable, notwithstanding they are the best that the country affords. Being fixed on the wheels without springs, and having no seats in the inside, they are to an European, who must sit on his haunches in the bottom, the most uneasy vehicles that can be imagined.

'The great road to the capital lay across an open country, sandy and ill cultivated, and the few houses on each side were of mean appearance, generally built with mud, or half burnt bricks, to the very gates of Peking. The middle part of the road, for the width of 18 or 20 feet, was paved with stones of granite from 6 to 16 feet in length and broad in proportion. Every one of these enormous flag stones must have been brought at least 60 miles, the nearest mountains where quarries of granite are found, being those that divide China from Mantchoo Tartary, near the great wall.

'A temple on the right of the road and a bridge of white marble having the balustrade ornamented with figures, meant to represent lions and other animals cut out of the same

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material, were the only objects that attracted any notice, until the walls and the lofty gates of the capital appeared in view. None of the buildings within, on this side of the city, overtopped the walls, though these did not appear to exceed 25 or at most 30 feet in height; they were flanked with square towers, and surrounded by a moat or ditch. These towers projected about 40 feet from the line of the wall, and were placed at regular intervals of about 70 yards, being considered as a bow-shot distance from each other. Each had a small guard-house upon its summit. The thickness of the base of the wall was about 25 feet, and the width across the top within the parapets 12 feet; so that the sides of the wall have a very considerable slope, much more however within than without. The middle part was composed of the earth that had been dug out of the ditch; and was kept together by two retaining walls, part of which were of brick and part of stone. The famous barrier on the borders of Tartary, and the ramparts of all the cities in the country, are built in the same manner.

‘No cannon were mounted on the walls nor on the bastions; but in the high building which surrounded the gate, and which was several stories one above the other, the portholes were closed with red doors, on the outside of which were painted the representations of cannon, not unlike at a distance the sham ports in a ship of war. The gates of a Chinese city are generally double, and placed in the flanks of a square or semicircular bastion. The first opens into a large space, surrounded with buildings, which are appropriated entirely for military uses, being the depôt of provisions and ammunition, *place d'armes*, and barracks. Out of this place, in one of the flanks, the second gate, having a similar high building erected over it as the first, opens into the city.

‘The first appearance of this celebrated capital is not much calculated to raise high expectations, nor does it in the least improve upon a more intimate acquaintance. In approaching an European city it generally happens that a great variety of objects catch the eye, as the towers and spires of churches, domes, obelisks, and other buildings for public purposes

towering above the rest; and the mind is amused in conjecturing the form and magnitude of their several constructions, and the uses to which they may be applied. In Pekin not even a chimney is seen rising above the roofs of the houses, which, being all nearly of the same height, and the streets laid out in straight lines, have the appearance and the regularity of a large encampment. The roofs would only require to be painted white, instead of being red, green, or blue, to make the resemblance complete. Few houses exceed the height of one story, and none but the great shops have either windows or openings in the wall in front, but most of them have a sort of terrace, with a railed balcony or parapet wall in front, on which are placed pots of flowers, or shrubs, or stunted trees.

‘ This city is an oblong square. The area about 12 square miles, independent of the extensive suburbs at every gate. In the south wall are three gates, and in each of the other sides two, from whence it is sometimes called *The city of nine gates*; but its usual name is *Pe-ching*, or the Northern Court. The middle gate, on the south side, opens into the imperial city, which is a space of ground within the general inclosure, in the shape of a parallelogram, about a mile in length from north to south, and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile from east to west. A wall built of large red polished bricks, and 20 feet high, covered with a roof of tiles painted yellow and varnished, surrounds this space, in which are contained not only the imperial palace and gardens, but also all the tribunals, or public offices of government, lodgings for the ministers, the eunuchs, artificers, and tradesmen, belonging to the court. A great variety of surface, as well as of indifferent objects, appear within this inclosure. A rivulet winding through it not only affords a plentiful supply of water, but adds largely to the beauties of the grounds, by being formed into canals and basons, and lakes, which, with the artificial mounts, and rocks, and groves, exhibit the happiest imitation of nature.

‘ Between the other two gates, in the south wall, and the corresponding and opposite ones on the north side of the city, run two streets perfectly straight, each being four English miles in length, and about 120 feet in width. One street also

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of the same width runs from one of the eastern to the opposite western gate, but the other is interrupted by the north wall of the imperial city, round which it is carried. The cross streets can be considered only as lanes branching from these main streets at right angles; are very narrow; but the houses in them are generally of the same construction as those in the great streets. The large houses of the state officers are in these lanes.

‘ Although the approach to Peking afforded little that was interesting, we had no sooner passed the gate and opened out the broad street, than a very singular and novel appearance was exhibited. We saw before us a line of buildings on each side of a wide street, consisting entirely of shops and warehouses, the particular goods of which were brought out and displayed in groups in front of the houses. Before these were generally erected large wooden pillars, whose tops were much higher than the eaves of the houses, bearing inscriptions in gilt characters setting forth the nature of the wares to be sold, and the honest reputation of the seller; and, to attract the more notice, they were generally hung with various coloured flags and streamers and ribbons from top to bottom, exhibiting the appearance of a line of shipping dressed, as we sometimes see them, in the colours of all the different nations in Europe. The sides of the houses were not less brilliant in the several colours with which they were painted, consisting generally of sky blue or green mixed with gold: and what appeared to us singular enough, the articles for sale that made the greatest show were coffins for the dead.

‘ At the four points where the great streets intersect one another were erected those singular buildings, sometimes of stone, but generally of wood, which have been called triumphal arches, but which, in fact, are monuments to the memory of those who had deserved well of the community, or who had attained an unusual longevity. They consist invariably of a large central gateway, with a smaller one on each side, all covered with narrow roofs; and, like the houses, they are painted, varnished, and gilt, in the most splendid manner.

‘ The multitude of moveable workshops of tinkers and barbers, cobblers and blacksmiths; the tents and booths where tea and fruit, rice and other eatables were exposed for sale, with the wares and merchandize arrayed before the doors, had contracted this spacious street to a narrow road in the middle, just wide enough for two of our little vehicles to pass each other. The cavalcade of officers and soldiers that preceded the embassy, the processions of men in office attended by their numerous retinues, bearing umbrellas and flags, painted lanterns, and a variety of strange insignia of their rank and station, different trains that were accompanying, with lamentable cries, corpses to their graves, and, with squalling music, brides to their husbands, the troops of dromedaries laden with coals from Tartary, the wheel-barrows and hand-carts stuffed with vegetables, occupied nearly the whole of this middle space in one continued line, leaving very little room for the cavalcade of the embassy to pass. All was in motion. The sides of the street were filled with an immense concourse of people, buying and selling and bartering their different commodities. The buz and confused noises of this mixed multitude, proceeding from the loud bawling of those who were crying their wares, the wrangling of others, with every now and then a strange twanging noise like the jarring of a cracked Jew’s harp, the barber’s signal made with his tweezers, the mirth and the laughter that prevailed in every group, could scarcely be exceeded by the brokers in the Bank rotund, or by the Jews and old women in *Rosemary-Lane*. Pedlars with their packs, and jugglers, and conjurers, and fortune-tellers, mountebanks and quack-doctors, comedians and musicians, left no space unoccupied. The Tartar soldiers, with their whips, kept with difficulty a clear passage for the embassy to move slowly forwards; so slow, indeed, that although we entered the eastern gate at half past nine, it was near twelve before we arrived at the western.

‘ Although an extraordinary crowd might be expected to assemble on such a particular occasion, on the same principal of curiosity as could not fail to attract a crowd of spectators

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in London, yet there was a most remarkable and a striking difference observable between a London and a Peking populace. In the former the whole attention and soul of the multitude would have been wrapt up in the novel spectacle; all would have been idlers. In Peking, the shew was but an accessory; every one pursued his business, at the same time that he gratified his curiosity. In fact, it appeared that, on every day throughout the whole year, there was the same noise and bustle and crowd in the capital of China.

‘ Women in Peking were commonly seen among the crowd, or walking in the narrow streets, or riding on horseback, which they crossed in the same manner as the men, but they were all Tartars. They wore long silken robes, reaching down to their feet; their shoes appeared to be as much above the common size, as those of the Chinese are under it; the upper part was generally of embroidered satin, the sole consisted of folds of cloth or paper, about an inch thick; they were square in front, and a little turned up. The hair smoothed up on all sides, not very different from that of the Chinese; and though their faces were painted with white lead and vermilion, it was evident their skins were much fairer than those of the former. The Chinese women are more scrupulously confined to the house in the capital than elsewhere. Young girls were sometimes seen smoking their pipes in the doors of their houses, but they always retired on the approach of men.’

All the streets were covered with sand and dust: none had the least pavement. The city is well supplied with water; but has no common sewers. The streets, however, are kept very clean, each family having a large earthen jar into which all filth is thrown, and preserved for manure. The police is well regulated; being assisted by the 10th inhabitant of every 10th house, who in turn becomes responsible for the conduct of his nine neighbours.

The embassy passed through the city, and about eight miles beyond Peking were put in possession of apartments, which were so wretched that his lordship insisted on being removed to the capital. This was complied with, ‘ and we

found our new lodging,' says Barrow, 'sufficiently large, but the apartments were shamefully dirty, having been uninhabited for some time; very much out of repair, and totally unfurnished.

'This house was built by the late *ho-poo*, or collector of the customs at Canton, from which situation he was preferred to the collectorship of salt duties at 'Tien-sing; where, it seems, he was detected in embezzling the public revenues, thrown into jail, and his immense property confiscated to the crown. The officers appointed to attend the embassy told us, that when it was proposed to the emperor for the English ambassador to occupy this house, he immediately replied, "Most certainly, you cannot refuse the temporary occupation of a house to the ambassador of that nation which contributed so very amply towards the expense of building it." The inference to be drawn from such a remark, is, that the court of Pekin is well aware of the extortions committed against foreigners at Canton.

'The emperor being at this time in Tartary, where he meant to celebrate the festival of the anniversary of his birth-day, had given orders that the public introduction of the British ambassador should be fixed for that day, and should take place at Gehol, a small town 136 miles from Pekin, where he had a large palace, park, gardens, and a magnificent *Poo-ta-la* or temple of Budha. Accordingly a selection was made of such presents as were the most portable, to be sent forwards into Tartary; and the ambassador, with part of his suite, several officers of the court, and their retinue, set out from Pekin on the 2d of September. Some of the gentlemen, with part of the guard and of the servants, remained in Pekin, and Dr. Dinwiddie and myself, with two mechanics, had apartments allotted to us in the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, where the largest and most valuable of the present were to be fitted up for the inspection of the old emperor on his return from Tartary.

'Having already acquired some little knowledge of the language on the passage from England, by the assistance of two Chinese priests who had been sent by their superiors to

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Naples, for the purpose of being instructed in the Christian religion, I hoped to find this temporary banishment less irksome, particularly as I had previously stipulated with the officers belonging to that palace for an unconditional leave to visit the capital whenever I should find it necessary or proper, during the absence of the ambassador; and, it is but fair to say, they kept faith to their engagement in the strictest sense. A horse and one of the little covered carts were always at my disposal.

‘The gentlemen left in the city were less agreeably situated. At the outer gate of their lodgings a guard was stationed with orders to allow none of them to pass, and all their proceedings and movements were closely watched. Sometimes they were a little relieved by occasional visits from the European missionaries; but so suspicious were the officers of government of any communication with these gentlemen that they were invariably accompanied by some of them to act as spies, notwithstanding they could not comprehend one single word that was exchanged in the conversations they held together.’

On arriving at Yuen-min-yuen, Mr. Barrow began to unpack and arrange the presents, in which he was ably assisted by Deodato, a Neapolitan missionary. The president and other members of the tribunal of mathematics were among the numerous visitors who came to view the curiosities; but these gentlemen were unable to comprehend the principles upon which the planetarium was constructed. ‘The grandsons of the emperor,’ says our author, ‘were almost daily visitors. It seems there is a kind of college in the palace for their education. Though young men from the ages of 15 to 25, the old eunuch used frequently to push them by the shoulders out of the hall of audience; and, on expressing my surprize to Deodato at such insolence, he informed me that he was their *aya*, the governor!’

‘We had also a great number of Tartar generals and military officers who had heard of sword-blades that would cut iron-bars without injuring the edge; and so great was their astonishment on proving the fact, that they could scarcely credit the evidence of their own eyes. We could not confer a

more acceptable present on a military officer than one of Gill's sword-blades; and from the eager applications made for them, as we passed through the country, the introduction of them through Canton, in the regular course of trade, would, I should suppose, be no difficult task.

'But the two elegant carriages made by Hatchett puzzled the Chinese more than any of the other presents. Nothing of the kind had ever been seen at the capital; and the disputes among themselves as to the part which was intended for the seat of the emperor were whimsical enough. The hammer-cloth that covered the box of the winter carriage had a smart edging, and was ornamented with festoons of roses. Its splendid appearance and elevated situation determined it at once, in the opinion of the majority, to be the emperor's seat; but a difficulty arose how to appropriate the inside of the carriage. They examined the windows, the blinds, and the skreens, and at last concluded, that it could be for nobody but his ladies. The old eunuch came to me for information, and when he learned that the fine elevated box was to be the seat of the man who managed the horses, and that the emperor's place was within, he asked me, with a sneer, if I supposed the *Ta-whang-tee* would suffer any man to sit higher than himself, and to turn his back towards him? and he wished to know if we could not contrive to have the coach-box removed and placed somewhere behind the body of the carriage.'

'Among the presents carried into Tartary,' continues our author, 'was a collection of prints, chiefly portraits of English nobility and distinguished persons; and to make the present more acceptable, they were bound up in three volumes in yellow Morocco. The emperor was so pleased with this collection, that he sent it express to Yuen-min-yuen to have the name, rank, and office, of each portrait, translated into the Mantchoo and Chinese languages. The Tartar writer got on pretty well, but the Chinese secretary was not a little puzzled with the B, the D, and the R, that so frequently recurred in the English names. The Duke of Marlborough was *Too-ke Ma-ul-po-loo*, and Bedford was transformed to

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*Pe-te-fo-ul-te*. But here a more serious difficulty occurred than that of writing the name. The rank was also to be written down, and on coming to the portrait of this nobleman, (which was a proof impression of the print, engraved from a picture by sir Joshua Reynolds, when the late duke of Bedford was a youth,) I told the Chinese to write him down a *ta-gin*, or great man of the second order. He instantly observed that I surely meant his father was a *ta-gin*. I then explained to him that, according to our laws, the son succeeded to the rank of the father, and that with us it was by no means necessary, in order to obtain the first rank in the country, that a man should be of a certain age, be possessed of superior talents, or suitable qualifications. That these were sometimes conducive to high honours, yet that a great part of the legislative body of the nation were entitled to their rank and situation by birth. They laughed heartily at the idea of a man being born a legislator, when it required so many years of close application to enable one of their countrymen to pass his examination for the very lowest order of state officers. As, however, the descendants of Confucius continue to enjoy a sort of nominal rank, and as their emperor can also confer a hereditary dignity, without entitling to office, emolument, or exclusive privilege, they considered his grace might be one of this description, and wrote down his rank accordingly; but they positively refused to give him the title of *ta-gin*, or great man, asking me, if I thought their emperor was so stupid as not to know the impossibility of a little boy having attained the rank of a *great man*.

‘ On the 17th of September, being the emperor’s birth-day, all the princes and officers about the palace assembled in their robes of ceremony, to make their obeisance to the throne in the great hall of audience. On this occasion were placed on the floor before the throne, on three small tripods, a cup of tea, of oil, and of rice, perhaps as an acknowledgment of the emperor being the proprietary of the soil, of which these are three material products. The old eunuch told me that I might remain in the hall during the ceremony, if I would

consent to perform it with them, and offered to instruct me in it. He said that all the officers of government, in every part of the empire, made their prostrations to the name of the emperor inscribed on yellow silk on that day.

‘Two day after this, on going as usual in the morning to the hall of audience, I found the doors shut, and the old eunuch, who kept the keys, walking about in so sullen a mood that I could not get from him a single word. Different groups of officers were assembled in the court-yard, all looking as if something very dreadful either had occurred, or was about to happen. Nobody would speak to me, nor could I get the least explanation of this extraordinary conduct, till at length our friend Deodato appeared with a countenance no less woeful than those of the officers of government, and the old eunuch. I asked him what was the matter? His answer was, We are all lost, ruined, and undone! He then informed me that intelligence had arrived from Gehol, stating, that lord Macartney had refused to comply with the ceremony of prostrating himself, like the ambassadors of tributary princes, nine times before the emperor, unless one of equal rank with himself should go through the same ceremony before the portrait of his Britannic majesty: that rather than do this they had accepted his offer to perform the same ceremony of respect to the emperor as to his own sovereign. That although little was thought of this affair at Gehol, the great officers of state in the tribunal or department of ceremonies in Peking were mortified, and perplexed, and alarmed; and that, in short, it was impossible to say what might be the consequence of an event unprecedented in the annals of the empire. That the emperor, when he began to think more seriously on the subject, might possibly impeach those before the criminal tribunal who had advised him to accede to such a proposal, on reflecting how much his dignity had suffered by the compliance; and that the records of the country might hand it down to posterity, as an event that had tarnished the lustre of his reign, being nothing short of breaking through an ancient custom, and adopting one of a barbarous nation in its

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place. Deodato thought even that its ill effects might extend to them, as Europeans, and might injure the cause which was the first object of their mission.'

Mr. Barrow's table had been plentifully supplied with a variety of excellent made dishes, served in porcelain bowls; but now both the number and quality of the dishes were altered. On the 26th, the ambassador returned from Tartary; and, on the 30th, at four in the morning, he and his suit were mounted in order to meet the emperor, who had to enter Peking on that day. 'We arrived on our ground,' says Barrow, 'at six o'clock. The whole road had been newly made, rolled as level as a bowling-green, watered to keep down the dust, and, on each side, at the distance of about 50 yards from each other, were small triangular poles erected, from which were suspended painted lanterns.

'They brought us into a kind of guard-house, where tea and other refreshments were prepared, after which we took our station on a high bank to the left of the road. On each side, as far as the eye could reach, were several thousands of the great officers of state in their habits of ceremony; Tartar troops in their holiday dresses; standard-bearers without number, military music, and officers of the household, lining the two sides of the road. The approach of the emperor was announced by a blast of the trumpet, followed by softer music, "and at that time when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flutes, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music, then the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, that were gathered together, fell down and worshipped," except certain strangers, who, being obstinately resolved to do no greater homage to any sovereign than what is required by their own sovereign, bent one knee only to the ground.

'The emperor was carried by eight men in a kind of sedan chair, which was followed by a clumsy state chariot upon two wheels, and without springs. He bowed very graciously to the ambassador as he passed, and sent a message to him to say that, understanding he was not well, he advised him to return

immediately to Peking, and not to stop at Yuen-min-yuen; as was intended.

'The morning being very cold, we were desirous to get home as fast as we could; and accordingly galloped along with some of the Tartar cavalry. When we arrived under the walls of Peking, we turned our horses towards a different gate to that through which we were accustomed to pass, in order to see a little more of the city. But one of our conductors, who had thought it his duty not to lose sight of us, in perceiving us making a wrong turn, hallooed out with all his might. We pushed forward, however, and got through the gate, but we were pursued with such a hue and cry, that we were glad to escape through one of the cross streets leading to our hotel, where we arrived with at least 100 soldiers at our heels.

'On the 1st of October the emperor, attended by a Tartar, inspected the presents in the hall of audience and examined them with minute attention. He desired the Tartar prince to tell us, through Deodato, that the accounts he had received of our good conduct at Yuen-min-yuen gave him great pleasure, and that he had ordered a present to be made to each of us, as a proof of his entire satisfaction. This present was brought, after his departure from the hall, by the old eunuch, who took care to tell us that before we received it we must make nine prostrations according to the Chinese custom. I made him no answer, but requested Deodato to explain to the Tartar prince, who was still present, that being under the orders of the ambassador we did not think ourselves authorized to do what he had found good to refuse, but that we had not the least objection to go through the same ceremony that he had done at Gehol. The Tartar prince immediately answered that nothing further was required. We accordingly placed one knee on the lowest step leading to the throne. The present consisted of rolls of silk and several pieces of silver cast in the form of a Tartar shoe, without any mark or inscription on them, and each about the weight of an ounce.

'The presents being now all delivered, and the ambassador informed by the missionaries that preparations were making

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for our departure, the usual time being nearly expired, his excellency was desirous of having the day fixed, and for this purpose dispatched a note to the first minister, who sent an answer by the Tartar legate to inform him that, to prevent any likelihood of being surprized by the approaching bad weather, the emperor had named the 7th instant for the beginning of our journey; and had given orders that every honour and distinction should be paid to the embassy on the road.'

The grandeur and beauty of the imperial gardens have been much celebrated; and, according to our author, not unjustly. 'The grounds of Yuen-min-yuen,' says he, 'are calculated to comprehend an extent of at least 10 English miles in diameter, or about 60,000 acres, a great part of which, however, is wastes and woodland. The general appearance of those parts near where we lodged, as to the natural surface of the country, broken into hill and dale, and diversified with wood and lawn, may be compared with Richmond park, to which, however, they add the very great advantage of abundance of canals, rivers, and large sheets of water, whose banks, although artificial, are neither trimmed, nor shorn, nor sloped, like the glacis of a fortification, but have been thrown up with immense labour in an irregular, and, as it were, fortuitous manner, so as to represent the free hand of nature. Bold rocky promontories are seen jutting into a lake, and vallies retiring, some choked with wood, others in a high state of high cultivation. In particular spots where pleasure-houses, or places of rest or retirement, were erected, the views appeared to have been studied. The trees were not only placed according to their magnitudes, but the tints of their foliage seemed also to have been considered in the composition of the picture, which some of the landscapes might be called with great propriety.

'Thirty distinct places of residence for the emperor, with all the necessary appendages of building to each, for lodging the several officers of state, who are required to be present on court days and particular occasions, for the eunuchs, servants, and artificers, each composing a village of no inconsiderable

magnitude, are said to be contained within the inclosure of these gardens. Those assemblages of buildings, which they dignify with the name of palaces, are, however, of such a nature as to be more remarkable for their number than for their splendour or magnificence. A great proportion of the buildings consists in mean cottages. The very dwelling of the emperor and the grand hall in which he gives audience, when divested of the gilding and the gaudy colours with which they are daubed, are little superior, and much less solid, than the barns of a substantial English farmer. Their apartments are as deficient in proportion, as their construction is void of every rule and principle, which we are apt to consider as essential to architecture. The principal hall of audience at Yuen-min-yuen stood upon a platform of granite, raised about four feet above the level of the court. A row of large wooden columns surrounding the building supported the projecting roof; and a second row within the first, and corresponding with it (the interstices between the columns being filled up with brick-work to the height of about four feet) served for the walls of the room. The upper part of these walls was a kind of lattice work, covered over with large sheets of oiled paper, and was capable of being thrown entirely open on public occasions. The wooden columns had no capitals, and the only architrave was the horizontal beam that supported the rafters of the roof. This, in direct contradiction to the established mode of European architecture, was the uppermost member of what might be called the entablature or frize, which was a broad skreen of wood, fastened between the upper part of the columns, painted with the most vivid colours of the blue, red, and green, and interlarded with gilding; and the whole had net-work of wire stretched over it, to prevent its being defiled by swallows, and other birds frequenting human dwellings. The length of this room within was 110 feet, breadth 42, and height 20: the ceiling painted with circles, squares, and polygons, whimsically disposed, and loaded with a great variety of colours. The floor was paved with grey marble flag stones laid chequer-wise. The throne, placed in a recess, was supported by rows of pillars painted

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red like those without. It consisted entirely of wood, not unlike mahogany, the carving of which was exquisitely fine. The only furniture was a pair of brass kettledrums, two large paintings, two pair of ancient blue porcelain vases, a few volumes of manuscripts, and a table at one end of the room, on which was placed an old English chiming clock, made in the 17th century by one Clarke of Leadenhall-street, and which our old friend the eunuch had the impudence to tell us was the workmanship of a Chinese. A pair of circular fans made of the wing feathers of the Argus pheasant, and mounted on long polished ebony poles stood, one on each side of the throne, over which was written in four characters, "true, great, refulgent, splendour;" and under these, in a lozenge, the character of *Happiness*. In the different courts were several miserable attempts at sculpture, and some bronze figures, but all the objects were fanciful, distorted, and entirely out of nature. The only specimen of workmanship about the palace, that would bear close examination, besides the carving of the throne, was a brick wall enclosing the flower-garden, which, perhaps, in no respect is exceeded by any thing of the sort in England.

Lord Macartney, who possessed great skill and taste in landscape gardening, has inserted in his journal a description of the grand park at Gehol, which seems to be almost unparalleled for its features of beauty, sublimity, and amenity. 'The emperor,' says his lordship, 'having been informed that, in the course of our travels in China, we had shewn a strong desire of seeing every thing curious and interesting, was pleased to give directions to the first minister to shew us his park or garden at Gehol. It is called in Chinese *Vaa-shoo-yuen*, or Paradise of ten thousand (or innumerable) trees. In order to have this gratification (which is considered as an instance of uncommon favour) we rose this morning at three o'clock and went to the the palace where we waited, mixed with all the great officers of state, for three hours (such is the etiquette of the place) till the emperor's appearance. At last he came forth, borne in the usual manner by 16 persons on a high open palanquin, attended by guards, music, standards, and

umbrellas without number; and observing us, as we stood in the front line, graciously beckoned us to approach, having ordered his people to stop; he entered into conversation with us; and, with great affability of manner, told us that he was on his way to his pagoda, where he usually paid his morning devotions; that as we professed a different religion from his he would not ask us to accompany him, but that he had ordered his first minister and chief Colaos to conduct us through his garden, and shew us whatever we were desirous of seeing there.

‘ Having expressed my sense of this mark of his condescension in the proper manner, and my increasing admiration of every thing I had yet observèd at Gehol, I retirèd, and, whilst he proceeded to his adorations at the pagoda, I accompanied the ministers and other great Colaos of the court to a pavilion preparèd for us, from whence, after a short collation, we set out on horseback to view this wonderful garden. We rode about three miles through a very beautiful park kept in the highest order and much resembling the approach to Luton in Bedfordshire; the grounds gently undulated and chequered with various groups of well contrasted trees in the offskip. As we moved onward an extensive lake appeared before us, the extremities of which seemèd to lose themselves in distance and obscurity. Here was a large and magnificent yacht ready to receive us, and a number of smaller ones for the attendants, elegantly fitted up and adorned with numberless vanes, pendants, and streamers. The shores of the lake have all the varieties of shape, which the fancy of a painter can delineate, and are so indented with bays, or broken with projections, that almost every stroke of the oar brought a new and unexpected object to our view. Nor are islands wanting, but they are situatèd only where they should be, each in its proper place and having its proper character: one markèd by a pagoda, or other building; one quite destitute of ornament; some smooth and level; some steep and uneven; and others frowning with wood, or smiling with culture. Where any things particularly interesting were to be seen we disembarkèd, from time to time, to visit them, and I dare say that, in the

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course of our voyage, we stopped at 40 or 50 different palaces or pavilions. These are all furnished in the richest manner with pictures of the emperor's huntings and progresses, with stupendous vases of jasper and agate; with the finest porcelain and Japan, and with every kind of European toys and *singsongs*; with spheres, orreries, clocks, and musical automats of such exquisite workmanship, and in such profusion, that *our presents* must shrink from the comparison, and *hide their diminished heads*; and yet I am told, that the fine things we have seen are far exceeded by others of the same kind in the apartments of the ladies, and in the European repository at Yuen-min-yuen. In every one of the pavilions was a throne, or imperial state, and a *Eujou*, or symbol of peace and prosperity, placed at one side resembling that which the emperor delivered to me yesterday for the king.

'It would be an endless task were I to attempt a detail of all the wonders of this charming place. There is no beauty of distribution, no feature of amenity, no reach of fancy, which embellishes our pleasure grounds in England, that is not to be found here. Had China been accessible to Mr. Browne or Mr. Hamilton, I should have sworn they had drawn their happiest ideas from the rich sources, which I have tasted this day; for in the course of a few hours I have enjoyed such vicissitudes of rural delight, as I did not conceive could be felt out of England, being at different moments enchanted by scenes perfectly similar to those I had known there, to the the magnificence of Stowe, the softer beauties of Woodburn, and the fairy-land of Paine's Hill.

'There was pointed out to us by the minister a vast enclosure below, which, he said, was not more accessible to him than to us, being never entered but by the emperor, his women, or his eunuchs. It includes within its bounds, though on a smaller scale, most of the beauties which distinguish the eastern and the western gardens which we have already seen; but from every thing I can learn it falls very sort of the fanciful descriptions which father Attiret and sir William Chambers have intruded upon us as realities. That within these private retreats, various entertainments of the most novel and expen-

sive nature prepared and exhibited by the eunuchs, who are very numerous (perhaps some thousands) to amuse the emperor and his ladies, I have no doubt; but that they are carried to all the lengths of extravagance and improbability those gentlemen have mentioned, I very much question, as from every inquiry I have made (and I have not been sparing to make them) I have by no means sufficient reason to warrant me in acceding to, or confirming, the accounts which they have given us.'

Mr. Barrow in giving a sketch of the state of society in China, commences with some pertinent remarks on the condition of women in various countries. 'But the Chinese,' he observes, 'not only deprive their women of the use of their limbs, but they also make it a moral crime for a woman to be seen abroad. If they should have occasion to visit a friend or relation, they must be carried in a close sedan chair: to walk would be the height of vulgarity. Even the country ladies, who may not possess the luxury of a chair, rather than walk, suffer themselves to be sometimes rolled about in a sort of covered wheelbarrow. The wives and daughters, however, of the lower class, are neither confined to the house, nor exempt from hard and slavish labour, many being obliged to work with an infant upon the back, while the husband, in all probability, is gaming, or otherwise idling away his time. I have frequently seen women assisting to drag a sort of light plough, and the harrow.

'The advantages which those women possess in a higher sphere of life, if any, are not much to be envied. Even at home, in her own family, a woman must neither eat at the same table, nor sit in the same room with her husband. And the male children, at the age of 9 and 10, are entirely separated from their sisters. Thus the feelings of affection, which are not the instinctive products of nature, but the offspring of frequent intercourse, and of a mutual communication of their little wants and pleasures, are nipped in the very bud of dawning sentiment. A cold and ceremonious conduct must be observed on all occasions between the members of the same family; and a Chinese youth of the higher class is inanimate,

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formal, and inactive, constantly endeavouring to assume the gravity of years.

To beguile the many tedious and heavy hours, that must unavoidably occur to the secluded females totally unqualified for mental pursuits, the tobacco-pipe is the usual expedient. Every female from the age of eight or nine years wears, as an appendage to her dress, a small silken purse or pocket to hold tobacco and a pipe, with the use of which many of them are not unacquainted at this tender age. Some indeed are constantly employed in working embroidery on silks, or in painting birds, insects, and flowers on thin gauze. In the ladies' apartments of the great house in which we lived at Peking, we observed some very beautiful specimens of both kinds in the pannels of the partitions, and I brought home a few articles which I understand have been much admired; but the women who employ their time in this manner are generally the wives and daughters of tradesmen and artificers, who are usually the weavers both of cottons and silks. I remember asking one of the great officers of the court, who wore a silken vest beautifully embroidered, if it was the work of his lady, but the supposition that his wife should condescend to use her needle seemed to give him offence.

In China our author conceives filial piety exists more in the maxims of government than in the minds of the people. The first lesson taught is an entire submission to the will of their parents; and the father has the power of selling his son for a slave. Daughters may be said to be invariably sold. The bridegroom must always make his bargain with the parents of his intended bride. The latter has no choice. She is a lot in the market to be disposed of to the highest bidder. The man, indeed, in this respect, has no great advantage on his side, as he is not allowed to see his intended wife until she arrives in formal procession at his gate. If, however, on opening the door of the chair, in which the lady is shut up, and of which the key has been sent before, he should dislike the bargain, he can return her to her parents; in which case the articles are forfeited that constituted her price; and a sum of money,

in addition to them, may be demanded, not exceeding, however, the value of these articles.

Polygamy is allowed by law, but 9-10ths of the community find it difficult to rear the offspring of one woman by the labour of their hands. In other respects the general practice would be impossible, as many female infants are exposed, and the laws or custom oblige every man to marry. The husband in cases of adultery can divorce and sell his wife for a slave. A woman can inherit no property, but it may be left to her by will. Public women are numerous in every great city; yet the men are addicted to an odious and unnatural crime.

The Chinese are remarkably sober, and have no incitements like Europeans to jovial pleasures and vulgar ebriety. They have no social meetings or friendly societies; nor is congregational worship inculcated by any sect of religion. No particular day is dedicated to devotion. A Chinese goes to a temple only when it suits him; and, whenever a few men meet together, it is generally for the purpose of gaming, or to eat a kettle of boiled rice, or drink a pot of tea, or smoke a pipe of tobacco. The upper ranks indulge at home in the use of opium: but it is too expensive to be used by the common people.

The first of the new year in China, and a few succeeding days, are the only holidays, properly speaking, that are observed by the working part of the community. On these days the poorest peasant makes a point of procuring new clothing for himself and his family; they pay their visits to friends and relations, interchange civilities and compliments, make and receive presents; and the officers of government and the higher ranks give feasts and entertainments. But even in those feasts there is nothing that bears the resemblance of conviviality. The guests never partake together of the same service of dishes, but each has frequently his separate table; sometimes two, but never more than four, sit at the same table; and their eyes must constantly be kept upon the master of the feast, to watch all his motions, and to observe every morsel he puts into his mouth, and every time he lifts

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the cup to his lips; for a Chinese of good-breeding can neither eat nor drink without a particular ceremony, to which the guests must pay attention. If a person invited should, from sickness or any accident, be prevented from fulfilling his engagement, the portion of the dinner that was intended to be placed on his table is sent in procession to his own house; a custom that strongly points out the very little notion they entertain of the *social* pleasure of the table. It is customary to send after each guest the remains even of his dinner.

The Chinese also, like the ancient Egyptians as exemplified in the enormous mess which Joseph gave to little Benjamin above the rest of his brothers, testify, on all occasions, that they consider the measure of a man's stomach to depend more upon the rank of its owner than either his bulk or appetite. The ambassador's allowance was at least five times as great as that of any person in his suite. In this particular, however, these nations are not singular, neither in ancient nor in modern times. The kings of Sparta, and indeed every Grecian hero, were always supposed to eat twice the quantity of a common soldier; and the only difference with regard to our heroes of the present day consists in their being enabled to convert quantity into quality, an advantage for which they are not a little indebted to the invention of money, into which all other articles can be commuted.

The spirit of gaming is so universal in most of the towns and cities, that in almost every by-corner, groups are to be found playing at cards or throwing dice. They are accused even of frequently staking their wives and children on the hazard of a die. One of their most favourite sports is cock-fighting, and this cruel and unmanly *amusement*, as they are pleased to consider it, is full as eagerly pursued by the upper classes in China as, to their shame and disgrace be it spoken, it continues to be by those in a similar situation in some parts of Europe. The training of quails for the same cruel purpose of butchering each other furnishes abundance of employment for the idle and dissipated. They have even extended their inquiries after fighting animals into the insect tribe, in which they have discovered a species of *gryllus*, or locust, that will

attack each other with such ferocity as seldom to quit their hold without bringing away at the same time a limb of their antagonist.

• The practice of flogging with the bamboo is universally practised, and none escape punishment from the first minister downwards, whenever it pleases a superior. 'Several instances however,' says Barrow, 'occurred in the course of our journey through the country, which seemed to mark the same unfeeling and hard-hearted disposition to exist between persons of equal condition of life, as in men in office over their inferiors. One of these afforded an extraordinary trait of inhumanity. A poor fellow at Macao, in the employ of the British factory there, fell by accident from a wall and pitched on his skull. His companions took him up with very little appearance of life, and, in this state, were carrying him away towards the skirts of the town, where they were met by one of the medical gentlemen belonging to the embassy. He interrogated them what they meant to do with the unfortunate man, and was very coolly answered, they were going to bury him. Having expressed his astonishment that they should think of putting a man into the grave before the breath was out of his body, they replied that they were of opinion he never could recover, and that if they carried him home he would only be a trouble and expence to his friends so long as he remained in a situation which rendered him unable to assist himself. The man, however, by the humanity and attention of Dr. Scott, was restored again to his family and to those friends who knew so well to appreciate the value of his life.

• The doctor, however, was not aware of the risk he ran in thus exercising his humanity, as by a law of the country, which appears to us extraordinary, if a wounded man be taken into the protection and charge of any person with a view to effect his recovery, and he should happen to die under his hands, the person into whose care he was last taken is liable to be punished with death, unless he can produce undeniable evidence to prove how the wound was made, or that he survived it 40 days. The consequence of such a law is, that if a person should happen to be mortally wounded in an affray,

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he is suffered to die in the streets, from the fear (should any one take charge of him) of being made responsible for his life.'

'A striking instance of the fatal effects of such a law happened at Canton lately. A fire broke out in the suburbs, and three Chinese, in assisting to extinguish it, had their limbs fractured and were otherwise dreadfully wounded by the falling of a wall. The surgeon of the English factory, with all the alacrity to administer relief to suffering humanity, which characterizes the profession in Britain, directed them to be carried to the factory, and was preparing to perform amputation, as the only possible way of saving their lives, when one of the Hong merchants having heard what was going on ran with great haste to the place, and entreated the surgeon by no means to think of performing any operation upon them, but rather to suffer them to be taken away from the factory as speedily as possible; adding that, however good his intentions might be, if any one of the patients should die under his hands, he would inevitably be tried for murder, and the most mitigated punishment would be that of banishment for life into the wilds of Tartary. The wounded Chinese were accordingly removed privately, and, no doubt, abandoned to their fate.

'The operation of such a barbarous law (for so it appears to us) will serve to explain the conduct of the Chinese in the following instance. In the course of our journey down the grand canal we had occasion to witness a scene, which was considered as a remarkable example of a want of fellow-feeling. Of the number of persons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal several had posted themselves upon the high projecting stern of an old vessel, which, unfortunately, breaking down with the weight, the whole group tumbled with the wreck into the canal, just at the moment when the yachts of the embassy were passing. Although numbers of boats were sailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the assistance of those that were struggling in the water. They even seemed not to know that such an accident had happened, nor could the shrieks of the boys, floating on pieces of the wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was observed very busily employed in picking up, with his boat-hook, the hat of

a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our vessel to heave to and send the boat to their assistance. It is true, we were then going at the rate of seven miles an hour, which was the plea they made for not stopping. I have no doubt that several of these unfortunate people must inevitably have perished.

‘ But, if further proofs were wanting to establish the insensible and incompassionate character of the Chinese, the horrid practice of infanticide, tolerated by custom, can leave no doubt on this subject.

‘ It is tacitly considered as a part of the duty of the police of Pekin to employ certain persons to go their rounds, at an early hour in the morning, with carts, in order to pick up such bodies of infants as may have been thrown out into the streets in the course of the night. No inquiries are made, but the bodies are carried to a common pit without the city walls, into which all those that may be living, as well as those that are dead, are said to be thrown promiscuously. At this horrible pit of destruction the Roman Catholic missionaries, established in Pekin, attend by turns as a part of the duties of their office, in order, as one of them expressed himself to me on this subject, to chuse among them those that are the most *lively*, to make future proselytes, and by the administration of baptism to such of the rest as might be still alive, *pour leur sauver l'ame*. The Mahometans, who, at the time that their services were useful in assisting to prepare the national calender, had a powerful influence at court, did much better: these zealous bigots to religion, whose least distinguishing feature is that of humanity, were, however, on these occasions, the means of saving the *lives* of all the little innocents they possibly could save from this maw of death, which was a humane act, although it might be for the purpose of bringing them up in the principles of their own faith. I was assured by one of the Christian missionaries, with whom I had daily conversation during a residence of five weeks within the walls of the emperor's palace at Yuen-min-yuen, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur sauver l'ame*, that such scenes were sometimes exhibited on these occasions as to make the

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feeling mind shudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and swine are let loose in all the narrow streets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will sometimes necessarily happen to the exposed infants, before the police-carts can pick them up.

‘The number of children thus unnaturally and inhumanly slaughtered, or interred alive, in the course of a year, is differently stated by different authors, some making it about 10 and others 30,000 in the whole empire. The truth, as generally happens, may probably lie about the middle: taking the mean, as given by those with whom we conversed on the subject, I should conclude that about 24 infants were, on an average, in Pekin, daily carried to the pit of death, where the little innocents that have not yet breathed their last are condemned without remorse. This calculation gives 9,000 nearly for the capital alone, where it is supposed about an equal number are exposed to that of all the other parts of the empire.’

Misery and want are no doubt the motives that induce people to commit this unnatural crime; but, it is right to mention that, the great expence of funerals may be the means of causing parents to lay in baskets still-born children, or infants who may die the first month, knowing that they will be taken up by the police. ‘These unfavourable features,’ our author continues, ‘in the character of a people, whose natural disposition is neither ferocious nor morose; but, on the contrary, mild, obliging, and cheerful, can be attributed only to the habits in which they have been trained, and to the heavy hand of power perpetually hanging over them. That this is actually the case may be inferred from the general conduct and character of those vast multitudes who, from time to time, have emigrated to the Phillipine islands, Batavia, Pulo Pinang, and other parts of our East Indian settlements. In those places they are not less remarkable for their honesty, than for their peaceable and industrious habits. To the Dutch in Batavia they are masons, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, shopkeepers, bankers, and, in short, every thing. Indolence and luxury are there arrived to such a height, that,

without the assistance of the Chinese, the Dutch would literally be in danger of starving. Yet the infamous government of that place, in the year 1741, caused to be massacred, in cold blood, many thousands of these harmless people, who offered no resistance; neither women nor children escaped the fury of these blood-hounds.

‘ In these places it appears also, that their quickness at invention is not surpassed by accuracy of imitation, for which they have always been accounted remarkably expert in their own country. Man is, by nature, a hoarding animal; and his endeavours to accumulate property will be proportioned to the security and stability which the laws afford for the possession and enjoyment of that property. In China, the laws regarding property are insufficient to give it that security: hence the talent of invention is there seldom exercised beyond suggesting the means of providing for the first necessities and the most pressing wants. A man, indeed, is afraid here to be considered as wealthy, well knowing that some of the rapacious officers of the state would find legal reasons to extort his riches from him.

‘ The exterior deportment of every class in China is uncommonly decent, and all their manners mild and engaging; but even these among persons of any rank are considered as objects worthy the interference of the legislature; hence it follows that they are ceremonious without sincerity, studious of the forms only of politeness without either the ease or elegance of good-breeding. An inferior makes a sham attempt to fall on his knees before his superior, and the latter affects a slight motion to raise him. A common salutation has its mode prescribed by the court of ceremonies; and any neglect or default in a plebeian towards his superior is punishable by corporal chastisement, and in men in office by degradation or suspension. In making thus the exterior and public manners of the people a concern of the legislature, society in many respects is considerably benefited. Between equals, and among the lower orders of the people, abusive language is very unusual, and they seldom proceed to blows. If a quarrel should be carried to this extremity, the contest is rarely

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attended with more serious consequences than the loss of the long lock of hair growing from the crown of the head, or the rent of their clothes. The act of drawing a sword, or presenting a pistol, is sufficient to frighten a common Chinese into convulsions; and their warriors shew but few symptoms of bravery. The Chinese may certainly be considered among the most timid people on the face of the earth; they seem to possess neither personal courage, nor the least presence of mind in dangers or difficulties; consequences that are derived probably from the influence of the moral over the physical character. Yet there is perhaps no country where acts of suicide occur more frequently than in China, among the women as well as the men: such acts being marked with no disgrace, are not held in any abhorrence.'

'Traders being degraded in public opinion, a Chinese merchant will cheat whenever an opportunity offers him the means; but the *Hong* or great merchants, who trade with Europeans at Canton, are remarkable for their accuracy and liberality.

'The natural colour both of the Chinese and Tartars,' observes Mr. Barrow, 'seems to be that tint between a fair and dark complexion, which we distinguish by the word *brunet* or *brunette*; and the shades of this complexion are deeper, or lighter, according as they have been more or less exposed to the influence of the climate. The women of the lower class, who labour in the fields or who dwell in vessels, are almost invariably coarse, ill-featured, and of a deep brown complexion, like that of the Hottentot. But this we find to be the case among the poor of almost every nation. Hard labour, scanty fare, and early and frequent parturition, soon wither the delicate buds of beauty. The sprightliness and expression of the features, as well as the colour of the skin, which distinguish the higher ranks from the vulgar, are the effects of ease and education. We saw women in China, though very few, that might pass for beauties even in Europe. The Malay features however prevail in most; a small black or dark brown eye, a short rounded nose, generally a little

flattened, lips considerably thicker than in Europeans, and black hair, are universal.

‘ The ease, politeness, and dignified carriage of the old viceroy of *Pe-tche-lee*, who was a Man-tchoo Tartar, could not be exceeded by the most practised courtier in modern Europe: the attention he shewed to every thing that concerned the embassy, the unaffected manner in which he received and entertained us at Tien-sing; the kindness and condescension with which he gave his orders to the inferior officers and to his domestics, placed him in a very amiable point of view. He was a very fine old man of 78 years of age, of low stature, with small sparkling eyes, a benign aspect, a long silver beard, and the whole of his appearance calm, venerable, and dignified. The manners of *Sun-ta-gin*, a relation of the emperor and one of the six ministers of state, were no less dignified, easy, and engaging; and *Chung-ta-gin*, the new viceroy of Canton, was a plain, unassuming, and good-natured man. The prime minister, *Ho-chang-tong*, the little Tartar legate, and the ex-viceroy of Canton, were the only persons of rank among the many we had occasion to converse with that discovered the least ill-humour, distant hauteur, and want of complaisance. All the rest with whom we had any concern, whether Tartars or Chinese, when in our private society, were easy, affable, and familiar, extremely good-humoured, loquacious, and communicative. It was in public only, and towards each other, that they assumed their ceremonious gravity, and practised all the tricks of demeanour which custom requires of them.

‘ The general character, however, of the nation, is a strange compound of pride and meanness, of affected gravity and real frivolousness, of refined civility and gross indelicacy. With an appearance of great simplicity and openness in conversation, they practise a degree of art and cunning against which an European is but ill prepared. The vanity of an usurped national superiority and a high notion of self-importance never forsake them on any occasion. Those advantages in others which they cannot avoid feeling, they will affect not to see. And although they are reduced to the necessity of employing

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foreigners to regulate their calender and keep their clocks in order, although they are in the habit of receiving yearly various specimens of art and ingenuity from Europe; yet they pertinaciously affect to consider all the nations of the earth as barbarians in comparison of themselves.'

The Chinese are so ceremonious among themselves, and so punctilious with regard to etiquette, that the omission of the most minute point established by the court of ceremonies is considered as a criminal offence. Visiting by tickets, which with us is a fashion of modern refinement, has been a common practice in China some thousand years; but the rank of a Chinese visitor is immediately ascertained by the size, colour, and ornaments of his ticket, which also varies in all these points according to the rank of the person visited. The old viceroy of Pe-tche-lee's ticket to the ambassador contained as much crimson-coloured paper as would be sufficient to cover the walls of a moderate-sized room.

It seems that the Chinese courtiers sometimes relax from the stiff and formal deportment observed towards each other in public. 'Our two worthy conductors, Van-ta-gin and Chou-ta-gin,' says our author, 'met at Canton an old acquaintance, who was governor of a city in Fokien. He gave them an evening entertainment on the river in a splendid yacht, to which I was privately invited. On entering the great cabin, I found the three gentlemen with each a young girl by his side very richly dressed, the cheeks, lips, and chin, highly *rouged*, the rest of the face and neck whitened with a preparation of cerate. I was welcomed by a cup of hot wine from each of the ladies, who first sipped by way of pledging me. During supper, which for number and variety of dishes exceeded any thing I had hitherto met with in the country, the girls played on the flute and sung several airs, but there was nothing very captivating either in the vocal or instrumental part of the music. We passed a most convivial evening, free from any reserve or restraint; but, on going away, I was particularly desired by Van not to take any notice of what I had seen, apprehensive, I suppose, that their brother officers might condemn their want of prudence in admitting a barbarian

to witness their relaxation from good morals. The yacht and the ladies it seemed were hired for the occasion.'

The incalculable numbers of the great officers of state and their attendants, all robed in the richest silks, embroidered with the most brilliant colours, and tissue with gold and silver; the order, silence, and solemnity, with which they arrange and conduct themselves on public court-days, are the most commanding features on such occasions.

This sober pomp of Asiatic grandeur is exhibited only at certain fixed festivals; of which the principal is the anniversary of the emperor's birth-day, the commencement of a new year, the ceremonial of holding the plough, and the reception of foreign ambassadors, most of whom they contrive to be present at one or other of these festivals. The birth-day is considered to be the most splendid; when all the Tartar princes and tributaries, and all the principal officers of government, both civil and military, are expected to be present.

For reasons of state, the emperor rarely shews himself in public among the Chinese part of his subjects, except on such occasions; and even then the exhibition is confined within the precincts of the palace, from which the populace are entirely excluded. Consistent with their system of sumptuary laws, there is little external appearance of pomp and magnificence in the establishment of the emperor. The buildings that compose the palace and the furniture within them, if we except the paint, the gilding, and the varnish, that appear on the houses even of plebeians, are equally void of unnecessary and expensive ornaments. These buildings, like the common habitations of the country, are all modelled after the form of a tent, and are magnificent only by a comparison with the others and by their number, which is sufficient, indeed, to form a town of themselves. Their walls are higher than those of ordinary houses, their wooden columns of greater diameter, their roofs are immense, and a greater variety of painting and gilding may be bestowed on the different parts; but none of them exceeds one story in height, and they are jumbled and surrounded with mean and insignificant hovels. The stone or clay floors are indeed sometimes covered with a carpet of

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English broad-cloth, and the walls papered; but they have no glass in the windows, no stoves, fire-places, or fire-grates, in the rooms; no sofas, bureaux, chandeliers, nor looking-glasses; no book-cases, prints, nor paintings. They have neither curtains nor sheets to their beds; a bench of wood, or a platform of brick-work, is raised in an alcove, on which are mats or stuffed mattresses, hard pillows, or cushions, according to the season of the year; instead of doors they have usually screens, made of the fibres of bamboo.

When attending the court, on public occasions, each courtier takes his meal alone in his solitary cell on a small square table crowded with bowls of rice and various stews; without table-linen or napkins, without knife, fork, or spoon; a pair of small sticks, or the quills of a porcupine, are the only substitutes for these convenient articles; placing the bowl under his chin, with these he throws the rice into his mouth and takes up the pieces of meat in his soup or stews. Having finished this lonely meal, he generally lies down to sleep. In a government so suspicious as that of China, if parties were known to meet together, the object of them might be supposed something beyond that of conviviality, which however mutual jealousy and distrust have prevented from growing into common use.

The following extract from the earl of Macartney's journal describes his introduction, and the birth-day solemnities, which will serve to convey a tolerable exact idea of the state, pleasures, and amusements, of the great monarch of China.

'On the 14th of September,' observes his lordship, 'at four o'clock in the morning, we set out for the court, under the convoy of Van-ta-gin and Chou-ta-gin, and reached it in little more than an hour, the distance being about three miles from our hotel. We alighted at the park-gate, from whence we walked to the imperial encampment, and were conducted to a large handsome tent prepared for us, on one side of the emperor's. After waiting there about an hour, his approach was announced by drums and music, on which we quitted our tent and came forward upon the green carpet. He was seated on an open palanquin, carried by 16 bearers, attended by

numbers of officers of state bearing flags, standards, and umbrellas; and as he passed we paid him our compliments, by kneeling on one knee, whilst all the Chinese made their usual prostrations. As soon as he had ascended the throne I came to the entrance of his tent, and holding in both my hands a large gold box, enriched with diamonds, in which was inclosed the king's letter, I walked deliberately up, and, ascending the steps of the throne, delivered it into the emperor's own hands, who, having received it, passed it to the minister, by whom it was placed on the cushion. He then gave me, as the first present from him to his majesty, the *Eu-shee*, or symbol of peace and prosperity, and expressed his hopes that my sovereign and he should always live in good correspondence and amity. It is a whitish agate-looking stone, perhaps serpentine, about a foot and a half long, curiously carved, and highly prized by the Chinese; but to me it does not appear in itself to be of any great value.

The emperor then presented me with an *Eu-shee* of a greenish-coloured serpentine stone, and of the same emblematic character; at the same time he very graciously received from me a pair of beautiful enamelled watches, set with diamonds, which, having looked at, he passed to the minister.

Sir George Staunton (whom, as he had been appointed minister plenipotentiary, to act in case of my death or departure, I introduced to him as such) now came forward, and, after kneeling on one knee, in the same manner as I had done, presented to him two elegant air-guns, and received from him an *Eu-shee* of greenish stone nearly similar to mine. Other presents were sent, at the same time, to all the gentlemen of my train. We then descended from the steps of the throne, and sat down upon cushions at one of the tables on the emperor's left hand. And at the other tables, according to their different ranks, the Tartar princes and the mandarins of the court at the same time took their places; all dressed in the proper robes of their respective ranks. These tables were then uncovered and exhibited a sumptuous banquet. The emperor sent us several dishes from his own table, together with some liquors, which the Chinese call wine; not however

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expressed from the grape, but distilled or extracted from rice, herbs, and honey.

‘ In about half an hour he sent for sir George Staunton and me to come to him, and gave to each of us, with his own hands, a cup of warm wine, which we immediately drank in his presence, and found it very pleasant and comfortable, the morning being cold and raw. Among other things he asked me the age of my sovereign, and, being informed of it, he hoped he might live as many years as himself, which were then eighty-three. His manner was dignified, but affable and condescending; and his reception of us was very gracious and satisfactory.

‘ The order and regularity in serving and removing the dinner was wonderfully exact, and every function of the ceremony performed with such silence and solemnity as in some measure to resemble the celebration of a religious mystery.

‘ There was present on this occasion three ambassadors from *Ta-tze* or Pegu, and six Mahometan ambassadors from the Kalmucs of the south-west, but their appearance was not very splendid. During the ceremony, which lasted five hours, various entertainments of wrestling, tumbling, wire-dancing, together with dramatic representations, were exhibited opposite the emperor’s tent, but at a considerable distance from it.

‘ The 17th of September, being the emperor’s birthday, we set out for the court at three o’clock in the morning, conducted by Van-ta-gin, Chou-ta-gin, and our usual attendants. We reposed ourselves about two hours in a large saloon at the entrance of the palace enclosure, where fruit, tea, warm milk, and other refreshments, were brought to us. At last notice was given that the festival was going to begin, and we immediately descended into the garden, where we found all the great men and mandarins in their robes of state, drawn up before the imperial pavilion. The emperor did not shew himself, but remained concealed behind a screen, from whence I presume he could see and enjoy the ceremonies without inconvenience or interruption. All eyes were turned to the place where his majesty was imagined to be enthroned, and

seemed to express an impatience to begin the ceremonies of the day. Slow, solemn music, muffled drums, and deep-toned bells, were heard at a distance; on a sudden the sounds ceased, and all was still—again they were renewed, and then intermitted with short pauses; during which several persons passed backwards and forwards, in the proscenium or foreground of the tent, as if engaged in preparing some *grand coup-de-theatre*.

‘ At length the great band, both vocal and instrumental, struck up with all their powers of harmony, and instantly the whole court fell flat upon their faces before this invisible Nebuchadnezzar, whilst

‘ “ He in his cloudy tabernacle shrined  
Sojourned the while.”

The music might be considered as a sort of birthday ode, or state anthem, the burden of which was, “ *Bow down your heads all ye dwellers of the earth, bow down your heads before the great Kien-long, the great Kien-long.*” And then all the dwellers upon China earth there present, except ourselves, bowed down their heads and prostrated themselves upon the ground at every renewal of the chorus. Indeed, in no religion either ancient or modern has the divinity ever been addressed, I believe, with stronger exterior marks of worship and adoration than were this morning paid to the phantom of his Chinese majesty. Such is the mode of celebrating the emperor’s anniversary festival, according to the court ritual. We saw nothing of him the whole day, nor did any of his ministers, I imagine, approach him, for they seemed to retire at the same moment that we did.

‘ In the course of a tour we made in the gardens with the prime minister and other great officers of state, whom the emperor had directed to attend us, we were entertained at one of the palaces with a collation of petitpatis, salt relishes, and other savoury dishes, with fruits and sweetmeats, milk and ice-water; and as soon as we rose from table, a number of yellow boxes, or drawers, were carried in procession before

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us; containing several pieces of silk and porcelain, which we were told were presents to us from the emperor, and we consequently made our bows as they passed. We were also amused with a Chinese puppet-shew, which differs but little from an English one. There are a distressed princess confined in a castle, and a knight-errant, who, after fighting wild beasts and dragons, sets her at liberty and marries her; wedding-feasts, jousts, and tournaments. Besides these, there was also a comic drama, in which some personages not unlike punch and his wife, Bandemeer and Scaramouch performed capital parts. This puppet-shew, we were told, properly belongs to the ladies' apartments, but was sent out as a particular compliment to entertain us; one of the performances was exhibited with great applause from our conductors, and I understand it is a favourite piece at court.

‘ On the morning of the 18th of September, we again went to court, in consequence of an invitation from the emperor, to see the Chinese comedy and other diversions given on occasion of his birthday. The comedy began at eight o'clock and lasted till noon. The emperor was seated on a throne, opposite the stage, which projected a good deal into the pit. The boxes were on each side without seats or divisions. The women were placed above, behind the lattices, so that they might enjoy the amusements of the theatre without being observed.

‘ Soon after we came in, the emperor sent for sir George Staunton and me to attend him, and told us, with great condescension of manner, that we ought not to be surprized to see a man of his age at the theatre, for that he seldom came there except upon a very particular occasion like the present, for that, considering the extent of his dominions and the number his subjects, he could spare but little time for such amusements. I endeavoured, in the turn of my answer, to lead him towards the subject of my embassy, but he seemed not disposed to enter into it farther than by delivering me a little box of old japan, in the bottom of which were some pieces of agate and other stones much valued by the Chinese and Tartars; and at the top a small box written and

painted by his own hand, which he desired me to present to the king my master as a token of his friendship, saying, that the old box had been 800 years in his family. He, at the same time, gave me a book for myself also written and painted by him, together with several purses for Arcca nut. He likewise gave a purse of the same sort to sir George Staunton, and sent some small presents to the other gentlemen of the embassy. After this several pieces of silk or porcelain, but seemingly of no great value, were distributed among the Tartar princes and chief courtiers, who appeared to receive them with every possible demonstration of humility and gratitude.

The theatrical entertainments consisted of great variety, both tragical and comical; several distinct pieces were acted in succession, though without any apparent connexion with one another. Some of them were historical, and others of pure fancy, partly in *recitativo*, partly in singing, and purely in plain speaking, without any accompaniment of instrumental music, but abounding in battles, murders, and most of the usual incidents of the drama. Last of all was the grand pantomime, which, from the approbation it met with, is, I presume, considered as a first-rate effort of invention and ingenuity. It seemed to me, as far as I could comprehend it, to represent the marriage of the ocean and the earth. The latter exhibited her various riches and productions, dragons, and elephants, and tigers, and eagles, and ostriches, oaks and pines, and other trees of different kinds. The ocean was not behind hand, but poured forth on the stage the wealth of his dominions, under the figures of whales and dolphins, porpesses and leviathans, and other sea monsters, besides ships, rocks, shells, sponges, and corals, all performed by concealed actors, who were quite perfect in their parts, and performed their characters to admiration. These two marine and land regiments, after separately parading in a circular procession for a considerable time, at last joined together, and, forming one body, came to the front of the stage, when, after a few evolutions, they opened to the right and left, to give room for the whale, who seemed to be the commanding

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officer, to waddle forward; and who, taking his station exactly opposite the emperor's box, spouted out of his mouth into the pit several tons of water, which quickly disappeared through the perforations of the floor. This ejaculation was received with the highest applause, and two or three of the great men at my elbow desired me to take particular notice of it; repeating, at the same time, "*Hao, kung hao!*"—"Charming, delightful!"

' A little before one o'clock in the afternoon we retired, and at four we returned to court to see the evening's entertainments, which were exhibited on the lawn, in front of the great tent or pavilion, where we had been first presented to the emperor. He arrived very soon after us, mounted his throne, and gave the signal to begin. We had now wrestling and dancing, and tumbling, and posture making, which appeared to us particularly awkward and clumsy, from the performers being mostly dressed according to the Chinese *costume*, one inseparable part of which is a pair of heavy quilted boots with the soles of an inch thick. The wrestlers, however, seemed to be pretty expert and afforded much diversion to such as were admirers of the *Palæstra*.

' A boy climbed up a pole or bamboo 30 or 40 feet high, played several gambols, and balanced himself on the top of it in various attitudes, but his performance fell far short of what I have often met with in India of the same kind.

' A fellow lay down on his back, and then raised his feet, legs, and thighs from his middle, perpendicularly, so as to form a right angle with his body. On the soles of his feet was placed a large round empty jar, about four feet long and from two and a half to three feet diameter. This he balanced for some time, turning it round and round horizontally, till one of the spectators put a little boy into it, who after throwing himself into various postures at the mouth of it, came out and sat on the top. He then stood up, then fell flat upon his back, then shifted to his belly, and, after shewing a hundred tricks of that sort, jumped down upon the ground and relieved his coadjutor.

‘ A man then came forward, and, after fastening three slender sticks to each of his boots, took six porcelain dishes of about 18 inches in diameter, and balancing them separately at the end of a little ivory rod, which he held in his hand, and twirling them about for some time, put them one after the other upon the points of the six bootsticks above mentioned, they continuing to turn round all the while. He then took two small sticks in his left hand, and put dishes upon them in the same manner as upon the other, and also had nine dishes annexed to him at once, all twirling together, which in a few minutes he took off one by one and placed them regularly on the ground, without the slightest interruption or miscarriage.

‘ There were many other things of the same kind, but I saw none at all comparable to the tumbling, rope-dancing, wire-walking, and straw-balancing of Sadler's-Wells; neither did I observe any feats of equitation in the style of Hughes's and Ashley's amphitheatres, although I had been always told that the Tartars were remarkably skilful in the instruction and discipline of their horses. Last of all were the fireworks, which, in some particulars, exceeded any thing of the kind I had ever seen. In grandeur, magnificence, and variety, they were, I own, inferior to the Chinese fireworks we had seen at Batavia, but infinitely superior in point of novelty, neatness, and ingenuity of contrivance. One piece of machinery I greatly admired; a green chest of five feet square was hoisted up by a pulley to the height of 50 or 60 feet from the ground; the bottom was so constructed as then suddenly to fall out, and make way for 20 or 30 strings of lanterns inclosed in the box to descend from it, unfolding themselves from one another by degrees so as at last to form a collection of at least 500, each having a light of a beautifully coloured flame burning brightly within it. This devolution and development of lanterns (which appeared to me to be composed of gauze and paper) were several times repeated, and every time exhibited a difference of colour and figure. On each side was a correspondence of smaller boxes, which opened in like manner as the others, and let down an immense network of fire, with

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divisions and compartments of various forms and dimensions, round and square, hexagons, octagons, lozenges, which shone like the brightest burnished copper, and flashed like prismatic lightning, with every impulse of the wind. The diversity of colours indeed with which the Chinese have the secret of clothing fire seems one of the chief merits of their pyrotechny. The whole concluded with a volcano, or general explosion and discharge of suns and stars, squibs, bouncers, crackers, rockets, and grenadoes, which involved the gardens for above an hour after in a cloud of intolerable smoke. Whilst these entertainments were going forward the emperor sent us a variety of refreshments, all which, as coming from him, the etiquette of the court required us to partake of, although we had dined but a short time before.

‘ However meanly we must think of the taste and delicacy of the court of China, whose most refined amusements seem to be chiefly such as I have now described, together with the wretched dramas of the morning, yet it must be confessed, that there was something grand and imposing in the general effect that resulted from the whole *spectacle*. The emperor himself being seated in front upon his throne, and all his great men and officers attending in their robes of ceremony, and stationed on each side of him, some standing, some sitting, some kneeling, and the guards and standard-bearers behind them in incalculable numbers. A dead silence was rigidly observed, not a syllable articulated, nor a laugh exploded, during the whole performance.’

Such was the reception and the entertainment of the British ambassador at the court of Gehol, in Man-tchoo Tartary, during the days of the festival of the emperor’s anniversary.

As the Dutch conceived that lord Macartney had failed in the object of his mission, in consequence of his refusal to perform the ceremonies required, their ambassador and suite were instructed not to object to the customs of the Chinese court; yet, after knocking their heads nine times against the ground, at least on 30 different occasions, they were dismissed without being permitted to mention their business, and without

receiving any thing beyond a compliment from the emperor, *that they went through their prostrations to admiration!*

The Chinese drama according to Mr. Barrow is in a very low state. The pieces usually performed are historical. They have no change of scene, and a single drama will sometimes include the transactions of a whole century. The *Orphan of China*, like many others, is a tissue of improbable and trifling events. Our author further remarks:

‘ This drama with 99 others, published together in one work, are considered as the classical stock-pieces of the Chinese stage; but like ourselves, they complain that a depraved taste prevails for modern productions very inferior to those of ancient date. It is certainly true, that every sort of ribaldry and obscenity are encouraged on the Chinese stage at the present day. A set of players of a superior kind travel occasionally from Nankin to Canton; at the latter of which cities, it seems, they meet with a considerable encouragement from the Hong merchants, and other wealthy inhabitants. At these exhibitions the English are sometimes present. The subject and the conduct of one of their stock pieces, which being a great favourite is frequently repeated, are so remarkable, that I cannot forbear taking some notice of it. A woman being tempted to murder her husband performs the act while he is asleep, by striking a small hatchet into his forehead. He appears on the stage with a large gash just above the eyes, out of which issue a prodigious effusion of blood, reels about for some time, bemoaning his lamentable fate in a song, till exhausted by loss of blood, he falls, and dies. The woman is seized, brought before a magistrate, and condemned to be flayed alive. The sentence is put in execution; and, in the following act, she appears upon the stage not only naked, but completely excoriated. The thin wrapper with which the creature (an eunuch) is covered, who sustains the part, is stretched so tight about the body, and so well painted, as to represent the disgusting object of a human being deprived of its skin; and in this condition the character sings or, more properly speaking, whines nearly half an hour

on the stage malignant spirit in judgment that it is so indelicate, and which, if into nature in its nature with the boisterous ceremonious among other p an observation piety, and w extended to m they exist mor people.” As, I reflections on t numerous repr our own stage, are called in a general conclu particular exhibit in the constant point of immor so vulgarly inde the audience is the theatre.’

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on the stage, to excite the compassion of three infernal or malignant spirits, who, like Æacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus, sit in judgment on her future destiny. I have been informed that it is scarcely possible to conceive a more obscene, indelicate, and disgusting object, than this favourite exhibition, which, if intended "to hold the mirror up to nature," it is to nature in its most gross, rude, and uncivilized state, ill-agreeing with the boasted morality, high polish, refined delicacy, and ceremonious exterior of the Chinese nation; but it tends, among other parts of their real conduct in life, to strengthen an observation I have already made with regard to their filial piety, and which, with few exceptions, may perhaps be extended to most of their civil and moral institutions, "that they exist more in state maxims, than in the minds of the people." As, however, a Chinese might be led to make similar reflections on the exhibition of Harlequin Skeleton, and those numerous representations that of late years have crept upon our own stage, where ghosts, hobgoblins, and bleeding statues, are called in aid of the *spectacle*, I should hesitate to draw any general conclusion, with regard to their taste, from the particular exhibition of a woman flayed alive, were they not in the constant practice of performing other pieces, that, in point of immorality and obscenity, are still infinitely worse; so vulgarly indelicate and so filthy, that the European part of the audience is sometimes compelled by disgust to leave the theatre.

In every respect the amusements of the capital of China appear to be of a low and trifling nature. In the imperial household every thing is conducted by the eunuchs, who amount to several thousands. These creatures paint their faces, study their dress, and are as coquettish as the ladies, upon whom indeed it is their chief business to attend. The greatest favourite sleeps in the same room with the emperor, to be ready to administer to his wishes; and, in this capacity, he finds numberless opportunities to prejudice his master against those for whom he may have conceived a dislike; and instances are not wanting where the first officers in the state have been disgraced by means of these creatures. They are

equally detested and feared by the princes of the blood who reside in the palace, by the court officers, and by the missionaries in the employ of government. The latter find it necessary to make frequent, and sometimes expensive, presents to those in particular about the person of his imperial majesty.

'The Chinese eunuchs,' observes our author, 'are addicted to all the vices that distinguish these creatures in other countries. There is scarcely one about the palace, whether of the class of porters and sweepers, or of that which is qualified for the inner apartments, but have women in their lodgings, who are generally the daughters of poor people, from whom they are purchased, and are consequently considered as their slaves. It is difficult to conceive a condition of life more humiliating, or more deplorable, than that of a female slave to an eunuch; but happily for such females, in this country the mental powers are not very active. Several of the missionaries assured me of the truth of this fact, which indeed I have strong reasons for believing even of the *rasibus*. The keeper of the hall of audience once took me to his lodgings, but on coming to the door he desired me to wait till he had made some arrangements within; the meaning of which was, until he had removed his lady out of the way; nor was he in the least displeased at my hinting this to him. Being one of the favourite attendants of the ladies of the court, he was of course a *black eunuch*. He was the most capricious creature in the world; being sometimes extremely civil and communicative, sometimes sullen, and not deigning to open his lips: and whenever he took it into his head to be offended, he was sure to practise some little revenge. I fancy he was clerk of the kitchen, for the quality and the quantity of our dinner generally depended on the state of his humour.

'The eunuchs and the women are the only companions of the emperor in his leisure hours: of the latter, one only has the rank of *empress*, after whom are two queens and their numerous attendants, which constitute the second class of the establishment; and the third consists of six queens, and their attendants. To these three ranks of his wives are attached 100 ladies, who are usually called his concubines, though

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they are as much a legal part of his establishment as the others. They would seem to be of the same description, and to hold the same rank as the handmaids of the ancient Israelites. Their children are all considered as branches of the imperial family, but the preference of succession is generally given to the male issue of the first empress, provided there should be any. This however is entirely a matter of choice, the emperor having an uncontrolled power of nominating his successor, either in his family or out of it. The daughters are usually married to Tartar princes, and other Tartars of distinction, but rarely, if ever, to a Chinese.

On the accession of a new emperor, men of the first rank and situation in the empire consider themselves as highly honoured and extremely fortunate, if the graces of their daughters should prove sufficient to provide them a place in the list of his concubines; in which case, like the nuns in some countries of Europe, they are doomed for ever to reside within the walls of the palace. Such a fate, however, being common in China in a certain degree to all woman-kind, is less to be deplored than the similar lot of those in Europe, where one sex is supposed to be entitled to an equal degree of liberty with the other; and as the custom of China authorizes the sale of all young women by their parents or relations to men they never saw, and without their consent previously obtained, there can be no hardship in consigning them over to the arms of the prince; nor is any disgrace attached to the condition of a concubine, where every marriage is a legal prostitution. At the death of the sovereign all his women are removed to a separate building, called by a term, which, divested of its metaphor, implies the *Palace of Chastity*, where they are doomed to reside during the remainder of their lives.

Mr. Barrow thinks that the opinion of the Chinese language being hieroglyphical is erroneous. From an imperfect mode of teaching, a great number of years is required to attain a correct knowledge of their mother tongue. The meaning of words is very equivocal; but, when the sense is doubtful, a Chinese will draw the character, or the root of it, in the air

with his finger or fan, by which he makes himself at once understood.

The state of polite literature and the speculative sciences are very low in China. The late emperor *Kien-Long* was considered among the best poets of modern times, and the most celebrated of his compositions is an ode in praise of *Tea*, which was painted on all the teapots in the empire. The following is a verbal translation, with such auxiliaries only as were necessary to make the sense complete.

‘On a slow fire set a tripod; whose colour and texture shew its long use; fill it with clear snow water; boil it as long as would be necessary to turn fish white, and crayfish red; throw it upon the delicate leaves of choice tea, in a cup of “yooé” (a particular sort of porcelain). Let it remain as long as the vapour rises in a cloud, and leaves only a thin mist floating on the surface. At your ease, drink this precious liquor, which will chase away the five causes of trouble. We can taste and feel, but not describe, the state of repose produced by a liquor thus prepared.’

To an European the Chinese language appears to have few elegancies: it wants all the little auxiliaries that add grace and energy to those of Europe. Even in speaking the language has few expletives. ‘English good, Chinese better,’—‘to-day go, to-morrow come,’—‘sea no bound, Kiang no bottom;—‘well, not well;’—are modes of expression in which an European will not find much elegance.

In addition to the defects of the language, there is another reason why poetry is not likely ever to become a favourite pursuit, or to be cultivated with success, among the Chinese. The state of society is such as entirely to exclude the passion of love. A man, in this country, marries only from necessity, or for the sake of obtaining an heir to his property, who may sacrifice to his manes, or because the maxims of the government have made it disgraceful to remain in a state of celibacy. The fine sentiments that arise from the mutual endearment of two persons enamoured of each other can therefore have no place in the breast of a Chinese: and it is to the effusions of a heart

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The language is more concerned with ethics, than the language of the Chinese of Cong-foo-tse, and the writer, and the

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thus circumstanced, that poetry owes some of its greatest charms. Nor can they be considered as a nation of warriors; and war, next to love, has ever been the favourite theme of the muses.

The language is much better adapted to the concise style of ethics, than the sublime flights of poetry. The moral precepts of Cong-foo-tse, or Confucius, display an excellent mind in the writer, and would do honour to any age and nation.

There is no branch of science which the Chinese affect to value so much, and understand so little, as astronomy. The necessity indeed of being able to mark, with some degree of precision, the returns of the seasons and certain periods, in so large a community, must have directed an early attention of the government to this subject; and accordingly we find, that an astronomical board has formed one of the state establishments from the earliest periods of their history. Yet so little progress have they made in this science, that the only part of its functions, which can be called astronomical, has long been committed to the care of foreigners, whom they affect to hold in contempt and to consider as barbarians. The principal object of this board is to frame and to publish a national calendar, and to point out to the government the suitable times and seasons for its important undertakings. Even when the marriage of a prince or princess of the blood is about to take place, the commissioners of astronomy must appoint a fortunate day for the celebration of the nuptials, which is announced in form in the Peking gazette.

When an eclipse happens the court goes into mourning, and gongs are violently beat in order to scare the dragon, which they suppose has seized upon the planet. Indeed their knowledge on this subject goes little further than to teach that 'the heaven is round, the earth a square fixed in the middle; the other four elements placed at its four sides: WATER to the north; FIRE to the south; WOOD to the east; and, METAL to the west;' and they believe the stars to be stuck, like so many nails, at equal distances from the earth, in the blue vault of heaven.

The gunpowder made by the Chinese is very bad, nor does it seem that they understand the art of casting cannon; but they excel in all articles of lacquered and varnished ware, in porcelain, and in the art of cutting ivory. Little can be said in praise of their skill in painting and music. The painters have no idea of shade and perspective, nor can their musicians play in parts. The whole of their architecture, also, is as unsightly as unsolid; without elegance or convenience of design, and without any settled proportion; mean in its appearance, and clumsy in the workmanship. No branch of natural philosophy is made a study, or a pursuit in China. They have established no public schools for the study of medicine, nor does the pursuit of it lead to honours, rank, or fortune. Such as take up the profession are generally of an inferior class; and the eunuchs about the palace are considered among their best physicians. The physiology of the human body, or the doctrine which explains the constitution of man, is neither understood nor considered as necessary to be known; and their skill in pathology, or in the causes and effects of diseases, is extremely limited, very often absurd, and generally erroneous.

The government of China appears to have remained very stable since 200 years before the Christian era. It appears to rest firmly on the basis of public opinion. The emperor being considered as the common father of his people takes the title of the *Great Father*; and, by his being thus placed above any earthly controul, he is supposed to be also above earthly descent, and therefore, as a natural consequence, he sometimes styles himself the *sole ruler of the world* and the *Son of Heaven*. But that no inconsistency might appear in the grand fabric of filial obedience, the emperor, with solemn ceremony at the commencement of every new year, makes his prostrations before the empress dowager, and on the same day he demands a repetition of the same homage from all his great officers of state. Conformable to this system, founded entirely on parental authority, the governor of a province is considered as the father of that province: of a city, the father of that city:

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and the head of any office or department is supposed to preside over it with the same authority, interest, and affection, as the father of a family superintends and manages the concerns of domestic life.

The emperor of China seldom shews himself in public. A power that acts in secret, and whose influence is felt near and remote at the same moment, makes a stronger impression on the mind, and is regarded with more dread and awful respect, than if the agent was always visible and familiar to the eye of every one. Considerations of this kind, rather than any dread of his subjects, may probably have suggested the custom which prohibits an emperor of China from making his person too familiar to the multitude, and which requires that he should exhibit himself only on particular occasions, arrayed in pomp and magnificence, and at the head of his whole court, consisting of an assemblage of many thousand officers of state, the agents of his will, all ready, at the word of command, to prostrate themselves at his feet.

The power of the sovereign is absolute; but the patriarchal system, making it a point of indispensable duty for a son to bring offerings to the spirit of his deceased parent in the most public manner, operates as some check upon the exercise of this power. There is another, and perhaps a more effectual check, to curb any disposition to licentiousness or tyranny that might arise in the breast of the monarch. This is the appointment of the censorate, an office filled by two persons, who have the power of remonstrating freely against any illegal or unconstitutional act about to be committed, or sanctioned by the emperor. And although it may well be supposed, that these men are extremely cautious in the exercise of the power delegated to them, by virtue of their office, and in the discharge of this disagreeable part of their duty, yet they have another task to perform, on which their own posthumous fame is not less involved than that of their master, and in the execution of which they run less risk of giving offence. They are the historiographers of the empire; or, more properly speaking, the biographers of the emperor. Their employment, in this capacity, consists chiefly in collecting the sentiments of the

monarch, in recording his speeches and memorable sayings, and in noting down the most prominent of his private actions, and the remarkable occurrences of his reign. These records are lodged in a large chest, which is kept in that part of the palace where the tribunals of government are held, and which is supposed not to be opened until the decease of the emperor; and, if any thing material to the injury of his character and reputation is found to be recorded, the publication of it is delayed, out of delicacy to his family, till two or three generations have passed away, and sometimes till the expiration of the dynasty; by this indulgence they pretend, that a more faithful relation is likely to be obtained, in which neither fear nor flattery could have operated to disguise the truth.

To assist the emperor in the weighty affairs of state, and in the arduous task of governing an empire of so great an extent, and such immense population, the constitution has assigned him two councils, one ordinary, and the other extraordinary; the ordinary council is composed of his principal ministers, under the name of *colloa*, of which there are six. The extraordinary council consists entirely of the princes of the blood.

In China the greatest care has been taken in constructing the scale of crimes and punishments, which are far from being sanguinary. Executions are usually performed in private. The order that is kept in their jails is said to be excellent, and the debtor and the felon are always confined in separate places; as indeed one should suppose every where to be the case, for, as sir George Staunton has observed, 'To associate guilt with imprudence, and confound wickedness with misfortune, is impolitic, immoral, and cruel.' The abominable practice of extorting confession by the application of the torture is the worst part of the criminal laws of China; but they pretend to say this mode is seldom recurred to, unless in cases where the guilt of the accused has been made to appear by strong circumstantial evidence.

To the principle of universal obedience the Chinese government has added another, which is well calculated to

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satisfy the public mind: the first honours and the highest offices are open to the very lowest of the people. It admits of no hereditary nobility; at least none with exclusive privileges. As a mark of the sovereign's favour a distinction will sometimes descend in a family, but, as it confers no power nor privilege nor emolument, it soon wears out. The influence that, in the nations of Europe, is derived from birth, fortune, and character, is of no weight in the Chinese government.— Learning alone, by the strict maxims of state, leads to office, and office to distinction. Property, without learning, has little weight, and confers no distinction, except in some corrupt provincial governments, where the external marks of office are sold, as in Canton.

The viceroy of a province can remain in that office no longer than three years, lest he might obtain an undue influence. No servant of the crown can form a family alliance in the place where he commands, nor obtain an office of importance in the city or town wherein he was born. Yet with these, and other precautions, there is still little security for the subject. He has no voice whatsoever in the government, either directly or by representation; and the only satisfaction he possibly can receive for injuries done to him, and that is merely of a negative kind, is the degradation or the removal of the man in power, who had been his oppressor, and who perhaps may be replaced by another equally bad.

In China the liberty of the press seems to excite no apprehensions in the government. The summary mode of punishing any breach of good morals, without the formality of a trial, makes a positive prohibition against printing unnecessary, being itself sufficient to restrain the licentiousness of the press. The printer, the vender, and reader, of any libellous publication, are all equally liable to be flogged with the bamboo.

The husbandman in China is considered as an honourable, as well as useful, member of society; he ranks next to men of letters, or officers of state, of whom indeed he is frequently the progenitor. The soldier in China cultivates the ground. The priests also are agriculturists, whenever their convents

are endowed with land. The emperor is considered as the sole proprietor of the soil, but the tenant is never turned out of possession as long as he continues to pay his rent, which is calculated at about 1-10th of what his farm is supposed capable of yielding; and though the holder of lands can only be considered as a tenant at will, yet it is his own fault if he should be dispossessed.

There are, in fact, no immense estates grasping nearly the whole of a district; no monopolizing farmers, nor dealers in grain. Every one can bring his produce to a free and open market. No fisheries are let out to farm. Every subject is equally entitled to the free and uninterrupted enjoyment of the sea, of the coasts, and the estuaries; of the lakes and rivers. There are no manor lords with exclusive privileges; no lands set apart for feeding beasts or birds for the profit or pleasure of particular persons; every one may kill game on his own grounds, and on the public commons. Yet with all these seeming advantages, there are rarely three successive years without a famine in one province or another.

Another great advantage enjoyed by the Chinese subject is, that the amount of his taxes is ascertained. He is never required to contribute, by any new assessment, to make up a given sum for the extraordinary expences of the state, except in cases of rebellion, when an additional tax is sometimes imposed on the neighbouring provinces. But in general the executive government must adapt its wants to the ordinary supplies instead of calling on the people for extraordinary contributions. Chou-ta-gin gave to the earl of Macartney, from the imperial rent-roll, a rough sketch of the sums raised in each province, making them to amount in the whole to about 66,000,000*l.* sterling.

The army is said to consist of 1,800,000 men, 1,000,000 are infantry and 800,000 cavalry. The whole military establishment requires 49,982,933*l.* sterling annually, and the civil 1,973,333*l.* which leaves a surplus for the emperor of 14,043,734*l.*

The employments for which the military are used differ materially from those among European nations. Except a

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great part of the Tartar cavalry, who are stationed on the northern frontier and in the conquered provinces of Tartary, and the Tartar infantry, who are distributed as guards, for the different cities of the empire, the rest of the army is parcelled out in the smaller towns, villages, and hamlets; where they act as jailors, constables, thief-takers, assistants to magistrates, subordinate collectors of the taxes, guards to granaries; and are employed in a variety of different ways under the civil magistracy and police. Besides these, an immense multitude are stationed as guards at the military posts along the public roads, canals, and rivers. These posts are small square buildings, like so many little castles, each having on its summit a watch-tower and a flag; and they are placed at the distance of three or four miles asunder. At one of these posts there are never fewer than six men. They not only prevent robberies and disputes on the roads and canals, but convey the public dispatches to and from the capital. An express sent from post to post travels between the capital and Canton in 12 days, which is upwards of 100 miles a day. There is no other post nor mode of conveying letters for the convenience of the public.

A great part then of the Chinese army can only be considered as a kind of militia, which never has been, and in all human probability never will be, embodied; a part of the community not living entirely on the labour of the rest, but contributing something to the common stock. Every soldier stationed on the different guards has a portion of land assigned to him, which he cultivates for his family, and pays his quota of the produce to the state. Such a provision, encouraged by public opinion, induces the soldier to marry, and the married men are never removed from their stations.

It will not be expected that men thus circumstanced should exhibit a very military appearance under arms. 'In some places,' says Mr. Barrow, 'where they were drawn out in compliment to the ambassador, when the weather happened to be a little warm, they were employed in the exercise of their fans, instead of their matchlocks; others we found drawn up in a single line, and resting very composedly on

their knees to receive the ambassador, in which posture they remained till their commanding officer passed the word to rise. Whenever we happened to take them by surprize, there was the greatest scramble to get their holiday dresses out of the guard-house, which, when put on, had more the appearance of being intended for the stage than the field of battle. Their quilted petticoats, satin boots, and their fans, had a mixture of clumsiness and effeminacy that ill accorded with the military character.'

The different kinds of troops that compose the Chinese army consist of

Tartar cavalry, whose only weapon is the sabre; and a few who carry bows.

Tartar infantry, bowmen; having also large sabres.

Chinese infantry, carrying the same weapons.

Chinese matchlocks.

Chinese *tigers* of war, bearing large round shields of basket-work, and long ill-made swords. On the shields of the last are painted monstrous faces of some imaginary animal, intended to frighten the enemy, or, like any another gorgon, to petrify their beholders.

'The military dress,' our author remarks, 'varies in almost every province. Sometimes they wore blue jackets edged with red, or brown with yellow; some had long pantaloons; some breeches, with stockings of cotton cloth; others petticoats and boots. The bowmen had long loose gowns of blue cotton, stuffed with a kind of felt or wadding, studded all over with brass knobs, and bound round the middle with a girdle, from which the sabre was appended behind, hanging with the point forwards, and on the right side, not the left as in Europe. On the head they wore a helmet of leather, or gilt pasteboard, with flaps on each side that covered the cheeks and fell upon the shoulder. The upper part was exactly like an inverted funnel, with a long pipe terminating in a kind of spear, on which was bound a tuft of long hair dyed of a scarlet colour.'

'The greatest number we saw at any one place might be from 2 to 3,000, which were drawn up in a single line along the bank of a river; and as they stood with an interval

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between each equal to the width of a man, they formed a very considerable line in length. Every fifth man had a small triangular flag, and every tenth a large one; the staffs that supported them were fixed to the jacket behind the shoulders. Some of the flags were green, edged with red; others blue, edged with yellow. I never saw the Chinese troops drawn out in any other way than in a single line in front; not even two deep.

‘The Tartar cavalry appear to be remarkably swift, and to charge with great impetuosity; but the horses are so small and are broken into so quick and short a stroke that the eye is deceived. Their real speed, in fact, is very moderate. Their saddles are remarkably soft, and raised so high both before and behind, that the rider cannot easily be thrown out of his seat. The stirrups are so short that the knee is almost as high as the chin. They have very little artillery, and that little is as wretched as it well can be.’

Confucius was the greatest and most learned teacher of religion in China. His notions were extremely just and sublime, and not unlike that of the stoics; but the ceremonies in honour of his memory have led to idolatry. The Tao-tze, or *sons of immortals*, and the disciples of Fo, or *Buddhists*, are almost as numerous. The Tartar princes belong to the latter sect.

The disputes, quarrels, persecutions, and massacres, that have happened at various times among the different sects of Christianity in Europe, have not been much less violent, nor productive of less dreadful consequences, between the sects of immortals and that of Fo, in China, whenever the court, or rather the intriguing eunuchs, seemed to favour the opinions of one sect in preference to those of the other. Persecutions never failed to begin whenever either party was fortunate enough to gain over to its side the chief of the eunuchs, who had always sufficient influence with the reigning monarch to prevail upon him to espouse the same cause. They were, however, wars of priests alone, in which the people remained neutral, or took no active part. Whole monasteries have been levelled with the ground, and thousands of priests put to death

on both sides. Since, however, the accession of the present Tartar dynasty, they have met with no particular marks of favour or distinction; and, on that account, are apparently reconciled to each other; indeed, they are scarcely distinguishable either by their temples or by their dress.

However strictly the women may be kept at home by the customs of the country, they are nevertheless permitted, on certain occasions, to consult the destiny of the altar, without being exposed to the censure of vulgarity or impropriety. Barren wives are even encouraged to visit these temples, not so much for the purpose of knowing their destiny, as under a firm belief that, by rubbing the bellies of certain little copper gods, they shall conceive and bear children. But, the women in general who, from habit, feel little inclination to stir abroad, except on very pressing occasions, encourage a set of fortune-tellers, mountebanks and jugglers, who thus pick up a livelihood by travelling the country, and telling fortunes from house to house. They are known by a wretched squalling flute on which they play, and are beckoned to call where their art is required.

Formerly it was the custom to bury slaves with emperors and princes, and sometimes also their concubines, alive; but this cruel practice has given way, in modern times, to the more harmless one of burning representations of their domestics in tin foil, cut into the shape of human beings, and of placing their statues in wood or stone upon their graves; this seems to be the remains of a Scythian or Tartar custom, which, according to Herodotus, was commonly observed at the funerals of their sovereigns, when their horses, their slaves, and their concubines, were impaled alive and placed in order round the tyrant's tomb. The last remains of a relation are interred with all the honours that the family can afford.

The famous *feast of lanterns*, when the whole empire is lighted up from one extremity to the other, in every possible way that fancy can suggest, is an ancient religious usage, of which, at the present day, they can give no plausible account. It is just possible that, among other Egyptian ceremonies, this may be one derived from a common origin with an annual

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illumination of the same kind mentioned by Herodotus; which was generally observed, from the cataracts of the Nile to the borders of the Mediterranean, by hanging lamps of different kinds to the sides of the houses. On this day the Chinese not only illuminate their houses, but they also exercise their ingenuity in making transparencies in the shape of different animals, with which they run through the streets by night. The effect when perfectly dark is whimsical enough. Birds, beasts, fishes, and other animals, are seen darting through the air, and contending with each other; some with squibs in their mouths, breathing fire, and others with crackers in their tails: some sending out skyrockets, others rising into pyramids of party-coloured fire, and others bursting like a mine with violent explosions. But the most ingenious are those that, *Porteus*-like, change their shape from time to time, and under every form exhibit a different display of fireworks.

After these interesting remarks, which we have briefly noticed, on the learning, language, arts, government, and religion of China, our author recommences his account of the journey of the embassy through the country to Canton. They embarked on the *Pei-ho* in yachts, on the 8th of October. 'In the neighbourhood of this river,' says *Barrow*, 'a light sandy soil chiefly prevails, with a mixture of argillaceous earth and slimy matter, interspersed with shining particles of mica: but not a stone of any magnitude, nor pebbles, nor even gravel, occur in the whole extent of country through which the *Pei-ho* is navigable. The surface, indeed, is so flat and uniform, that the tide, which rises only 9 or 10 feet in the gulf of *Pe-tche-lee*, flows to the distance of 30 miles beyond *Tien-sing*, or 110 miles from the mouth of the river; and it frequently submerges the whole country, notwithstanding the great pains bestowed by the inhabitants in raising and keeping in order artificial banks. Such inundations, although often the causes of great fertility, are sometimes productive of general calamity, especially if they happen at a season when the crop is too far advanced. These plains exhibit the appearance of a more than ordinary encroachment of the land upon the sea. The general level of the face of the country,

at high water, is not more elevated than two feet above the surface of the river, of which not only the bed, but also the substratum of the enclosing banks, are composed entirely of fine sand similar to that on the shore of the sea. The deepest part of the wide gulf of Pe-tche-lee exceeds not 12 fathoms, and the prodigious number of small sandy islands, just appearing above the surface, are said to have been created within the records of history. A great portion of the enormous mass of mud that is perpetually washed down the Yellow river, and which was found by experiment to exceed 2,000,000 solid feet in an hour, is borne by a strong current from the Yellow sea into the gulf of Pe-tche-lee, where the stillness of the water allows it to subside.

'This uniform plain of China afforded little interest to the traveller. Few trees appeared, except now and then a clump of firs surrounding a temple, or the plantations contiguous to the dwelling of some officer of government. In such situations were also large elms, willows, and a species of ash unknown in Europe. There were no hedge-rows. Property here is divided only by narrow ditches, serving at the same time for drains, or by ridges of unploughed ground, as in the common fields of England, which answer the purpose of foot-paths. None of the artificial grasses, usually so called, are cultivated by the Chinese. It is not an object with them to fodder their cows for the sake of obtaining a greater quantity of milk, this nutritive article of food being very sparingly used either in its raw state or in any preparation; and they are either ignorant of the processes of converting it into butter and cheese, or, for certain reasons, prefer to employ the little they make use of in its original state. Horses are rarely kept for luxury or for labour; and the few animals employed in agriculture, which are mostly asses, mules, or buffaloes, subsist in the winter season on chaff and straw; and their chief support in the summer is derived from the strong grasses that grow in the ditches and the common reed, with which, in this part of the country, large tracts of swampy ground are covered.'

Mr. Barrow observed several fields cultivated with a vegetable like the cos-lettuce. In the gardens were carrots, turnips, black

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radishes, asparagus, winter-cherry, water-melons, musk-melons, pumpkins, peaches, apples, pears, and cucumbers. Onions and garlick were growing near every peasant's house. The huts were mean and the labouring classes bore every indication of poverty. In passing Tien-sing, the crowds of shipping were so immense, that it was four hours before the barges of the embassy could get through them. After sailing eight days through a level and open country, in which was observed several plots of young-wheat rising in drills, with buck-wheat in flower, and the cotton plant in the pod, they left the *Eu-ho*, and entered the grand canal, which, at its juncture with the river, was about 100 feet wide. 'Towards the evening of the 23d,' says our author, 'as we approached the city of *Tong-tchang-foo*, we were much amused with a military manœuvre, which was evidently intended to astonish us. Under the walls of this city, about 300 soldiers were drawn out in a line, which, however, the darkness of the night had rendered invisible. But just as we were coming to anchor, each soldier, at the sound of the gong, produced from under his cloak a splendid lantern, with which he went through a regular manual exercise. The following morning we observed, for the first time, a few hillocks breaking the line of the horizon to the eastward. The country appeared to be in a tolerable state of cultivation; but the mode of tillage exhibited no extraordinary degree of skill or of labour. Villages of considerable extent were erected along the banks of the canal, at intervals of about three miles from each other; and, in the gardens contiguous to these, grew in abundance the tobacco plant, whose leaves were small, hairy, and viscous, and the flowers of which were of a greenish yellow passing into a faint rose colour at the edges of the petals. We observed also small patches of hemp. A greater use is made of the seeds and catlets of this plant, as a substitute for or to mix with tobacco, than of its fibres for cloth, a purpose to which it is as rarely converted by the Chinese as by the Hindoos.

'Having passed on the 26th of October the walls of the city of *Ts'e-ning*, where a multitude of small craft were lying at anchor, we came to an extensive lake of the same name,

navigated by a great number of sailing boats. From the east side of this lake the canal was only separated by an immense mound of earth. To the westward the whole country, beyond the reach of sight, was one continued swamp or morass, upon which were interspersed pools or ponds of water, abounding with the nelumbium, at this time in full flower. The morass being several feet below the surface of the water in the canal afforded the means of regulating the quantity; and, accordingly, at certain distances, we observed stone arches turned in the earthen embankment to let off the superfluous water that might be occasioned by the swelling of the feeding rivers.

'The nature of the country admitted of such management for three days' journey, or about 80 miles from Tsie-ning. The whole of this extensive plain consisted in lakes or swampy ground half covered with water. On the former was constantly seen moving about vessels with sails and boats of every description, conveying an animated picture of activity, industry, and commerce. Almost all the lakes were studded with islands, and these were covered with villages, that were chiefly inhabited by fishermen. Here, for the first time, we observed the leu-tzé, or *fishing corvorant*, diving after the finny tribe, and seemingly no less anxious than its master to take them. The usual practice is to take 10 or 12 of these birds, in the morning when fasting, upon a raft of bamboo poles lashed together, and to let one or two at most at a time dive for fish, which are taken from them the moment they bring them to the surface. These birds, not much larger than the common duck, will seize and gripe fast fishes that are not less than their own weight. When the proprietor judges the first pair to be pretty well fatigued, they are suffered to feed by way of encouragement on some of the fish they have taken, and a second pair are dispatched upon the water. The fish we observed them to take was a species of perch. In the course of three days' navigation, we saw several thousand boats and rafts employed in this kind of fishing.

'Having passed the lakes and swamps, we entered suddenly, on the 31st, upon a most delightful part of the country, crowded with temples and villages and towns and cities, near all of

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which, and on every part of the canal, were vast numbers of the revenue vessels, collecting the surplus taxes paid kind, in order to transport them to the capital. Wheat and cotton appeared to be the two principal articles of culture. The surface of the country was now broken into hill and dale, every inch appeared to be under tillage, except the summit of the knolls, which were generally crowned with forest trees, and few of the detached houses or temples were without extensive gardens and orchards. Apples, pears, plums, peaches, apricots, and pomgranates, were the common kinds of fruit, and the culinary vegetables were the same as those of Pe-tche-lee. The canal at this place is, perhaps, the grandest inland navigation in the whole world, being nearly 1,000 feet in width, and bordered on each side by stone quays, built with massy blocks of grey marble mixed with others of granite; and this immense aqueduct, although forced up several feet above the surface of the country by embankments thrown up by the labour of man, flowed with a current of three miles an hour nearly towards the Yellow river, to which we perceived we were fast approaching, by the bustle and activity both on shore and on the numberless canals that branched out in every direction from the main trunk; on whose banks, for several miles on either side, one continued town extended to the point of juncture with this large river, celebrated in every period of the Chinese history.

‘ Before our barges launched into the stream of the Yellow river, which rolled in a very rapid torrent, certain ceremonies were conceived to be indispensably necessary. In the practical part of religion (which indeed may be considered as nearly the whole) a Chinese is not less solicitous to avert a possible evil, than to procure an eventual good; and of all evils personal danger is most apprehended. It was therefore deemed expedient, that an oblation should be made in every vessel of the fleet to the genius of the river. The animals that were sacrificed, on this occasion, were different in different yachts, but they generally consisted of a fowl or a pig, two animals that were very common in Grecian sacrifices. The blood, with the feathers and the hair, was daubed upon the principal

parts of the vessel. On the fore-castle of some were placed cups of wine, oil, and salt; in others, tea, flour, and salt; and in others, oil, rice, and salt. The last article appears to be thought by the Chinese, as well as by the Hebrews, a necessary accompaniment to every sacrifice. "Every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt: neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the Covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy *meat-offering*." As, however, the high priest and his friends were to feast on those parts of the meat-offering, which were considered as unworthy the acceptance of heaven, which parts, by the way, were always the best of the victim, one might, perhaps, assign a reason for the strong injunction of offering salt, this being a scarce article in many countries of the east, and the best preservative of meat against putrefaction.

'The cups, the slaughtered animal, and several made-dishes, remained on the fore-castle, the captain standing over them on one side and a man with a gong in his hand on the other. On approaching the rapid part of the stream, at the signal given by the gong, the captain took up the cups one by one, in order that, like the Greeks of old, he might "perform the rites and pour the ruddy wine;" which he did by throwing their contents over the bows of the vessel into the river. The libation performed, a quantity of crackers and squibs and gilt tin foil were burnt, with uplifted hands, whilst the deep-sounding gong was incessantly struck with increasing violence as the vessels were swept along with the current. The victim and the other dishes were then removed for the use of the captain and crew, and the ceremony ended by three genuflexions and as many prostrations. The emperor is never with less than nine.

'Our fleet consisted of about 30 sail, and from each vessel there proceeded, on its launching into the stream, such a din of gongs and crackers and such volumes of smoke from the burnt-offerings, that the deity of the river must have been in a very surly humour if he was not pleased with such a multitude of oblations. The safe arrival, on the opposite bank, of the whole squadron was a proof of his having accepted the homage,

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and accordingly he was again addressed in a volley of crackers as a token of thanks for his propitious and friendly aid.

‘The width of the river at this place was full three quarters of a mile; and the stream, where strongest, ran with the rapidity of seven or eight miles an hour; and the water was as thick and muddy as if the heaviest torrents of rain had just descended, whereas, in fact, there had not fallen a shower for many months.

‘The length of that part of the canal which lies between the Eu-ho and the Yellow river, and which we had now sailed over, is about 200 English miles. The natural slope of the country being from north to south, the projectors of this work seem to have fixed upon the middle point, or nearly so, between these two rivers, for the commencement of their operations: so that from this middle point to the northward, or rising part of the country, they have been under the necessity, in order to preserve their level, of cutting down to the depth of 30, 40, and even to 70 feet, below the surface; whilst from the same point to the southward, or descending part of the country, they have been obliged to force up the water between immense banks of earth and stone, far above the level of the flat surface; consisting almost entirely of lakes, swamps, and morass. The quantity of human labour that must have been employed, in amassing together the different materials that compose this immense aqueduct, could not have been supplied, in any reasonable length of time, except in a country where millions could be set to work at the nod of a despot.

‘On approaching the *Yang-tse-kiang* the appearance of the country improved, just as it had done in the vicinity of the Yellow river. The town of *Sau-poo*, extending along the quay of the canal, consisted of houses that were generally two stories high, apparently well built, white-washed with lime, and kept in neat and clean order. The inhabitants were also better clothed than we had hitherto been accustomed to see them. The women were less shy in their advances; their complexions were much fairer, and their features more soft

and handsome, than any we had yet observed in the northern provinces.

‘The walls and gates of *Yang-tchoo-foo* bore marks of great antiquity, being partly in ruins and almost entirely overgrown with moss and creeping plants. A thousand vessels, at least, of different descriptions, were lying under its walls. Here we remained for the night; and the following morning, being the 5th of November, we launched into the grand and beautiful river called the *Yang-tse-kiang*, which at this place was about two miles in width; but the current was so gentle, that no oblation to the presiding deity was thought to be necessary. The numerous islands rising out of the river and covered with verdure, the multitude of ships of war, of burden, and of pleasure, some gliding down the stream, others sailing against it; some moving by oars, and others lying at anchor; the banks on either side covered with towns and houses, as far as the eye could reach, presented a prospect more varied and cheerful than any that had hitherto occurred. Nor was the canal, on the opposite side, less lively; for two whole days we were continually passing among fleets of vessels of different constructions and dimensions, those belonging to the revenue department being the largest, each capable of carrying, at least, 200 tons. Cities, towns, and villages, were continued along the banks without intermission: and vast numbers of stone bridges were thrown across the canal, some having one, some two, and others three arches. The face of the country was beautifully diversified with hill and dale, and every part of it in the highest state of cultivation. The chief produce was that particular species of cotton, of a yellowish tinge, known in Europe by the name of *naukin*.

‘The suburbs of *Sou-tchoo-foo* employed us full three hours in passing before we reached the walls of the city, where a multitude of vessels were lying at anchor. The numerous inhabitants that appeared upon and without the walls of this extensive city, were better dressed, and seemed to be more contented and cheerful, than we had yet observed them in any other place. For the most part they were clothed in silk.

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The ladies were here dressed in petticoats and not in trowsers, as they had hitherto appeared to the northward. The superior style of dress, and the appearance of the women in public at this place, so different from the general custom of the country, could only be explained to us by the writings of the Christian missionaries, who observe that the concubines of mandarins and men of property are chiefly procured from the cities of *Yang-tchoo* and *Sou-tchoo*, where they are educated in the pleasing arts of singing, music, and dancing, and every other accomplishment suitable to women of superior rank, in order to render them the more agreeable and fascinating.

‘ After sailing a great part of the day through a forest of mulberry trees, planted with much regularity, we arrived on the 10th, at the city of *Hang-tchoo-foo*, the capital of the province of *Tche-kiang*. Here that branch of the grand canal which communicates with the *Yang-tse-kiang* terminates in a large commodious basin, at this time crowded with shipping. From this basin a number of smaller canals, passing through arches turned in the walls and intersecting the city in every direction, are finally united in a lake beyond the western wall called the *See-hoo*. The natural and artificial beauties of this lake far exceeded any thing we had hitherto had an opportunity of seeing in China. The mountains surrounding it were lofty, and broken into a variety of forms that were highly picturesque; and the vallies were richly clothed with trees of different kinds, among which three species were remarkably striking, not only by their intrinsic beauty, but also by the contrast they formed with themselves, and the rest of the trees of the forest.

‘ Our route being necessarily delayed for two days at this place, on account of an intervening neck of land over which all the baggage was to be transported, I prevailed upon our good-natured companion *Van-ta-gin* to make a party to the lake *See-hoo*, to which he readily assented; and this was the only excursion that we had in the course of the whole journey. We had a splendid yacht, and another made fast to it to serve as a kitchen; the dinner began the instant we went on board and ceased only when we stepped a-shore. It consisted of at

least 100 dishes in succession, among which were excellent eels, fresh caught in the lake, and dressed in a variety of ways; yet the water was as clear as crystal. Vast numbers of barges were sailing to and fro, all gaily decorated with paint and gilding and streaming colours; the parties within them apparently all in pursuit of pleasure. The margins of the lake were studded with light aerial buildings, among which one of more solidity, and of greater extent than the rest, was said to belong to the emperor. The grounds were enclosed with brick walls, and mostly planted with vegetables and fruit trees; but in some there appeared to be collections of such shrubs and flowers as are most esteemed in the country.

'The next day lieutenant-colonel, now general, Benson, doctor Gillan, and myself, accompanied by a military officer and his orderly, rode over the neck of land to look at the yachts that were preparing for our future journey. As it was rather late before we returned, I proposed that we should pass through the city, as I had done the day before with our conductor Van, which would save us half the distance. The officer, perceiving our intentions, endeavoured to draw us off to the right, but, finding us persevere, he whispered the orderly, who immediately pushed forward towards the gate. Aware that the intention of this measure was to shut the gate against us, we spurred our horses and followed him, upon which, the officer and his orderly set up such a hue and cry that the whole suburbs were presently in a state of commotion. The gates were instantly shut and surrounded by a crowd. Within all was confusion. Message after message was dispatched to the governor; the gongs were beat, and the guards were drawn out in every part of the city. I assured them there was nothing to fear; that we were only three, and had no other design but to pass to our yachts. During this time our *mandarin of war*, in presence of the whole populace, was down on his knees in the dirt, first before one and then another, intreating us to give up the point; so mean and despicable have the maxims of the government made these people. At length our friends Van and Chou, with the interpreter, and a numerous train of soldiers and attendants,

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made their appearance, and pretended to enjoy the joke of three Englishmen having caused so much alarm to one of their strongest cities, which at that time had a garrison of 3,000 men within its walls. On expressing our surprize at such unnecessary precaution, Van observed, that our conductor did not know us so well as he did, and, as he was responsible for our safe return, he would rather have travelled us all night through the country than brought us among the crowd in the streets. When the new viceroy of Canton (who travelled with us from hence) heard of this affair, and understood from our conductors that the English found great pleasure in walking and looking about them (a pleasure of which a Chinese can form no idea) he immediately gave orders that the gentlemen in the train of the ambassador should walk whenever they pleased without any molestation.

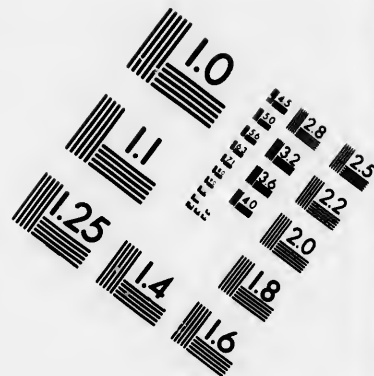
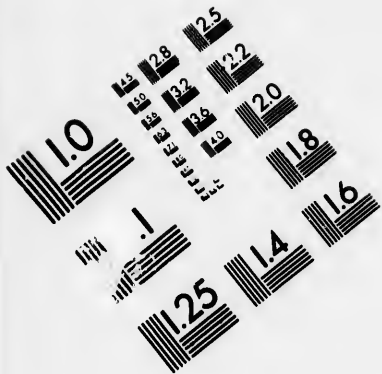
‘A few miles beyond the city we again took shipping on the river *Tcheng-tang-chiang*, which might properly be called an estuary, the tide rising and falling six or seven feet at the place of embarkation, which was not very distant from the Yellow sea. After seven days of tedious navigation, if dragging by main strength over a pebbly bottom on which the boats were constantly aground and against a rapid stream, could be so called, we came to its source near the city of *Tchang-san-shein*. But its banks were not deficient in beautiful views and picturesque scenery. The general surface of the country was mountainous and romantic, but well cultivated in all such places as would admit the labours of the husbandman.

‘At the city of *Tchang-san-shien* we had again a neck of land to cross, in order to join the barges that were prepared on another river falling towards the westward, by which a connexion was formed with the usual route from Peking to Canton, from whence we had deviated at the *Yang-tse-kiang* river, on account of some of the suite being intended to join the Hindostan in the harbour of *Tchusan*.’

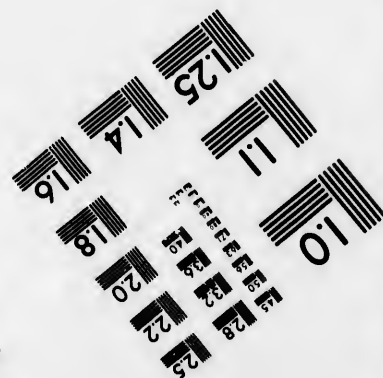
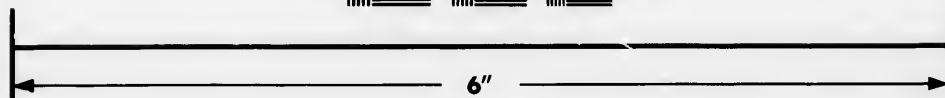
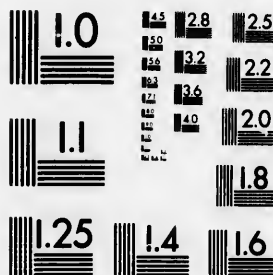
Having finished this land journey, the embassy dropped down the *Long-shia-tong* in barges. After sailing three days, as they approached the *Po-yang* lake, they had an opportunity







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of seeing the various means practised by the Chinese to catch fish: rafts and other floating vessels with the fishing corvorant; boats with moveable planks turning on hinges, and painted so as to deceive fishes on moonlight nights, and entice them to leap out of the water upon the planks; nets set in every form; and wicker baskets made exactly in the same manner as those used in Europe. Large gourds and blocks of wood were floating on the water, in order to familiarize the various kinds of water-fowl to such objects, which gave the Chinese an opportunity, by sticking their heads into gourds or earthen pots, and keeping their bodies under water, to approach the birds in a gentle manner sufficiently near to take them by the legs, and draw them quietly under the water.

They sailed for four days through a flat dreary country, extending from the above lake to the city of Kiang-sec. After passing this place the appearance of the country was improved, and seemed well adapted for the purposes of agriculture. The women seemed very robust, and well fitted for the hard labour and drudging of the field. Here they saw a woman actually yoked by traces to a plough, whilst the husband or master had the lighter task of holding it by one hand, and drilling in the seed with the other. After quitting this river, which is 300 miles in length, the embassy had another short land journey, over the steep and lofty mountain Me-lin, on the south side of which commences the river Pei-kiang-ho, that flows to the port of Canton.

‘We had no sooner entered into the province of Quan-tung, or Canton,’ says Mr. Barrow, ‘than a very sensible difference was perceived in the conduct of the inhabitants. Hitherto the embassy had met with the greatest respect and civility from all classes of the natives, but now even the peasantry ran out of their houses, as we passed, and bawled after us “*Queite-fan-quei*,” which, in their language, are opprobrious and contemptuous expressions, signifying *foreign devils*, *imps*; epithets that are bestowed by the enlightened Chinese on all foreigners. It was obvious, that the haughty and insolent manner in which all Europeans residing at, or trading to, the port of Canton are treated, had extended itself to the northern

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frontier of the province; but it had not crossed the mountain Me-lin; the natives of Kiang-see being a quiet, civil, and inoffensive people. In Quan-tung the farther we advanced, the more rude and insolent they became. A timely rebuke, however, given to the governor of *Nau-sheun-foo* by Van-ta-gin, for applying the above-mentioned opprobrious epithets to the British embassy, had a good effect on the Canton officers, who were now to be our conductors through their province.

‘ This contempt of foreigners is not confined to the upper ranks, or men in office, but pervades the very lowest class, who, whilst they make no scruple of entering into the service of foreign merchants residing in the country, and accepting the most menial employments under them, performing the duties of their several offices with diligence, punctuality, and fidelity, affect, at the same time, to despise their employers, and to consider them as placed, in the scale of human beings, many degrees below them. Having one day observed my Chinese servant busily employed in drying a quantity of tea-leaves, that had already been used for breakfast, and of which he had collected several pounds, I inquired what he meant to do with them: he replied, to mix them with other tea and sell them. “ And is that the way,” said I, “ in which you cheat your own countrymen?” “ No,” replied he, “ my own countrymen are too wise to be so easily cheated, but your’s are stupid enough to let us serve you such like tricks; and, indeed,” continued he, with the greatest *sang froid* imaginable, “ any thing you get from us is quite good enough for you.” Affecting to be angry with him, he said, “ he meant for the *second sort* of Englishmen,” which is a distinction they give to the Americans.

‘ The barges in which we now embarked were very small, owing to the shallowness of the Pei-kiang-ho. The officers assembled here from different parts of the country, detained us a whole day in order to have an opportunity of laying their several complaints before our physician, at the recommendation of Van-ta-gin, who had felt the good effects of his practice. Here, for once, we had an instance of Chinese pride giving way to self-interest, and usurped superiority condescending to

ask advice of barbarians. We sailed for two days in our little barges, through one of the most wild, mountainous, and barren, tracts of country that I ever beheld, abounding more in the sublime and horrible, than in the picturesque or beautiful. The lofty summit of the mountains seemed to touch each other across the river, and, at a distance, it appeared as if we had to sail through an arched cavern.

‘ Within the defile of these wild mountains, we observed several extensive collieries, which were advantageously worked by driving levels from the river into their sides. The coals brought out of the horizontal *adits* were immediately lowered from a pier into vessels that were ready to receive and transport them to the potteries of this province, and of Kiang-see. Coal is little used in its raw state, but is first charred in large pits that are dug in the ground. Coal dust, mixed with earth, and formed into square blocks, is frequently used to heat their little stoves, on which they boil their rice.

‘ In several places among the wild and romantic mountains, through which we were carried on this river, we noticed quarries of great extent, out of which huge stones had been cut for sepulchral monuments, for the arches of bridges, for architraves, for paving the streets, and for various other uses. To obtain these large masses, the saw is applied at the upper surface, and they work down vertically to the length required. Each stone is shaped and fashioned to the size that may be wanted, before it is removed from the parent rock, by which much difficulty is avoided, and less power required in conveying it to its destination. Rude misshapen blocks, requiring additional labour for their removal, are never detached from the rock in such a state.

‘ On the 10th we halted before a village, which was just within sight of the suburbs of Canton. Here the ambassador was met by the commissioners of the East India company, whom the Chinese had allowed to proceed thus far from the factory, and to which place the servants of the company are occasionally permitted to make their parties of pleasure. In the neighbourhood of this village are extensive gardens for the supply of the city with vegetables. In some we observed

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nurseries for propagating the rare, the beautiful, the curious, or the useful plants of the country; which are sent to Canton for sale. On this account we were not sorry to be obliged to spend the remainder of the day at this place.

‘ To make our entré into Canton the more splendid, a number of superb barges were sent to meet us, carrying flags, and streamers, and umbrellas, and other insignia of office; and in some were bands of music. About the middle of the day we arrived before the factories, which constitute a line of buildings in the European style, extending along the left bank of the river; where the ambassador was received by the *song-too*, or viceroy, the governor, the *ho-poo*, or collector of the customs, and all the principal officers of the government. From hence we were conducted to the opposite side of the river, where a temporary building of poles and mats had been prepared for the occasion; within which was a screen of yellow silk bearing the name of the emperor in gilt characters. Before this screen the viceroy and other officers performed the usual prostrations, in token of gratitude to his imperial majesty, for his having vouchsafed us a prosperous journey.

‘ It is but doing justice to the Chinese government and to the individuals in its employ who had any concern in the affairs of the embassy, to observe, that as far as regarded ourselves, their conduct was uniformly marked by liberality, attention, and an earnest desire to please. Nor is there any vanity in saying, that, after observing us closely in the course of a long journey and daily intercourse, the officers of government gradually dismissed the prejudices imbibed against us, as foreigners, from their earliest youth. Gained by our frank and open manners, and by little attentions, they seemed to fly with pleasure to our society, as a relief from the tedious formalities they were obliged to assume in their official capacity. Van and Chou constantly passed the evenings in some of our yachts. It is impossible to speak of those two worthy men in terms equal to their desert. Kind, condescending, unremitting in their attentions, they never betrayed one moment of ill-humour from the time we entered China till they took their final leave at Canton. These two



men were capable of real attachments. They insisted on accompanying the ambassador on board the *Lion*, where they took their last farewell. At parting they burst into tears and shewed the strongest marks of sensibility and concern. Their feelings quite overcame them, and they left the *Lion* sorrowful and dejected. Early the following morning they sent on board 20 baskets of fruit and vegetables, as a farewell token of their remembrance. We had the satisfaction to hear, that immediately on their arrival at Peking, they were both promoted. Chou is at present in a high situation at court, but Van, the cheerful good-natured Van, has paid the debt of nature, having fallen honourably in the service of his country. On the conduct of *Lee*, our Chinese interpreter, any praise that I could bestow would be far inadequate to his merit. Fully sensible of his perilous situation, he never at any one time shrunk from his duty. At Macao he took an affectionate leave of his English friends, with whom, though placed in one of the remotest provinces of the empire, he still contrives to correspond. The ambassador, lord Macartney, has had several letters from him; the last of which is of so late a date as March 1802; so that his sensibility has not been diminished either by time or distance.

It is the custom of China to consider all ambassadors as guests of the emperor, from the moment they enter any part of his dominions, until they are entirely out of them.—Accordingly, the English embassy was furnished with every article at the emperor's expence, and the whole amounted, by a calculation made by Van-ta-gin, to 173,000*l.*, whereas the whole expence of the embassy to England did not exceed 80,000*l.*

According to a statement delivered by Chou-ta-gin to the ambassador, the whole surface of the Chinese dominions, within the wall, contains 1,297,999 square miles, or 830,719,360 English acres, and the population amounts to 333,000,000! —‘What a grand and curious spectacle,’ as sir George Staunton observes, ‘is here exhibited to the mind of so large a proportion of the whole of the human race, connected together in one great system of polity, submitting quietly and

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through so considerable an extent of country to one sovereign; and uniform in their laws, their manners, and their language; but differing essentially in each of these respects from every other portion of mankind; and neither desirous of communicating with, nor forming any designs against, the rest of mankind.' How strong an instance does China afford of the truth of the observation, that men are more easily governed by opinion than by power.

'I have now,' says Mr. Barrow, 'gone over most of the points relative to which I have been able to recollect the remarks and observations, which arose in my mind during my attendance on this memorable embassy. The comparisons I have made were given with a view of assisting the reader to form in his own mind some idea what rank the Chinese may be considered to hold, when measured by the scale of European nations; but this part is very defective.' He then expresses a hope that when the ambassador's information, reflections, and opinions, were communicated to the public, we would be enabled to act upon the ideas of that nobleman's capacious and enlightened mind, and to prove to the world that the late embassy, by shewing the character and dignity of the British nation in a new and splendid light, to a court and people in a great measure ignorant of them before, however misrepresented by the jealousy and envy of rivals, or impeded by the counteraction of enemies, has laid an excellent foundation for great future advantages, and done honour to the wisdom and foresight of the statesman (lord viscount Melville) who planned the measure, and directed its execution.

# EARLY VOYAGES

TO THE

## EAST INDIES.

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**A**FTER the fortunate discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, 10 years elapsed before the Portuguese attempted to penetrate to the East Indies. But, on the 8th of July, 1497, VASCO DE GAMA sailed from Lisbon, on this important enterprize. His squadron consisted of four ships, armed by 148 experienced soldiers and seamen. On the 20th of November they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and ran along the coast with a fair wind, sounding their trumpets and shewing other symptoms of joy. After coasting along the east shores of Africa, until the 1st of March, they cast anchor at the island of Mozambique. Here they were entertained with great kindness, and procured pilots to take the ships to Calicut, which, they were informed was 900 leagues distant. But, when the Moors discovered they were Christians, they plotted to destroy them; however, in consequence of some information from one of the pilots respecting their designs, they narrowly escaped. De Gama, after taking water by force, battered the town and departed.

At Mombassa De Gama and his companions again narrowly escaped destruction, but, suspecting treachery, two Moors were put to the torture, until they confessed the plot. On the 21st of April they determined to quit the shore, which they

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had hitherto coasted, and stand out to sea, trusting to the conduct of the pilot. On the next day they saw both the north and south polar stars; the former of which they had not seen for a long time: they were also agreeably surprized to meet with no storms at this season of the year, but rather fair weather. They were 23 days out of sight of land, when they saw on the 17th of May, a high shore, eight leagues distant: on sounding they found 45 fathoms; and to avoid getting into shoal water, they stood to the south-east until next day, and hauled in again for the land, but not so close as to be certain what part of the coast it was; but by some showers which fell, the pilot judged it to be the coast of India, that being their winter season. On the 20th they discovered some hill over the city of Calicut, which the pilot knew, and with much joy demanded his reward of De Gama, assuring them that this was the land he so much desired to see. The general paid him, and immediately went to prayers, saying the *salva*, and returning thanks to God for their happy arrival; after prayer they feasted and rejoiced, and on the evening came to anchor two leagues from Calicut. Immediately four little boats, or *almadias*, came on board, to inquire what ships they were, having never seen any such on the coast before. The people were naked, except their private parts, covered with pieces of linen cloth; they were of a brown complexion. They went on board the general's ship, who treated them well, although his pilot told him they were only fishermen, (a name applied on this coast to poor people) and directed his men to purchase their fish. From them he learned that the town in sight was not Calicut, that being further off, and offered to pilot him thither; which they did.

*Calicut* is a city situated on the coast of Malabar, in Hindostan, beginning at mount Delhi, and ending at cape Comorin: it is in length 61 leagues, and 15 in breadth: all the country is low, and often overflowed. It has many islands belonging to it, and is divided from a great kingdom, called Narsinga, by a high hill. The Indians have a tradition, that this land of Malabar was once sea, and reached as far as the Maldivé islands, which were then firm land.

The province of Malabar was anciently governed by a king, who resided at Coulan. In the reign of their last king, the Moors of Mecca discovered the Indies, and settled in Malabar, the people being then heathens. They converted the king, who became so zealous a devotee, that he determined to go and end his days at Mecca. Before he departed, he divided his dominions among his kindred, reserving only a small portion of 12 leagues, from which he was to embark, and which was never before inhabited. This he gave to a kinsman, who had been his page, commanding that the same should be inhabited, in memorial of his embarkation, investing him with his sword and turban, and commanding all others to be obedient to him as their emperor. This was the origin of Calicut: at the place where he embarked, the city was built, and out of a principle of devotion, they now ship all goods from hence; by which means the port of Coulan became neglected. The merchants removing hither, it was soon one of the richest marts in India. It had the advantage of a good road, the other parts of the coast being very dangerous.

All the kings of Malabar have one person charged with the administration of justice, who is equally obeyed with the king himself. The officers are all *nayres*, or gentlemen, and carry arms, which are bows, arrows, spears, daggers made like a hook, and targets. They go naked, except a painted cloth from the girdle to the knee; bare-footed, and have turbans round their heads: they are all supported by the king and nobility, who allow them stipends for their maintenance: they esteem themselves so highly, that they will not permit any husbandman to touch them, or to come into their houses.

The general having come to anchor without the bar of Calicut, sent one of his convicts in the boat, to see what sort of country it was, and if they should be received. When the man landed, a number of people immediately came round to look at him. They asked the Malabar who carried him on shore, what he was, who answered, that they took him for a Moor, and that he came in one of the three ships they then saw. The people of Calicut observed, he was dressed different from the Moors. Among the people who flocked round him,

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some spake to him in Arabic, which he could not answer. This surprized them, that he should be a Moor, and not understand that tongue; however, they carried him to the house of two Moors, who were natives of Tunis, in Barbary; one of them, whose name was Bontaybo, could speak the Spanish language, and knew him to be a Portugeze. As soon as the convict entered the house, the Moor said to him in Spanish, 'I give thee to the d---l, who brought thee here?' He then asked him which way he came. The man answered and told him how many ships the general had with him. Bontaybo was much surprized how they could get by sea thither, and asked him what brought him so far. The man answered, 'To seek for Christians and spices.'—'Why,' said Bontaybo, 'did not the kings of France and Spain, and the doge of Venice, send fleets hither also?'—'Because,' replied the man, 'the king of Portugal would not give his consent.' Bontaybo said, he did very wisely. He then entertained him well, and gave him some cakes made of wheat flour, and some honey. After he had eaten, Bontaybo advised him to go on board, and said he would go with him to see the general. As soon as he got there, he addressed himself to De Gama: 'Good luck, good luck! many rubies, many emeralds! thou art bound to give God thanks, for he hath brought thee where there are all kinds of spices, stores, and riches, in the world.' When the Portugeze heard him they were much surprized to find one, at so great a distance from their native country, who could speak their language. The general embraced Bontaybo, made him sit down, and asked him if he was a Christian. The Moor told him from whence he came, and what he was; that he came to Calicut by way of Caïro; told him how he came to have a knowledge of the Portugeze, and that he entertained a good opinion of them, had been a friend to them, and would be so now. The general returned him thanks, and promised to recompense him liberally for any service he did him or his company.

The general asked him what kind of man the king of Calicut was, and whether he thought he would receive him as an



ambassador from the king of Portugal. Bontaybo answered, he was a very good man, of an honourable disposition, and he had no doubt but he would gladly receive him as an ambassador, if he came to establish trade, or brought any kind of merchandize for that purpose; 'for,' says he, 'he reaps great advantage by duties, which forms a principal part of his revenue.' He further informed De Gama, that the king was at a village called *Panene*, five leagues from Calicut along the coast, to which place he advised him to send to declare his arrival. The general approved of his advice, made him a present, and sent two of his men with him, with a message to the king of Calicut; requesting Bontaybo to conduct them thither, which he did. When he came before the king, one of them, whose name was Francis Martin, by an interpreter, declared that he came from the captain, who had letters for him from the king of Portugal. The king hearing the message, ordered they should each of them be presented with a piece of cotton cloth and two pieces of silk, such as he used himself. He then asked what distance the kingdom was from thence. Martin informed him, and added, that his king was a Christian, as they all were in the ships. He then related the dangers and difficulties they had encountered on the voyage. The king was pleased with the message, and sent word to the general that he and his company were heartily welcome to his country, requesting him to bring his ships to anchor near *Pandarene*, being a better harbour than Calicut, from whence the general might come by land to visit him. He sent a pilot, who conducted the ships to that port, but the general would not permit them to be carried so far in as the pilot wished, not being willing to rely too implicitly on these people, who might afterwards do him mischief.

The captain being come near this harbour, received a message from the *cutwal*, an officer of Calicut, signifying that he was come to Pandarene by the king's command, to conduct him to Calicut; he was therefore at liberty to disembark when he pleased. As the day was far spent, De Gama excused himself for the present, and consulted with his captains and officers how to act: he expressed his desire to wait on the

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king, to settle trade and alliance. His brother objected to his going, from a fear that the Moors might procure his destruction, and proposed that he should send one of them. The others were of the same opinion. To which De Gama spiritedly replied, that whatever was the consequence, he would go and see if he could settle a friendship and trade; for should he return without effecting that, no one would believe they had been at Calicut. Besides, he did not, for many reasons, conceive the danger to be so great as they suspected; adding, that the consequence he carried with him, by virtue of his commission as captain-general, would insure him success. He concluded with directing, in case any accident should befall him, to sail home with the news of the discovery.

His officers, finding him resolute, gave up their opposition, and appointed 12 of his men to go with him; among the rest, Diogo Dias, his secretary, Francis Martin, the interpreter, and John de Sala, who was treasurer of the houses of the Indies. The general's brother was to remain in charge of the ships, with positive orders not to permit any one on board during his absence: and he left orders for Coello to come every day in the boat as near the shore as he could.

These preliminaries being settled, on the 28th of May De Gama embarked with his 12 attendants, dressed in their best clothes; the boats furnished with arms, decorated with flags, and their trumpets sounding all the way to the shore: there the cutwal waited for him, attended by 200 nayres. The general was received very politely, and placed in a litter, which the king had sent for him: these litters are carried by four men, with others to relieve them, and by that means they can travel very fast; they are open, but are attended by men who carry umbrellas to defend them either from the sun or rain.

The general being placed in his litter, and the cutwal in another, they proceeded to a town called *Capocate*; the rest of the company going on foot, having some of the natives to carry the apparel they had brought with them. At *Capocate* they rested, and were furnished with provisions, consisting of

fish, rice, and fruits, very different from European fruits, but very good.

After their repast, they embarked on a river in two almadias, fastened close to each other, which they called *ensengada*. The cutwal and his train embarked in others. The sides of the river were covered by the natives, to see the Portugueze. After passing about a league, they saw many large ships aground, and the captain and cutwal again disembarking, took to their litters, followed by thousands of people, men, women, and children. The cutwal stopped at a pagoda, telling the general it was a place of great devotion, into which they entered: the general believed what he said, and concluded it to be a Christian church, particularly as he observed seven small bells hung over the door, and before the same a pillar of brass, as high as the mast of a ship; on the top of which was a cock, likewise of brass. This church was as large as some monasteries, built of stone, and covered or vaulted with brick. On entering they were received by certain men, naked from the girdle upwards; they wore cloths which came up under the arm-pits, and were supported by strings over the shoulder, as the Romish priests used to wear their stoles when they went to mass. These men were called *Caffres*, and were heathens, who served in these temples: they took water with a sponge out of a font, and threw it on the captain, the cutwal, and the rest of the company, and then gave them some sanders wood powdered, to throw on their heads, as the Roman catholics do ashes. As they walked about the church, they saw many images painted on the wall; some with teeth projecting an inch out of their mouths; others had four arms very ill-favoured, and seemed almost like devils: the latter made the Portugueze somewhat doubtful whether it was a Christian church or not. Being come before a chapel, in the middle of the building, they perceived it had a little tower at the top, of free-stone, in which was a small door of brass: within this tower was an image which stood rather in the dark, and the Portugueze, being kept at a distance, could not distinguish what it was: but, the Malabars calling out '*Maria*,' or some other word like it, the general supposed it

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was the image of the Virgin, and fell on his knees, as did the rest of his company; but Juan, or John de Sala, being doubtful, cried, 'If this be the devil, I worship God.' The general hearing him, could not refrain from smiling. The cutwal and his company fell flat on the ground, with their hands extended: afterwards rising, they said their prayers standing.

At their entrance into Calicut, De Gama and his attendants were conducted to another pagoda. The crowd was so great to view the Portugueze, that they could not get on, but were obliged to take refuge in a house. Here they were joined by the cutwal's brother and many nayres; they proceeded from hence with trumpets and sackbuts sounding to the palace; the mob, from respect to the cutwal's brother, keeping back. The palace, although built of earth, was very large, and ornamented with a multitude of trees, standing in pleasant gardens.

The general was met at the entrance of the palace by several noblemen, and conducted through several courts, at the gate of each of which were 10 porters. At the door of the house where the king was, they were met by a little old man, who was chief bramin or high-priest; he embraced the general, and conducted them in. Here the pressing began again, the natives endeavouring to get a sight of their king, whom they seldom see, and many of the people were hurt.

The place where the king gave audience was very large, surrounded with seats one above the other, like a theatre; the floor was covered with green velvet; the hangings were of silk of different colours. The king was lying on an *estrado* or seat of boards, covered with a cloth of white silk and gold, and a rich canopy over him. On his head he had a turban, rich with stones and pearls, and jewels in his ears. He wore a jacket of fine cotton; the buttons were pearl, and the holes gold. About his middle he had a white girdle, made of the same cotton, which reached down to his knees; his fingers and toes were full of rings, which were of very fine stones, set in gold; and on his arms and legs many bracelets of the same metal. Close to the *estrado* stood an ewer, which had a

high foot of wrought gold: in this was the betle, which the king chews with salt and *areca*, a preserved apple, about the size of a nut. This is eaten throughout the Indies, to sweeten the breath, dry the stomach, and quench the thirst: when it is sufficiently chewed, they throw it out of their mouth, and take another. That the king may not swallow it, there is a vessel of gold for him to spit in, which stands on a gold foot. He has a gold fountain, full of water, to wash his mouth, when he has finished chewing his betle. This betle is given to him by an old man, who stands close to the estrado; all the others that are present cover their mouths with their hands, lest their breath should be offensive to the king. It is thought great disrespect to spit or sneeze before him.

When the general arrived at the council-chamber, he made his compliments to the king, after the manner of the country, which is by bowing three times, and lifting up the hands. The king immediately made signs to him to draw near, and commanded him to sit down. Being seated, the rest of his men entered, and made the like obedience. The king also commanded them to sit down facing him: he ordered them water to wash their hands and refresh themselves; for though it was winter they were very hot; after which he commanded figs and other fruit to be brought them to eat, which they willingly accepted. The king was so much pleased at seeing them eat, that he laughed heartily. He took occasion to talk with the old man who administered the betle to him. In the mean time the Portugueze called for water, being thirsty. It was brought them in a ewer of gold, and they were given to understand that they must hold the cup above their mouths, for the Malabars look on it as an injury to touch the vessel with their lips; they therefore held it in the manner described; but not being accustomed to that mode of drinking, part of the liquor ran down some of their throats and made them cough, others spilt it over them, at which the king seemed delighted.

After this the captain-general had a private audience with the king, who promised to send his ambassador to the king of Portugal in return. De Gama now retired to pass the night,

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accompanied by the cutwal and others. They were obliged to go on foot, and there came so much rain, that the streets were in a flood; he was therefore under the necessity of commanding some of his men to carry him on their backs, not for the water only, but because it would be so late before he could arrive at his lodging. Four hours of the night having passed since they set out, the general was so angry, that he asked the king's factor, 'whether he meant to carry him about the city all night?' Who answered, 'that he could do no otherwise, for the city was so large and scattered.' He took him to his own house to rest, and afterwards offered him a horse; but there being no saddle, the general would not accept the offer, saying, he would rather go on foot to his lodgings, when those that accompanied him there left him: previous to his coming his men had brought thither his baggage. When the general had rested himself, he reflected with great joy on the good beginning of his business, and determined on the next day to send a present to the king. He knew that the factor and the cutwal must examine it, therefore sent them to take a view of what he meant to send, which was four scarlet habits, six hats, four branches of coral, a parcel of brass of seven pieces, a chest of sugar, and two of honey. When the factor and cutwal had seen these parcels, they began to laugh, saying, this was nothing of a present for the king; that the poorest merchant which comes to this port gives him much more than that; and if they must needs send a present, to send him some gold, for the king would not accept any thing else. At this answer the general was much offended, and threatened to inform the king of their conduct.

It seems that the Moors in the city were apprehensive that the Portuguese would injure their trade, and being informed that De Gama had fired upon the town of Mozambique and other places, they represented to the king that he was a pirate, and prevailed on the cutwal to join in a plot to seize his person and ships. When the general went to court, he soon perceived that matters had changed, for the king made him wait three hours, and then would only admit two of his officers with him. The king received them with a severe



countenance; told him he pretended to belong to a great and rich king, and yet had not brought any present.

The general made the same apology he had done before, adding, that in case he lived to carry back the news of the discovery, the king his master would send him a noble present. The samorin then demanded, 'whether his master sent him to discover stones or men; if the latter,' added he, 'why did he not send me a present? but,' says he, 'I hear you have an image called saint Mary in gold.' De Gama answered, 'that the image was not of gold, but of wood gilt, and that he could not part with it, since it had preserved and brought him to that country.' The king then asked for his credentials; one copy of which was in Portuguese, the other in Arabic. The general asked for a Christian interpreter, but none being found, he desired Bontaybo might read them, which he did. The purport thereof was, that as soon as it was known to the king of Portugal that the king of Calicut, one of the mightiest princes of all the Indies was a Christian, he was desirous to cultivate a trade and friendship with him for the conveniency of lading spices in his ports, for which in exchange, the commodities of Portugal would be sent, or else gold and silver, in case his majesty chose the same, referring it to the general, his ambassador, to make a further report.

The samorin, whose interest it was to encourage merchants, seemed well pleased with the letter, and putting on a friendly countenance, began to make inquiries concerning the commodities of Portugal, of which De Gama gave him an account, acquainting him at the same time that he had brought samples of them all, to shew his majesty, if he would permit him to fetch from on board, and to leave some of his men behind till he returned. The king said, there was no necessity for his men to stay, desired he would bring his merchandize on shore, and he should have the liberty to sell them to the best advantage; he then ordered the cutwal to attend him to his lodging.

The next day, being the last of May, the cutwal sent the general a horse, which being without furniture, De Gama would not use, but requested a litter: this was sent him, and

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in which he went to Pandarene, his men on foot, and many nayres bore his company. As soon as he was gone, the Moors applied to the cutwal, with a large offer of money, to seize De Gama. The cutwal immediately followed, overtook the general, and inquired, by signs, what he ran away for? De Gama answered, to get out of the heat. They soon after reached the village of Pandarene, where the general stopped still his men came up, who did not arrive till the evening, having missed their way.

When the men did come, the general was refused a boat to return on board, and his men were strictly guarded all night. In the morning, De Gama, to shew his confidence, sent two men to his brother, desiring him to send part of the cargo on shore, and then, if he was not released, to sail back to Portugal.

When the goods were landed, De Gama was released, who immediately returned on board, leaving Diogo Dias and the secretary of the ship as factors. The goods were shortly after removed to Calicut, and a friendly intercourse continued between the citizens and the Portugueze for nearly three months; but, when De Gama signified his intentions of sailing, the king grew angry, demanded a large sum for customs, forbade any one to go on board the fleet on pain of death, and put Dias in confinement, for the general had never ventured on shore after his first detention. De Gama, however, took no notice of these proceedings until six principal Malabars, with 15 attendants, came on board, when these were detained as hostages, until Dias and the secretary were liberated. But the Malabars were not set free as ought to have been done, for the general set sail with these unfortunate men. Being soon after calmed, they observed 60 vessels full of soldiers, intended by the king of Calicut to take them. On seeing them approach, he ordered his ordnance to be fired on them, which, by repeating, was in all probability a means of saving him, for they pursued him an hour and a half. A sudden squall of wind and rain drove the general with his fleet to sea, and gave his enemies an opportunity to run

away. He now steered along the coast of Melinda, and met with great calms. He thought it necessary, for the benefit of those who might come after him, to write to the king of Calicut, which he did by means of Bontaybo, in the Arabic language, craving pardon for carrying away the Malabars, and excused himself by saying, it was for no other purpose than to witness the discovery he had made: that he was sorry he had not fixed a factory in Calicut, but was fearful the Moors would kill him, which deterred him from landing; notwithstanding, he would always be at his command: that the king his master would rejoice at his friendship, and would send a fleet with great store of merchandize for the trade which should come hence in this city, and which would add greatly to the king's profit. This letter was given to one of the Malabars to carry on shore, and deliver to the king.

After this affair they sailed to an island called *Asandina*. Coello went on shore, and found this a proper place to careen his ships, which the general and captains resolved to perform. The ship *Berrio* was first laid on the ground. While they were employed on her, many people came to sell them provisions, and two brigantines made their appearance, with flags flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding; they had many men at the oar; five others appeared in shore. The Malabars bid De Gama beware of them, as they were rovers, and plundered all they could. De Gama might have taken them, had he permitted them to come close, but as soon as they were within gun shot, he played his ordnance upon them from the two ships which were on float, on which they gave a loud shout, crying '*Tambarane, Tambarane,*' that is '*God, God,*' and fled. Coello pursued in his boat so far, that the general called him back by a signal.

De Gama, while employed here, was visited by a person who appeared of some consequence; but, being informed that he was a pirate, and came as a spy, De Gama put him to torture in a cruel and disgusting manner, when he confessed himself a spy; and, that a multitude of boats were ready to attack the Portuguese. This determined the general to hasten his departure.

De Gama had a fleet met with the first part of the voyage with excessive contrary for the they were short put them to all sea, and the account of this crew almost into to India. De course, although capable of duty. up, and, on the immediately received message from the As many of his cured, he remained them died. Here a stone mark, in himself with provisions February, carrying of Melinda to the As De Gama for govern the whole they determined to of her to be destroyed her not having been They determined a where they arrived five days in taking time they were surprised *Targata*. Having brother on board his 20th of February, lies in 5 degrees south On the 1st of March came to anchor before Vol. III.—(57)

De Gama had now directed his course to Melinda, but the fleet met with continual storms and contrary winds during the first part of the passage; afterwards with calms, attended with excessive heat; and when the wind freshened, it was contrary for them: all together kept them so long at sea, that they were short of water, and the commander was obliged to put them to allowance. They had now been four months at sea, and the scurvy (which is here first mentioned in the account of this voyage) was so mortal, as to throw the whole crew almost into despair, who clamoured to be carried back to India. De Gama, however, persisted in continuing his course, although there were not 16 persons in each ship capable of duty. On the 2d of February, a fresh gale sprung up, and, on the 8th, they reached Melinda, when they immediately received a present of fresh provisions, and a message from the king, expressing his joy at their arrival. As many of his men were sick, whom he was desirous to get cured, he remained here five days, in which time many of them died. Here he procured leave from the king to set up a stone mark, in token of friendship: and, having provided himself with provisions, sailed from thence on the 17th of February, carrying on board an ambassador from the king of Melinda to the Portugueze monarch.

As De Gama found he had not men enough surviving to govern the whole squadron, by the advice of his captains, they determined to burn the Saint Raphael: they made choice of her to be destroyed, as her seams were all open, owing to her not having been brought on the ground and careened. They determined also to do this on the shoals of St. Raphael, where they arrived on the Sunday following. They spent five days in taking out her provisions and stores, during which time they were supplied with poultry from a village called *Targata*. Having effected this, the general taking his brother on board his own ship, they proceeded; and, on the 20th of February, he came to the island of *Zenzibar*, which lies in 5 degrees south, not far from the continent.

On the 1st of March, De Gama sailed from thence, and came to anchor before the island of St. George, in Mozambique.

but departed without having any communication with the inhabitants. He took in water and salt provisions at St. Blas; and, setting sail, on the 20th, doubled the cape of Good Hope, the people being all healthy and strong. They had a fair wind 20 days, until they judged themselves to be only about 100 leagues from St. Jago, one of the cape de Verd islands; the wind came contrary, and not being able to get an observation, by rainy weather, they stood in for the continent, and sounded in 25 fathom, and soon after in 20, but did not see land: the pilots judged they had fallen in with the shoals of Rio Grande. As they stood for St. Jago, Nicolas Coello took an opportunity to leave the general in the night, and steered for Portugal. He arrived at Cascais, on the 10th of July, 1499, and carried the king the joyful news of the discovery of the passage to India.

De Gama arrived at St. Jago, and as his brother was in a bad state of health, and as his ship made but little way, being very leaky, he hired a caravella to carry him to Portugal. He embarked in the caravella with his brother, whose illness increased so much at sea that they run for the island of Tercera, in order to land him, where he died and was buried. De Gama then put to sea, and arrived at Belem, in September, having been out two years and two months, bringing back only 55 men of the 170 that embarked.

De Gama having returned thanks to God for his safe arrival, was conducted to Lisbon by several noblemen and gentlemen sent by the king to meet him, and attended by a vast concourse of people. The king received him honourably, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, gave him the royal arms of Portugal, and settled a pension upon him of 300 reis per annum, out of the revenues of the village of Simis. He also promised him the lordship of the said village, being the place of his birth; and until he could put him in possession of the same lordship, he was to be allowed 1,000 crowns a year, which was in due time made good: he had also a privilege granted him, that after the trade of India should be settled, he should import the value of 200 ducats in spices, free of duty. Coello was made a gentleman of the king's

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household, and rewarded with good possessions. The king also added to his own titles that of the lord of the conquest and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies.

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## VOYAGES AND EXPLOITS

OF

ALBUQUERQUE

IN THE

EAST INDIES.

**T**HE existence of a navigation to India by way of the cape of Good Hope being now certain, Emanuel, king of Portugal, determined to avail himself of the discovery, and as a means to reap a greater benefit from it, both in a mercantile and religious view, he commanded a fleet of 10 ships and 2 caravels to be fitted out, and such things to be put on board as Vasco de Gama judged proper to be sent to Calicut.

PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL, of a noble house, was appointed captain-general. Alvez Corea was factor to the fleet, and to remain at Calicut. Two ships and a factor were to remain at Sofala. The whole fleet carried 1,500 men. In this fleet embarked five Franciscan friars, of whom father Henrique went chief, and who was to remain at Calicut, to preach the faith to the Malabars.

On the 8th of March, 1500, Cabral set sail; and, after leaving the Canaries, a storm drove the fleet on the coast of *Brazil*, which was then first discovered. In the midst of terrible storms, Cabral doubled the cape of Good Hope, with



two ships, four having foundered at sea. On the 13th of September, he anchored at Calicut, where he landed, having first obtained hostages for his safety. The king received him kindly, but instructed the hostages to make off privately, while he appeared next day at the head of 12,000 men. But matters were after this adjusted, and the Portuguese were permitted to establish a factory; and, shortly after, they took a large Moorish ship, which they presented to the king. This affair exasperated the Moors, who attacked the factory, and killed 50 men who defended it. In retaliation, Cabral burnt 10 large ships, in the harbour of Calicut, and cannonaded the city during a whole day; destroying all the temples, palaces, and other public buildings, and killing a great number of people.

Cabral after this sailed to Cochin, where he was kindly received; and, in a short time, set sail for Portugal, where he arrived the last day of July, 1501. During his passage home, a ship of his squadron discovered Sofala.

During the above year, another Portuguese, named DE NOVA, sailed to the East Indies. On the return of Cabral, the king of Portugal sent 13 ships, under Vasco de Gama, to make war on the king of Calicut. At Cochin he was received kindly; and, while there, accepted an invitation to visit Calicut. But the king of Calicut nearly succeeded in taking his ships by surprize. After his escape he returned to Cochin; and, having left one of his captains to command in that place, he sailed to Europe. As factories had now been established, both at Cochin and at Cananor, the king thought it sufficient to send small squadrons to India, one of which was commanded by ALPHONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE.

As soon as this enterprising man reached Cochin, he re-established the authority of the king, he having been dethroned by the king of Calicut. In a succeeding voyage, Albuquerque was made governor in India. After several actions, he sailed, in August, 1509, for the coasts of Arabia and Persia, in pursuance of the orders he had received from the king. Albuquerque had with him 7 sail, and 460 fighting men. The first place he touched at in the kingdom of Ormuz,

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From hence place stronger resorted to it Curiate. The peace, and sent went ashore for town began to which drew off till some time after the king of Or arrived, and then Albuquerque had cannon, which was at break of day fortunately, that the Moors ran off

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When Albuquerque youth of 12 years a man subtle and done by Albuquerque on all ships in the

was Calayate, a town once very populous and still beautiful and strong, the buildings after the manner of Spain. He sent a message to the governor, who offered him refreshment, and established a peace.

He went on to Curiate, 10 leagues farther, and was ill received. Storming the town, he met with a vigorous opposition, but entered it, after killing 80 of the enemy, with the loss of three Portugueze. After plundering the place, he burnt it, together with 14 vessels that were in the harbour.

From hence he sailed eight leagues farther, to Mascate, a place stronger than any of the others, and full of people, who resorted to it from all parts, hearing of the destruction of Curiate. The governor, fearing the like disaster, made peace, and sent great store of provisions, and the Portugueze went ashore for water; but on a sudden the cannon of the town began to do great execution on the Portugueze ships, which drew off hastily, not knowing the cause of this turn, till some time after they understood that 2,000 men, sent by the king of Ormuz for the defence of the place, were just arrived, and their officers refused to stand to the peace. Albuquerque had received no small damage from the great cannon, which was played very smartly; but landing his men at break of day, he assaulted the town so courageously and fortunately, that as the Portugueze entered in at one gate, the Moors ran out at another. The place was plundered.

The city of *Ormuz* is situated in a little island called *Gerum*, at the mouth of the Persian gulf, about three leagues in compass, so barren that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur. The buildings of the city are sumptuous; it is the great market for all goods brought thither from the east, west, and north; which is the reason, that though it has nothing of its own, it abounds in all things, and is plentifully supplied from the province of Mogastam.

When Albuquerque arrived before this city, Ceyfadim, a youth of 12 years of age, reigned, and over him Coje Atar, a man subtle and courageous, who, hearing what had been done by Albuquerque, made preparations, laying an embargo on all ships in the harbour, and hiring troops from the

neighbouring provinces, Persians, Arabians, and others, so that when Albuquerque came, there were in the town 30,000 fighting men; among them 4,000 Persians, most expert archers; and in the harbour 400 vessels, 60 of considerable bulk, with 2,500 men.

Albuquerque was not ignorant of the reception designed him; but to shew those people the greatness of his resolution, he entered the port about the end of September, and came to anchor between five of their greatest ships. To excite terror, he fired his cannon, and the shore was soon covered with above 8,000 men. Receiving no message from the king, he sent an invitation on board the largest of those ships, which came from Cambaya, and seemed to have the admiral, who presently came on board Albuquerque's ship, and was received by him with civility and state. Albuquerque told him he had orders from Emanuel to take the king of Ormuz into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in those seas, provided he paid a reasonable tribute; but if he refused, his orders were to make war. It was doubtless no small presumption to offer a king the liberty of his own seas, and impose conditions upon him, with only 460 men against 30,000, and 7 ships to 400; but the success justified these proceedings, and verified those actions, which to some have appeared fabulous. The Moor delivered this message to the king and his governor Coje Atar, and presently returned one Coje Beyrame, excusing their not having sent to know what they demanded in that port, and promised the governor would come next day to treat. He came not, but the messages continued, only in order to gain time to fortify the city, and receive further supplies. Albuquerque saw into the design, and told Beyrame he need only return with the acceptance of peace as offered, or the declaration of war. He brought answer, that the city of Ormuz used not to pay but to receive tribute. Night coming on, it appeared they were preparing to fight, by the noise of warlike instruments, and shouts that were heard from the walls and ships. The morning discovered the walls, shore, and vessels, covered with armed men; the windows and tops of the houses filled

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with both sexes and all ages, as spectators of what should ensue. Albuquerque having held a council, and given necessary orders, began to play his cannon furiously, and was answered by the enemy, who, taking the advantage of the smoke which hindered the sight, attacked the Portuguese ships, with 130 boats, well manned, which did some damage with showers of arrows, but received more, many being sunk, and the rest forced to retire by the Portuguese artillery. Yet they made a second attack, but were so received, that the sea was coloured with blood.

By this time Albuquerque had sunk two of the great ships, and taken a third, though with great opposition, forcing the Moors to leap into the sea. In the mean time the other captains had mastered other ships, and, perceiving themselves victorious, ran along the shore and set fire to above 30 ships, which, cutting their cables, were drove flaming upon the Persian coast, where they burnt others that lay aground. This struck so great a terror into all the multitude, that they fled for shelter to the city, and Coje Atar sent to offer all that Albuquerque had demanded, who stopped further proceedings, but, perceiving the deceitfulness of the Moor, threatened a greater effect of his anger in case he persisted in acting deceitfully.

Albuquerque lost only 10 men in this action, but most of the enemy's vessels, with vast riches, were either sunk, burnt, or torn to pieces, and 1,700 of them killed.

Coje Atar, considering the damage received, and what might ensue, called a council, where it was agreed to submit to what was demanded by Albuquerque. The articles were drawn, and sworn to by both parties; their substance was, that the king of Ormuz did submit himself to Emanuel, king of Portugal, with a tribute, and should assign the Portuguese a place to build a fort. This fort was immediately begun, and much advanced in a few days, but Coje Atar felt very uneasy. He pretended ambassadors were come to receive the tribute they used to pay the king of Persia, and therefore desired Albuquerque to give them an answer, since his king was now subject to the crown of Portugal. He guessed at

the design, and bid Coje Atar send somebody to him who might carry the answer; the messengers being come, he put into their hands bullets and spears, telling them that was the coin the tribute should be paid in. Coje Atar finding his plot fail, endeavoured to corrupt the Portugueze with money. He prevailed with five seamen (one of them a founder, who cast some cannon there) to desert.

Albuquerque began to revenge this affront, but with little success, because the captains employed, opposed it. Coje Atar perceiving this, at night fired a boat that was building on the shore, and one of the Portugueze deserters cried from the wall, 'Alphonzo de Albuquerque, defend the boat with your 400 men, and you shall meet 700 archers.' Albuquerque burning with rage, attempted to fire some ships in the arsenal, but failed. He resolved to besiege the city, and having taken some that carried in provisions, he cut off their hands, ears, and noses, and sent them in to the great terror of all. There was a warm rencounter about some wells that supplied the besieged, insomuch that they were filled with the carcasses of men and horses, the captain and guard that maintained them being all slain. The king and Coje Atar came at the close of this action, and Albuquerque was in great danger, his retreat being cut off, but a fortunate cannon ball opened the way, putting the enemy's horse into confusion. Albuquerque in these actions found his men ill disposed to obey; among the rest, three captains resolving to leave him and sail for India. This troubled Albuquerque, yet he resolved not to desist, though two captains that staid with him opposed him, desirous to accompany the others; but he used them with such severity, that they were forced to obey him. From Baharem to Queixome, a fleet sailed with relief of men and provisions. Albuquerque having pursued, and missing of it, returned to Queixome, and fell upon 500 archers sent to the king of Ormuz by him of Lara, under the command of his two nephews, and slew them and most of their men, having but 80 with him; the brothers he sent to Coje Atar as a present. The town was burned. Finding he had but few men left wherewith to continue his enterprize, and those harassed, and

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winter coming on, he resolved to go to Zocotora, and gave leave to John de Nova to sail for India.

Albuquerque, early next spring, sailed to attack Calayate, a considerable town at the mouth of the Persian gulf, the inhabitants having done some injury to the Portugueze. No sooner had he landed than he attacked and took the town; but, while plundering it, was surprized by 1,000 Moors, who were, however, beat off. After this exploit, he took a vessel with a great quantity of pearl, and then returned to India.

At this time credentials arrived from Portugal investing Albuquerque with the title and powers of viceroy; but the officer who held this situation, having just returned from destroying a fleet, (fitted out by the Turks of Egypt,) refused to resign. The king of Portugal probably had foreseen this, as don Fernando Coutinho shortly after arrived in India with 15 ships, and immediately invested Albuquerque, who was then a prisoner, with the full powers of a viceroy. His first act was to hasten the departure of the trading ships: when he sailed in order to attack Calicut, accompanied by Coutinho. But, in their eagerness to enter the town, the troops fell into confusion, which the jealousy of the commanders increased; so that, after fighting a whole day, the Portugueze were compelled to re-embark, with the loss of 80 men, Coutinho being killed, and the viceroy wounded.

Albuquerque determined next to attack Ormuz, having collected 21 vessels, and 1,700 men, for this expedition; but a pirate, named Timoja, who accompanied him with 12 ships, persuaded him to attempt Goa. Having entered the river where the city is situated, he sent his nephew don Antonio de Norhona and Timoja to sound it. A light vessel leading the way, saw a brigantine of the Moors, and, giving chase, was drawn under a fort, well stored with artillery and 400 men, commanded by Yacu Gorgi, a valiant Turk, to secure the entrance of the river. Don Antonio seeing the other in the chace, pressed after him; and though the attack of the bulwark seemed difficult, they made an attempt, and, after a stout resistance, took it: the commander not being able



to stop the flight of his men, retired to the city. Mean while Timoja, not to be outdone, took another bulwark on the continent, defended by some artillery and 30 men.

Next day as Albuquerque entered the river, he was met by Mirali, and other chief men of the city, who came to surrender it, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and estates, should be secured. The reason of this surrender was, that the Turk Yacu had terrified them with the relation of what they had seen a few Portugueze do, and that a *jogue* (these are religious men, and among those people esteemed saints and prophets) not long before had declared that Goa would soon be subject to strangers. Albuquerque accepted the offer, and, anchoring before the city, on the 17th of February, 1510, was received on shore as if he had been their natural prince. He mounted a horse they brought him, with rich furniture; at the gate he received the keys, and went on to the palace built by Sabayo. He found there much cannon, arms, and tackle, and many horses. Next he gave such orders as were to the satisfaction of all the city: he dispatched several embassies to divers kings, which produced no effect, and only shewed the greatness of his mind. But the neighbouring towns depending on Goa came instantly to make their submission, and were kindly received.

The Moors now began to exercise their treachery. Those whom Albuquerque most relied upon conspired against him, and after four months revolt submitted, in order to gain time until assistance arrived. Accordingly, he was shortly after attacked by 8,000 foot and 1,500 horse, when he retired to Goa, having first cut to pieces or hanged about 100 Moors, who were implicated in the conspiracy.

After a siege of 20 days, which was pressed by 80,000 men, Albuquerque abandoned the city, and sailed to the port of Pangi, where he intended to winter. The town's people mistaking the Portugueze for troops they expected to assist them, were permitted to enter without opposition, when they killed 340 men. Albuquerque had intelligence that some vessels were preparing to burn his ships; this he resolved to anticipate by a vigorous attack upon his enemies. Don

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Antonio was killed in this action. This man used to moderate the violent passions of his uncle Albuquerque, who immediately after shewed the effect of his rigid severity, by hanging a soldier because he found him with one of the slaves he called *daughters*, that he used to give in marriage: and when some of the officers asked him what authority he had to put this in execution, he shut them under deck, and lifted his sword over them, saying, that was his commission against all that were disobedient, and then broke them all.

Next year Albuquerque turned his views again towards Goa, and set out from Canapor with 23 sail, and 15,000 fighting men. He passed by Onor to join Timoja, whom he found busied in his wedding, being to marry the daughter of a queen: he desired to be honoured with the presence of Albuquerque, and obliged him to land, which proved very dangerous, for a storm arising kept them on shore three days; and when he returned to his ships, a boat, with 30 men was lost. Timoja sent with him three ships and promised to join him at Goa with 6,000 men.

On the 22d of November, Albuquerque anchored the second time before the bar, calling to mind the dangers he had there escaped, and the discontent that was among some of his officers, he thought fit to sooth the principals with an obliging harangue, and therein won all their affections. At break of day, on the feast of St. Catharine, the city was assaulted, with great slaughter of the enemy that maintained the shore, but (though it seem strange) not one Portugueze was killed. The enemy fled to recover one of the gates of the city, and the Portugueze entered with them. Here the fight was renewed, till many Portugueze forced their way in, doing great execution in the streets. They cleared all before them to the palace with great danger, and the loss of five men of note: after a most furious contest maintained with equal valour on both sides. Albuquerque now having done what became him, came up, and fortune appearing wholly on the Portugueze side, the Moors fled, and abandoned the city, endeavouring to get over to the continent, but through haste and confusion

perished in the river. After the victory it was found, that of 9,000 fighting men who defended the town, 6,000 had perished, and 50 Portugueze. Medeorao, who commanded the three ships sent by Timoja, behaved himself well. Timoja, with 3,000 men, came too late; he was only witness to the slaughter. The booty of horses, artillery, arms, provisions, and ships, was excessive, and such as was necessary for the great designs Albuquerque had conceived.

‘The dead were honourably buried;’ says our author, ‘those of the enemy in the bellies of the crocodiles of the river.’ Not one Moor was left alive in the island. The Gentoos, who were countrymen, were restored to their farms, and the government of them given to Timoja, and afterwards to Melrao, a nephew of the king of Onor. While Albuquerque settled these affairs, he received many ambassadors with congratulations of his success from several princes of Malabar.

Albuquerque, having provided for the safety of Goa, set set sail to punish the rich and populous city of Malacca, for some treachery towards the Portugueze. Several ships were taken on the voyage. At last, the fleet anchored in the port of Malacca, with much noise of warlike instruments, and firing of cannon. Next day came a gallant Moor, with a deceitful message from the king to Albuquerque, who assumed great state, having also an imposing person, and a venerable beard, which had never been cut since he was at Ormuz, he saying it should never be cut till he sat for that purpose on the back of Coje Atar; so it grew to such a length, that he knotted it to his girdle. He treated the Moors courteously, whose message contained, that if he came for merchandize it was ready. The answer was, that the merchandize he sought for, were some Portugueze that were in the city, that having got them, he would let the king know what more he demanded of him. The Moor at his return spread the terror of this answer, and it was generally agreed to buy off that danger by restoring the Portugueze, and paying a sum of money. Prince Alodim and his brother-in-law the king of Pam prevented the executing of this resolution, and made ready to defend themselves.

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On the eve of St. James the apostle, the signal was given for landing, with great shouts and noise of guns; immediately the Portugueze leaped on shore, and mixed with the enemy. The hottest dispute was about gaining and maintaining the bridge, which Albuquerque had undertaken himself, and was vigorously defended, till the enemy, being pressed, leaped into the river, where many were killed and wounded. The prince and king of Pam bravely withstood another party of the Portugueze that would make their way to the bridge. King Mahomet came out on a bulky elephant, with two more carrying castles on their backs, whence flew a great number of darts. The Portugueze attacked the beasts, and so wounded them, that they fled, trampling their own men, and making way for the Portugueze to join those at the bridge. Albuquerque then fortified himself there, and because much harm was done with poisoned arrows from the tops of the neighbouring houses, he caused them to be burned. Albuquerque, bestowing great praises on his captains for their valour, and perceiving they were scorched with the heat, and faint for want of food, retired with them to the ships about night, where 10 died of poisoned arrows. The enemy's loss was not known.

Whilst Albuquerque rested in the ships refreshing his men, the king harassed him, undermining the streets to blow up the Portugueze, and covering them with poisoned thorns that might gore them at coming in; he planted more artillery in many places, and secured the bridge. Albuquerque sent Antony de Abreu in a vessel well manned, to gain it; from the bridge flew showers of bullets, and Deniz Fernandez de Melo seeing him near killed, endeavoured to carry him off to the ships to be dressed, but he with wonderful constancy said, 'Though I have neither strength to fight, nor voice to command, I have still life to keep my post.' Floats of wildfire were drove along the river to burn the vessel, which could not be prevented till Albuquerque effected it by gaining the bridge; when the vessel had liberty to act. The Portugueze commander entered the city through showers of bullets, arrows, and darts. Understanding the danger of the mines

which were in a broad street, he took another way and gained the mosque; and at last with vast slaughter of the enemy, took entire possession of the city, having with him in this action only 800 Portugueze and 200 Malabars.

All the inhabitants of this city being killed or dispersed, it was quickly re peopled by strangers. In the mean time, Albuquerque built a fort and a church, and coined money. He also sent ambassadors to Siam, to Pegu, and ships to discover the islands of Malacca and Banda. He likewise received several embassies, and frustrated some plots that were entered into against the Portugueze, after which he returned to Cochin, having taken on his passage two ships very richly laden.

Goa being besieged, by an enterprizing chief, Albuquerque sailed to its relief, and, immediately on landing, attacked the enemy's fortress, both by sea and land; but, thinking it was not vigorously carried on by sea, he leaped into a boat, and went so near that a cannon ball killed a man that steered the vessels, dashing his brains and blood on Albuquerque's beard. This so inflamed him, that he promised a reward to any one that should break that cannon; and immediately one of the gunners directed a ball into the mouth of it, which broke it to pieces and killed the cannonier. This made way for the Portugueze to come up the river, and lay close siege to the fort, when Zufolari appeared on the continent with 7,000 men, coming to the relief of it; but finding nothing could be done, he retired with some loss sustained by the cannon.

Albuquerque sat down before the place with 4,000 men, whereof 3,000 were Portugueze. Shortly after the natives surrendered, upon condition that they should leave the fort with all the cannon and ammunition, but would deliver all the slaves and renegadoes, which last Albuquerque punished by cutting off their noses, ears, right hands, and thumbs of the left, and sending them so maimed to Portugal. One of these was Ferdinando Lopez, who, to do penance for his sins, voluntarily staid with a black on the island of St. Helena, where he was afterwards serviceable to some ships, and began to cultivate that island.

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Albuquerque next sailed to destroy the town of Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea, in order to ruin the trade between Egypt and India. But the place was so well fortified that, after two attempts, the enterprize was abandoned. He, however, succeeded in procuring leave from the king of Ormuz to build a fort near the city. Here also he received ambassadors both from Abyssinia and Persia, after which he returned to India for the recovery of his health, which was much impaired. On the passage he heard that there were arrived in India 12 ships from Portugal, who brought orders for him to return home. Lope Soarez, who commanded them, being appointed his successor; hearing this, he cried out, 'Lope Soarez, governor of India; it is he, it could be no other. Don James Mendez and James Pereyra, whom I sent prisoners for heinous crimes, return, the one governor of Cochin, the other secretary? It is time for me to take sanctuary in the church, for I have incurred the king's displeasure for his subjects sake, and the subjects anger for the king's sake. Old man fly to the church, it concerns your honour you should die, and you never omitted any thing that concerned your honour.' Then lifting his eyes and hands to heaven gave God thanks a governor came so opportunely; not doubting he should die. He was soon seized with a profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul, almost in the arms of death, and there writ his last lines to the king. Upon the bar of Goa (which he called his land of promise) he gave up the ghost, on the 16th of December, 1514, in the 63d year of his age. He had been master of the horse to king John the second; was of a moderate stature, his countenance pleasing, and venerable by his beard which reached to his girdle, to which he wore it knotted; that was white, and his complexion fair; his picture shews he wore his breeches, doublet, cloke, cap, and coif, all black, with gold trimming; the waistcoat striped with green velvet, with small spots like studs. It was doubted whether he was the better man or officer. When angry, his looks were somewhat terrible; when merry, pleasant and witty. He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, and twice before Malacca, three



famous islands and kingdoms in Asia, over which he gloriously triumphed.

These daring exploits of the early Portuguese navigators were certainly such as are usually expected from pirates; but, as the Indians were heathens, the Christians of those times concluded that they were properly authorized to use them as they pleased. After Albuquerque's death, the Portuguese persevered in their discoveries and conquests in India, performing such acts of conduct and bravery as intimidated the native princes, and hastened their submission to the warlike strangers.

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**MR. ORME**

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Vol. III.

# HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

OF THE

*ENGLISH CONCERNS*

IN

HINDOSTAN.

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BY ROBERT ORME, ESQ. F. A. S.

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**MR. ORME** has published a most accurate and interesting history of the Mogul empire, of the Marattas, and of the progress of the English in Hindostan. We cannot pretend, agreeably to our plan, to give even a sketch of this learned work; but we will endeavour to give an account of the origin of the English establishment in Hindostan, with a general idea of the government, and the genius of the people.

The *Hindoos*, or *Gentoos*, are such an ancient people that their origin is lost in the obscurity of time. Their customs, their laws, and their religion, continued it appears for ages, until the year 1000, when the Mahometans extended their conquests into India, and the influence of the Moguls was established by Timur, in 1398. After many rebellions, and much bloodshed, the Mogul empire, in 1605, submitted to the authority of Selim, who reigned 22 years.

It was in this reign, and in the year 1615, that sir Thomas Roe was sent as the first English ambassador to the emperor of Hindostan. Seven years previous to this, the Hector,

an English ship, arrived at Surat, commanded by captain Hawkins. At this time the Portugueze marine predominated on the western seas of India, in so much that they made prize of all vessels which had not taken their pass; and the fear of their resentment on the ships which traded from Surat to the gulfs of Arabia and Persia, deterred the Mogul's officers from giving the encouragement they might wish, to the English strangers. They, however, permitted Hawkins to land his lead and iron, with some treasure; but obliged him to buy and sell with much delay and disadvantage. In September the northern armada of the Portugueze, consisting of 40 sail of grabs and gallivats, came into the road, threatening to burn the city and all its vessels, if the English ship, and all that belonged to her, were not sent away. Hawkins hastened her dispatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portugueze, who seized his longboat, with goods to a considerable amount, and 27 men, whom they kept prisoners; but did not venture to attack the ship, which sailed a few days after, on the 5th of October, from Bantam.

Several other English vessels ventured into the Indian seas; but the Portugueze opposed them, both by force and intrigue. However, when the natives perceived that the Portugueze were unable to beat the English, they opposed the monopolizing demands of the former.

About the close of the year 1614, captain Downton arrived from England with four ships, and anchored at Swally, near Surat. The viceroy of Goa with 51 vessels, carrying 134 cannon, and manned by 8,600 men, Portugueze and natives, immediately sailed to attack him. The English had only 80 cannon of much inferior shot.

Captain Downton considered the success of this armament as the certain destruction of the English commerce in the Mogul's dominions; reasoning, that if his own ships should be driven from their stations, in the roads of Surat and Swally, the viceroy, by the devastation even of the city itself, would compel the nabob to refuse the English all future resort and intercourse; and, computing the loss of his ships as a detriment much inferior to such a consequence, he

resolved to not despair of force.

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Early in the water, Downton south entrance have depth 50 high. The tide but anchored produced the quitted Swally Hope had sea Portugueze with The two small all at the same the attack began with the three and fired their the Hope; which entered, to find confusion of clear of the Hope three, and took which had hit the and saved many

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resolved to perish with them, rather than recede; but did not despair that stratagem might avail to supply the defect of force.

The nabob, terrified by the appearance of the armament, sent his *shabander*, or custom-master, and several other principal men, to the viceroy, with a large present of provisions, and many promises, to obtain peace; which the viceroy refused, not doubting that he should destroy the English ships; after which he intended to exact much severer terms, or the full price of remission.

Early in the morning of the 20th of January, 1615, at low water, Downton sent the *Hope*, of 300 tons, to anchor at the south entrance of the channel, where the galleons would not have depth sufficient to come near her until the flood was high. The three other ships soon after came out to the cove, but anchored again in the channel. These manœuvres produced the intended mistake, that the English ships had quitted Swally to put to sea and fly the coast. And the *Hope* had scarcely anchored, before the whole fleet of the Portugueze were under full sail, plying to stop the channel. The two smaller ships, with the pinnace, which were foremost, all at the same time grappled and boarded the *Hope*; in which, the attack being expected, was well resisted. Downton, with the three other ships, leaving their anchors, came down, and fired their shot on the enemy's ships entangled with the *Hope*; which thrice beat off the Portugueze who had entered, to find more danger on board their own; but the confusion of continual slaughter disabled them from cutting clear of the *Hope*, until in despair, they set fire to all the three, and took to the water; when a number of frigates, which had hitherto given no assistance, now risked themselves, and saved many, but many were drowned.

In the mean time the *Hope* had taken fire in her main and fore rigging, but nevertheless disengaged herself from the three ships in fiercer flames, which drove on the sands, and burnt until overwhelmed by the flood. All this while the galleons kept on the outside of the spit, across which they

cannonaded the English ships within the channel, which was answered; but with little detriment on either side.

After this affair, the Portugueze received a reinforcement, and repeatedly attacked the English; but the skill and bravery of captain Downton always predominated. He completed his cargoes, and sailed in safety.

Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, which followed, gave the English respectability in the eyes of the natives; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Portugueze, the English concerns, in Hindostan, continued to gain ground.

In 1633, the Portugueze and Moguls quarrelled seriously, which ended in the complete expulsion of the former from Hoogley, on the Ganges. In 1712, a contest for the empire took place, which ended in the elevation of Feroksere, great grandson of Aurungzebe. It was in this reign that the English East India company obtained the famous 'Firman,' or grant, by which their goods of export and import were exempted from duties, or customs; and this was regarded as the company's 'Commercial Charter in India,' while they stood in need of protection from the princes of the country.

In 1738, Nadir Shah, the usurper of the Persian throne, entered Delhi, where he is said to have massacred 100,000 inhabitants, and to have collected 62,000,000*l.* of plunder. The Mogul empire now fell into pieces. The Deccan was established into an independent kingdom. Bengal shortly after followed the example. The Rohillas next claimed their independence: while the Marattas, in the emperor's name, plundered all their neighbours. Perhaps in the annals of the world, it has seldom happened that the bonds of government were so suddenly dissolved; over a portion of country containing at least 60,000,000 of inhabitants.

Upon the death of Nizam, in 1748, contests ensued for the throne of the Deccan, and occasioned the interference of the French and English, as auxiliaries, in the wars that happened in consequence of them, and that lasted till the year 1754. The result enabled the English to establish their security and

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influence over the Carnatic; and the French, in addition to the solid advantage of getting possession of the northern circars, valued at half a million sterling, of annual revenue, gained the splendid but uncertain privilege of influencing the councils of the Nizam, by attending his person with their army. The Mogul was now become merely nominal, and the emperors were deprived in a great degree of their importance.

In 1759 and 1760, Hindostan was again visited, for the sixth time, by Abdalla, and Delhi was again plundered and almost depopulated. The Marattas, in these times of confusion and revolution, were gathering strength; and, possessed of extensive domains and vast armies, they projected the expulsion of Abdalla, and the restoration of the Hindoo government throughout the empire. Thus the principal powers of Hindostan were arranged into two parties, the Hindoos and Mahometans; for the Jates joined the Marattas; and Sujah Dowlah, with the Rohillas, and other Mahometan chiefs of less note, joined Abdalla: and a battle ensued on the plains of Carnawl and Panniput. There was said to be 150,000 Mahometans, and no less than 200,000 Marattas. Victory declared for Abdalla, after a bloody and destructive battle; so that the Marattas were compelled to relinquish their pretensions to universal empire in Hindostan; and from that period (1761) their power has been sensibly on the decline.

Abdalla's influence at Delhi was now unlimited; and he determined to place Shah Aulum on the throne of his ancestors. But he dreaded trusting himself in the hands of Abdalla, who set up Jewan Buckt, the son of Shah Aulum, for emperor, exacting an annual tribute; so that in reality Abdalla was emperor, and if he had been disposed to establish himself in Hindostan he might probably have begun a new dynasty of emperors in his own person. The territory of the young emperor, and of Nidjib Dowlah his guardian, was merely the northern part of the province of Delhi; and his father, Shah Aulum, was without territory, and almost without friends. However, the expulsion of the nabob of



Bengal, Cossim Ally, by the English, in 1763, by drawing Sujah Dowlah into the quarrel, brought the wandering emperor again into notice; but he had more to hope from the success of the British arms than those of his patron, Sujah Dowlah; and the uninterrupted success that attended them in 1763, 1764, and 1765, by the dispersion of the armies of Cossim Ally and of Sujah Dowlah, and by the entire conquest of Oude and Allahabad, left the emperor and Sujah Dowlah no hopes, but from the moderation of the victors.

The private distresses of Shah Aulum, the emperor or great Mogul, were so pressing during Mr. Hasting's last journey to Oude, in 1784, that his son, Jewan Buckt, came to solicit assistance from the English.

Among the new powers that arose on the downfall of the Mogul empire, we ought to mention the French and English. As for the Portugueze, their power had passed its meridian before this period; besides, their views being commercial, they wisely chose insular situations, such as Goa, Bombay, Salsette, Diû, &c. and never appear to have possessed any very considerable extent of territory, although they kept on foot a large army of Europeans. The Dutch system was nearly the same; and their prosperity, in a great measure, grew out of the misfortunes of the Portugueze; who, having fallen under the dominion of Spain, became obnoxious as well to the jealousy of rivalry, as to the revenge of the Hollanders. The French power was of short duration, but brilliant while it lasted. It began during the government of M. Dupleix at Pondicherry, in 1749, and ended in 1761, by the capture of their principal settlement. The French appear to have been the first European power that trained the natives of India to regular discipline, as well as the first who set the example of acquiring territorial possessions, of any great extent, in India; in which they have been so successfully followed by the English.

In 1756, Sujah Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, being jealous of the rising power of the English, took the fort of Calcutta, and caused the principal part of the garrison to perish in a small chamber, called the 'Black Hole.' In the following

year, however, Watson and brought the fought in Ju favoured the of the British the nabob of Bengal provin nominal Mog In 1767, w his fortune, th Having bougl money, and th them, and de was prosecuted battles on the f detachment of Coimbertore, a commanding a The war was co 1767, 1768, an detachment of t came within sev the government to the British co in chief (genera moment, the mo Hyder, fearing security no other the measure of advance; by whi and his detachme the war, been de strong measure of into the heart of capital, Hydrabad The peace left before the war; an

year, however, an armament from Madras, under admiral Watson and colonel Clive, not only recovered Calcutta, but brought the nabob to terms. The famous battle of Plassey, fought in June, 1757, in which Jaffer, a powerful Omrah, favoured the English, laid the foundation of the future power of the British nation in Bengal. And in 1765, when Jaffer, the nabob of Bengal, died, lord Clive took possession of the Bengal provinces, with the approbation of Shah Aulum, the nominal Mogul.

In 1767, when Hyder Ally had arrived at the height of his fortune, the war between him and the English broke out. Having bought off the Marattas, with a considerable sum of money, and the restoration of some places he had taken from them, and detached the Nizam from the English, the war was prosecuted on both sides with vigour. After some sharp battles on the frontiers of the Carnatic and Mysore, a strong detachment of the British army seized on Hyder's province of Coimbatore, a fertile district on the south of Mysore, and commanding a ready way to Hyder's capital, Seringapatam. The war was continued with various success during the years 1767, 1768, and part of 1769; when Hyder, with a strong detachment of troops, chiefly horse, eluded the British army, came within seven miles of Madras, and dictated a peace to the government of that place. This peace was disreputable to the British councils only; since the hands of the commander in chief (general Joseph Smith) were tied up, at the very moment, the most favourable for striking a blow; and while Hyder, fearing the general's approach, could purchase his security no other way than by intimidating government into the measure of laying their commands on the general not to advance; by which means he might possibly have cut Hyder and his detachment to pieces. The Nizam had, very early in the war, been detached from Hyder's alliance; chiefly by the strong measure of sending a detachment from Bengal into the heart of Golconda; which made him tremble for his capital, Hydrabad.

The peace left matters much in the same state as they were before the war; and whatever credit Hyder might have gained

by its termination, was done away by the total defeat which he suffered, in 1771, from the Maratta army, within a few miles of his capital; into which he escaped with great difficulty, with a small remnant of his army; afterwards defying the attacks of his numerous enemies, who had neither the skill nor the ordinary requisites for a siege. His revenues and his army were improved by the few years of peace that followed.

When the Marattas, in 1773, crossed the Ganges, to invade the Rohilla country, a brigade of the British army marched to the western frontier of that country, and drove the Marattas across the river. For this protection the Rohilla chiefs had stipulated to pay Sujah Dowlah (the British army acting as his allies) 40 lacks of rupees (400,000*l.*); but when the service was performed, the payment of the money was evaded. This breach of treaty led to the invasion and conquest of the Rohilla country in the following year, 1774. A considerable tract of land in the Dooab was also conquered from the Jates and other adventurers, by which the boundary of Oude was advanced westward within 25 miles of Agra; north-westward to the upper part of the navigable course of the Ganges; and south-westward to the Jumnah river. In 1775, on the death of Sujah Dowlah, and on the accession of his son Azuph, a new treaty was made with the British government, by which the quantum of the subsidy for the use of the brigade was increased; and the province of Benares, which produced a clear revenue of 240,000*l.* per annum, was ceded to the company. The war with the Poorah Marattas occasioned the march of a brigade across the continent to the side of Bombay and Surat, in 1778 and 1779. This is said to be the most brilliant epoch of the British military history in India. The brigade, which consisted of less than 7,000 men, all native troops, commanded by European officers, marched from the banks of the Jumnah to the western sea, in spite of the Marattas, whose empire they traversed almost the whole way.

The French war breaking out at this time, and Hyder Ally expecting a communion of interests with the French, broke into the Carnatic, in the autumn of 1780, with 100,000

troops, having been disciplined by the British, and broken to pieces by the retreat of the British into Europe. otherwise; the Carnatic supplies of supplies arrived at the Carnatic fortresses. combated during (October, 1780) Carnatic, at sincerely desiring of advantage, have done so more seasonably. French, with in a campaign French than left the Carnatic the French respecting the should assume. With this disposition 1783, and was with the English. In the year compelled to sue for peace. English and the British possessed Calicut, Palican, Coimbatore, C. hostilities did not reach the capital of Mysore. Vol. III.---

troops, horse and foot, the best of their kind that had ever been disciplined by a native of India. His success in cutting to pieces colonel Baillie's detachment, and the consequent retreat of the Carnatic army, occasioned a despair of the British interests in that quarter, in the opinion of most people in Europe. Mr. Hastings and sir Eyre Coote thought otherwise; and there was sent from Bengal, to the relief of the Carnatic, a brigade of about 7,000 men, with ample supplies of money and provisions. Until these troops and supplies arrived, the British possessed nothing more in the Carnatic than the ground occupied by their camps and fortresses. Under sir Eyre Coote, Hyder was successfully combated during two campaigns; at the end of which (October, 1782) he found the possession of his object, the Carnatic, at so great a distance, that he appeared to be sincerely desirous of peace. Hyder perceived the necessity of abandoning his ambitious projects; and he would actually have done so, in all probability, if he had not expected a more seasonable and effectual co-operation on the part of the French, with whose assistance he hoped to effect our expulsion in a campaign or two. But he became more jealous of the French than of the English; and if the peace of Paris had left the Carnatic in his hands, instead of Mahomet Ally's, the French would have found the ill effect of his conduct respecting them; for he certainly never intended that they should assume any character in it besides that of merchants. With this disposition of mind, Hyder died soon after, in 1783, and was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who made peace with the English in March, 1784, at Mangalore.

In the year 1792, Tippoo, after several defeats, was compelled to surrender a great part of his dominions to the English and their allies: in Michouasion there was added to the British possessions Barah, Mahal, and Dindegal; the Calicut, Palicand, and Coorga countries. In the year 1799, Coimbatore, Canara, and other districts were added, but hostilities did not terminate till the reduction of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, when Tippoo himself fell.

Mr. Orme has thrown his observations upon the government and people of Hindostan into a systematic form. We also have adopted the method; and, in general, the language of our author.

Every province is governed by a subordination of officers, who hold from no other power than that of the nabob.

*Nabob* (derived from *naid*, a word signifying *deputy*) is a title, which, at Delhi, none but those who are styled thus, in a commission given by the king, dare to assume. In distant provinces nabobs have governed, who have been registered as dead at Delhi. A nabob, although appointed by a *subah*, (a prince who is deemed the highest representative of the *Mogul*) ought to have his commission confirmed by the king, or one with an authentic commission appears to supplant him.

*Duan* is properly the judge of the province in civil matters. This office is commonly devolved on a *Gentoo*, in provinces which by their vicinity or importance to the throne, are more immediately subject to its attention. This officer holds his commission from the king. But, by the nature of the government of Hindostan, where all look only to one head, he is never more than an assistant: he may be a spy; he cannot be a rival to the power of the nabob.

Revenues, imposts, and taxes, are levied throughout the country, by the appearance, if not by the force of the soldiers. —The other officers of the province are therefore more immediately military.

*Phousdar* signifies the commander of a detached body of the army, and in the military government, is a title next to that of the nabob. As the governors of particular parts of the province have always some troops under their command, such governors are called *phousdars*.

A *havildar* is the officer placed by the government to superintend a small village.

*Cazee* is the Mahometan judge ecclesiastical, who supports and is supported by *alcoran*. He is extremely venerated.

In treating upon the administration of justice in Hindostan, farther lights will be thrown upon the subject of the government of the provinces.

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All the lands in the kingdom belong to the king: therefore all the lands in the provinces are subject to the nabob. With him, or his representatives, farmers agree for the cultivation of such an extent, on reserving to themselves such a proportion of the produce. This proportion is settled according to the difficulty or ease of raising the grain, and seldom exceeds a third.

On the coast of Coromandel where excessive heats and infrequent rains exact the utmost labour to bring rice to perfection; if these farmers were not mildly dealt with, they would undertake nothing, and the whole country would be famished. Here therefore encouragement is given to them, and the government will sometimes be at the expence of works to assist them in the labour of raising and conveying water through the land.

The province of Bengal is the most fertile of any in the universe, more so than in Egypt, and with greater certainty. —A stratum of the richest mould upon a bottom of sand, the equal level of the country, and not a stone to be picked up in the space of some hundred miles, whilst shells are found every where.

The mechanic or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty.

Hence all emulation is destroyed; and all the luxury of an Asiatic empire has not been able to counteract by its propensity to magnificence and splendour, the dispiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a despotic power would reign no more.

Where the human race is struggling through such mighty ills as render its condition scarcely superior to that of the brutes of the field; shall we not expect to find throughout Hindostan dreary plains, lands uncultivated, miserable villages



thinly interspersed, desolated towns, and the number of inhabitants as much diminished as their miseries appear multiplied.

On the contrary, we find a people equalling if not exceeding in numbers the most populous states, such as enjoy the best of governments and the best of laws.

Effects of the climate of Hindostan seem to counteract, in favour of the human race, the violences to which it is subject from the nature of the government.

1. The sun forbids the use of fuel, and renders the want of raiment to be scarcely an inconvenience. 2. The bare earth, with the slightest hut over it, affords a repose without the danger of diseases to a people vastly temperate. 3. Productions peculiar to the soil of India exceedingly contribute to the ease of various labours: a convenient house may be built in three days, with no other materials than what are furnished by the bamboo and kajan: a boat, with all its appurtenances, may be made from the single cocoa-nut tree; which at the same time supplies oil, and a nourishment in much request; the ease of producing and manufacturing cotton is evinced by the plenty and price of linen. 4. Health is best preserved in this climate, by the slightest and simplest diet: perhaps it is from this consideration that religion has forbid the use of flesh meats and spirituous liquors amongst the *Gentoo*s.

In Hindostan, the fecundity of the women is extreme; and the propensity of the men to propagate their species is equal to it. Every *Gentoo* is by his religion obliged to marry, and is permitted to have more wives than one. It has been proved, that the number of females exceeds that of the males; so that a plurality of wives produces not the effect in India, which it is imagined to do in other countries, that of decreasing the numbers of a people.

A people born under a sun too sultry to admit the exercise and fatigues necessary to form a robust nation, will naturally, from the weakness of their bodies (especially if they have few wants), endeavour to obtain their scanty livelihood by the easiest labours. It is from hence, perhaps, that the manufactures of cloth are so multiplied in Hindostan.—

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Spinning and weaving are the slightest tasks which a man can be set to; and the numbers that do nothing else in this country are exceeding. It is observable, that the manufacturers of cloth prevail most, both in number and perfection, in those provinces where the people are least capable of robust labours. In the northern parts of the kingdom, where the men have more bodily strength, they weave hair, or the coarsest of cloths. On the coast of Coromandel, and in the province of Bengal, when at some distance from the high road, or a principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman, and child, is not employed in making a piece of cloth. The assistance which a wife and family are capable of affording to the labours of the loom, may have much contributed to the preference given by a lazy people to this manufacture. The thread is laid the whole length of the piece of cloth: hence the weavers live entirely in villages, as they could work no where else in this manner.

A weaver amongst the Gentoos is no despicable cast. He is next to the scribe, and above all the mechanics. He would lose his cast, were he to undertake a drudgery which did not immediately relate to his work.

The distinctions of dress in Hindostan consist entirely in the fineness of the linen of which the habit is made. The habit has at this day the same cut which it had a thousand years ago. Ornaments of gold and silver are marks of foppery, which are indulged only to the children: jewels are not worn about the person, excepting on particular occasions, even by the grandees: the richest man in the empire affects no other advantage in his dress, but that of linen extremely fine.

Other trades in Hindostan are not subdivided as they are in Europe, where six or seven mechanics contribute to the making of a single instrument. Here one man makes all the parts himself: by which he becomes exceedingly liable to oppression; for when once his single person is secured, all that is necessary is secured.

Cloth being the staple of the trade of Hindostan, and trade in general being better encouraged than it usually is in a

despotic state; such proceedings would too much injure the public revenues, in one of their greatest resources. This manufacture is therefore less liable to outrages, than any other trade; and hence another cause of its improvement.

But it may be asked, how works of such extraordinary niceness can be produced by a people, who, if what is said of their mechanics be true, must be deprived of such tools as seem absolutely necessary to finish such fine manufactures.

The surprise will be heightened when we find, that at *Dacca*, in the province of Bengal, where all the cloths for the use of the king and his seraglio are made, these are of such wonderful fineness as to exceed ten times the price of any linens permitted to be made for Europeans, or any one else in the kingdom.

As much as an Indian is born deficient in mechanical strength, so much is his whole frame endowed with an exceeding degree of sensibility and pliantness. The hand of an Indian cook-wench shall be more delicate than that of an European beauty: the skin and features of a porter shall be softer than those of a professed *petit maitre*.

The women wind off the raw silk from the pod of the worm. A single pod of raw silk is divided into 20 different degrees of fineness; and so exquisite is the feeling of these women, that whilst the thread is running through their fingers so swiftly that the eye can be of no assistance, they will break it off exactly as the assortments change, at once from the first to the twentieth, from the nineteenth to the second.

The women likewise spin the thread designed for the cloths, and then deliver it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquisitely as these have prepared it. For it is matter of fact, that the tools which they use are as simple and plain as they can be imagined to be. The rigid, clumsy fingers of an European would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvas, with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric.

It is farther remarkable, that every distinct kind of cloth is the produce of a particular district, in which the fabric has

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been transmitted, perhaps for centuries, from father to son—a custom which must have conducted to the perfection of the manufacture.

The numerous productions of Hindostan, and the difference of wants in different parts of it, afford a large scope for an extensive trade within itself; which is carried on with no small degree of application, wherever the sword is sheathed.

The European nations, importing bullion and metals, which the Indians want, and exporting the cloths which they can easily spare, have much contributed to confirm the spirit of trade.

The king, by being proprietor of the lands, sells to his subjects their subsistence, instead of receiving supplies from them. Hence a resource exceeding that of all the taxes, imposts, and customs, of other governments; but still a resource incapable of producing gold or silver without the assistance of commerce.

The multitude of valuable productions; the cunning and industrious temper of the people; the avarice of the rulers of Hindostan; have all equally concurred to establish the extensive commerce of this country. The government has found, by repeated experience in the consequences of oppression, that they best consult the interest of their revenues in consulting the security of their merchants.

The customs and imposts throughout Hindostan are fixed and unalterable. The merchant may at any time make an exact calculation of the deductions to which his trade is subject. Customs paid at any of the Mogul's ports, are not to be demanded at any other for the space of 12 months.

The diamond mines, like all other lands, are the property of the sovereign, who receives a vast revenue from the farmers admitted to work in them. This revenue is certain, be the success what it will; and all diamonds above a particular and very moderate weight, belong to the king. The penalty of death, to all concerned in concealing a large stone is executed with the utmost rigour, and is the cause why so few are seen in Europe.

It is not to be expected that navigation should have made great progress amongst so enervated a people as those of Hindostan. They are unskilful practitioners, and worse theorists. It is common to find a Moor ship wasting three years on a voyage which might easily be performed in one: hence the Europeans are the general carriers to the east.

The rudeness of the military art in Hindostan can scarce be imagined, but by these who have seen it. The infantry consists in a multitude of people assembled together without regard to rank or file: some with swords and targets, who can never stand the shock of a body of horse: some bearing match-locks, which in the best of order can produce but a very uncertain fire: some armed with lances too long or too weak to be of any service, even if ranged with the utmost regularity of discipline. Little reliance is therefore placed in this force. To keep night-watches, and to plunder defenceless people, is their greatest service, except it consists in their being a perquisite to their commanders, who receive a fixed price for every man, and hire every man at a different and less price.

As the Moors are the lords of the country, they are of consequence the warriors of it. These derive from their originals, the Tartars, the affection which that people are famous for bearing towards their horses; and the love of ease, in an inclement climate, has fixed this preference. The strain of all the war rests upon the numbers and goodness of horse which are found in an army. Every man brings his own horse, and offers himself to be enlisted. The horse, and not the man, is carefully examined; and according to the size and value of the beast, the master receives his pay. A good horse will bring 30 or 40 rupees a month. Sometimes an officer contracts for a whole troop which he has enlisted. A horse in Hindostan is of four times greater value than in Europe. If the horse is killed, the man is ruined. Strange that such a regulation should be established, as makes it the interest of the soldier to fight as little as possible.

The privileges of free-booty and plunder, together with sudden and sanguinary executions, in some measure check

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this consequence. The officer who commands a troop which he has raised himself, is responsible for the behaviour of his men: he therefore brings them of his own family, or at least those he can depend on. These interests and connexions do but indifferently supply the effects of a real love to their country, or a real attachment to their prince—principles which are very rarely found to influence the people of Hindostan.

A domineering insolence towards all who are in subjection to them; ungovernable wilfulness, inhumanity, cruelty, murders and assassinations, deliberated with the same calmness and subtlety as the rest of their politics; an insensibility to remorse for these crimes, which are scarcely considered otherwise than as necessary accidents in the course of life; sensual excesses which revolt against nature; unbounded thirst of power, and an expaciousness of wealth equal to the extravagance of his propensities and vices—constitute the character of an Indian Moor, who is of consequence sufficient to have any character at all.

That tribute of obedience which a man pays to his superior, he naturally exacts from his inferior; and where every man is obliged to pay, and expects to receive, this obedience, it is natural that a check should be put to all outward indecorum. If to this we join the idea of a people in whom subtilty has been substituted to impetuous manners, we shall not wonder to see them become vastly polite. It is destroying the nature of things, for any more than one or two persons in any assembly, to be off their guard in the point of ceremonial or behaviour.

We find, therefore, amongst the Moors, the ceremonies of outward manners carried to a more refined pitch than in any other part of the world, excepting China. These manners are become a fundamental of their education, as without them a man would, instead of making his fortune, be liable to lose his head.

An uncivil thing is never said amongst equals: the most extravagant adulation, both of gesture and words, is lavished upon the superior. The grandee is seated in his *darbar*, or



chair of state, where all who approach to pay their respects are ranged according to their respective degrees of station or favour. All is attention to his countenance: if he asks a question, it is answered with the turn that will please him: if he asserts, all applaud the truth: does he contradict, all tremble: a multitude of domestics appear in waiting, as silent and immoveable as statues. This is the ceremonial of paying court.

By the experience which they have had of Europeans, they deny us all pretensions to politeness. Our familiarities appear shocking to their notions of awe and respect; our vivacities quite ridiculous to their notions of solemnity. We will be pardoned for giving an instance of this.

The gentlemen of one of the European factories in Bengal, were invited to see the ceremony of a sacred day at the nabob's palace, where all the great men of the city were to be assembled. The Europeans were placed near the nabob's person. The scene was in a large area of the palace; in the middle of which, directly opposite to the nabob, a fountain was playing. The Moors who entered, approached no nearer than just before the fountain; there made obeisance, and then retired to their seats. A man of some distinction added a step or two too much to his retreating bow, and fell backwards into the cistern of the fountain. We question whether half the foreign ambassadors of any court of Europe could have suppressed their mirth on such an occasion; our foreign visitors burst into repeated peals of laughter, and flung themselves into all the attitudes which usually accompany the excess of it. Not a muscle was changed in the countenance of any other person in the assembly. The unlucky man went out with great composure, to change his raiment; and all the attention of the company was diverted from him upon the boisterous mirth of the strangers, which became real matter of astonishment to these nice observers of decorum.

The deputies of an European settlement on the coast of Coromandel, arrived at the camp of Nazirijing, late subah of the southern provinces, who had at that time occasion for the service of their presidency. In stipulating the ceremonies

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of their audience, they insisted that they could not sit cross-legged upon the ground, without being cramped: it was answered, that they could not be admitted to sit upon chairs (according to the European custom) in the presence of a prince of Nazirijng's dignity; as, according to their customs, no inferior could be placed on a seat raised higher than that on which his superior was seated. The deputies then desired that a hole might be dug in the ground of the tent, in which they might put their legs without injuring the dignity of that prince. This was granted, to the no small astonishment of all present, that these gentlemen should chuse, on such an occasion, to appear in a situation which amongst the Moors is a punishment for misdemeanors committed by the lower class of people. It had just the same effect upon them, as upon us would have the request of a stranger, who at such an introduction should desire, instead of a chair, to be set in a pair of stocks.

The politeness of other nations may have its rise from a natural ease and happiness of temper, a point of honour, the idea man conveys of himself by the respect he shows to others; but the decorum with which the common ceremonies and occurrences of life are conducted in Hindostan, is derived from the constant idea of subordination, joined to a constant habit of the deepest disguise and dissimulation of the heart.

An expression of indignation has cost a considerable officer his life, three months after he had betrayed himself to the apprehensions of his general, who never afterwards thought himself secure from the resentments of a man whose violence was capable of transporting him to a public manifestation of disgust: in the interim, nothing but the utmost complaisance and respect has subsisted between them. Just as the rash man has thought his peace was made, he has found his destruction determined.

The Gentoos are very affectionate parents, and treat their domestics with great mildness. They are charitable, even to relieving the necessities of strangers: and the politeness of their behaviour is refined by the natural effeminacy of their disposition, to exceed even that of the Moors.

The sway of a despotic government has taught them the necessity of patience; and the coolness of their imagination enables them to practise it better than any people in the world. They conceive a contemptible opinion of a man's capacity, who betrays any impetuosity in his temper.

Slavery has sharpened the natural finesse of all the spirits of Asia; from the difficulty of obtaining, and the greater difficulty of preserving it, the Gentoos are indefatigable in business, and masters of the most excellent dissimulation in all affairs of interest. They are the acutest buyers and sellers in the world, and preserve through all their bargains a degree of calmness, which baffles all the arts that can be opposed against it.

The children are capable of assisting them in their business at an age when ours scarce begin to learn. It is common to see a boy of 11 years enter into an assembly of considerable men, make his obeisance, deliver his message, and then retire with all the propriety and grace of a very well-bred man.

The Bramins, from their numbers and authority, enjoy great respect amongst the other casts of Gentoos. These people are very litigious, and yet justice is in general administered in a very corrupt manner. Bribes are commonly given, and perjury frequent and glaring. Oppression prevails in the government throughout all ranks of the people, from the highest even to the lowest subject of the empire. But we will not dwell on the remarks of Mr. Orme, as the manners and customs of these people will be illustrated in the anecdotes related by those travellers whose works will be next related.

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PERFORMED IN THE YEAR M,DCCC.

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BY FRANCIS BUCHANAN, M. D.

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**DR. BUCHANAN** was ordered by the marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India, to traverse the dominions of the rajah of Mysore, and the countries acquired by the East India company in the wars with Tippoo sultán, for the purpose of investigating the state of agriculture, arts, and commerce; the religion, manners, and customs; and other important subjects in those countries. His observations were transmitted to the directors of the East India company, who thought them of such importance as to recommend the publication of them to the court, under whose patronage the work appeared.

On the 23d of April, 1800, Dr. Buchanan set out from Madras; but his inquiries could not commence, with proper effect, till after his arrival at Seringapatam, where he expected to procure sufficient authority from the rajah's *duan*. He was accompanied by a painter, a native of Bengal.

The country, through which the doctor travelled, was, in general, dreary and barren, except where irrigation could be employed. The first place of importance at which he arrived was *Vellore*. 'Here I remained,' says our author, 'in order to give my people rest. The present fort is large and beautiful; and having been chosen for the residence of the family of the late sultán of Mysore, is strongly garrisoned by English forces. The town, which belongs to the nabob, is pretty large, and well built after the Hindoo fashion. Above it are three small forts, which occupy the summits of a hill that overlooks the town, but one of them only has a supply of water. The fortifications are said to have been erected by the Canarese monarchs.

'The greater part of the Bramins in the lower Carnatic follow secular professions. They almost entirely fill the different offices in the collection of the revenue, and administration of justice; and they are exclusively employed as *hircaras*, that is, guides or messengers, and as the keepers of inns, or *choultries*. Much of land is rented by them; but, like the Jews, they seldom put their hand to actual labour, and on no account will they hold the plough.

'The *Panchum Bundum* (impure tribes of Hindoos) are by far the most hardy and laborious people of the country, but the greater part of them are slaves. So sensible of their value was Hyder, that in his incursions it was these chiefly whom he endeavoured to carry away. He settled them in many districts as farmers, and would not suffer them to be called by their proper name, which is considered as opprobrious; but ordered, that they should be called cultivators.

'There are many other divisions among these Bramins, arising from their various occupations. The proper duty of a Bramin is meditation on things divine, and the proper manner of his procuring a subsistence is by begging (*Bhiksha*). This mode of living is considered as very agreeable to the gods; and all industry is deemed derogatory to the rank of a man, and more especially to that of a Bramin. The lower classes of society, however, in this degenerate age, not being sufficiently charitable, nor quite so willing to part with their

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money, as the noble cast of Bramins could wish, many of that sacred order have been obliged to betake themselves to what they consider as unworthy employments, such as being governors and judges of cities, collectors of revenue, and accomptants; nay some even condescend to cultivate the earth by means of slaves. Hence arises the distinction of Bramins into *Vaidaka* and *Lokika*, or *Lovadica*; the former of whom follow the proper duties of the cast, while the *Lokika* debase themselves by dedicating their labours to worldly affairs.

The highest among the Bramins are certain *Vaikaka*, who by more than usual mortification attain a large proportion of divine favour. They cut off their hair; dress in a yellow or red cloth; eat but once a day; abstain entirely from women; and, relinquishing all the domestic enjoyments of society, live in pagodas, or *matams*, that is to say, convents, where they dedicate their time entirely to devotion, and the instruction of those who are less pious, and who follow them as disciples. A Bramin of this kind is called a *Sannyasi*, and must be a man of learning, that is to say, must be able to read Sanscrit, and be acquainted with the dogmas of his particular sect. The number of Bramin Sannyasis is very small, and is chiefly confined to those who are *Gurus*, *Swamalus*, or bishops of the different sects, and who, in every thing relating to religion and cast, have a jurisdiction over all their inferiors.

The *Gurus* travel in great state, with elephants, horses, palanquins, and an immense train of disciples, the least of whom considers himself as highly elevated above mankind by his sanctity. They generally travel at night, in order to avoid their mussulman or European conquerors, who would not show them that veneration, or rather adoration, to which they consider themselves entitled; and they have therefore been seldom seen by travellers. On the approach of a *Guru* to any place, every inhabitant of pure birth must go to meet him; the lower classes are not admitted to his presence. The *Guru*, on being conducted to the principal temple, bestows *upadesa*, or *chicranticum*, which may be considered as analogous to the confirmation granted by our prelates, on such as have not received these ceremonies, and distributes



holy water. He then inquires into matters of contention, or transgressions against the rulers of casts; and having settled, or punished these, hears his disciples and other learned men dispute on theological subjects. This is the grand field for acquiring reputation among the Bramins. These disputations are said to be very similar to those, which were common among the doctors of the Romish church 7 or 800 years ago; and in fact a strong resemblance will be found between the present state of Hindoo knowledge, and that which then prevailed in Europe.

‘ Since leaving Madras, I have found the weather very hot and dry. The thermometer at noon in my tents, which are well constructed for keeping out the heat, has been from 95° to 98 degrees. In a house it would probably have been two or three degrees lower. The wind has generally been strong; but so arid and hot, as not to mitigate the effects of the sun, or cool the burning atmosphere.’

After crossing the *Ghats*, our traveller found the country but ill cultivated, and the population scanty. The appearance of the ground did not vary much until his arrival at *Bangalore*, on the 10th of May. The doctor continues:---

‘ The morning being cool and pleasant, I walked through the ruins of the fort of Bangalore, which was constructed by Hyder after the best fashion of mussulman military architecture: and which was destroyed by his son, after he found how little it was fitted to resist British valour. The entrance towards the *petta*, or town, is a very handsome building of cut granite, and was probably considered by the defenders as the strongest part of the works. It certainly would have been a very difficult matter to have forced a way through all the various gateways in this entrance; as the troops, after having forced one gate, would have been exposed to a fire from all quarters before they could have reached another. But there are no ditches between the different gates, nor even without the outer one; and, if the enemy obtained possession of the works above the first gateway, they had a ready communication with all the others; as our troops found when they stormed the place, which they did at this part of the works. In the

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buildings of this entrance is a dungeon, amply provided with all the horrors that usually attend such places.

The garrison contained well constructed magazines, and many huts for the accommodation of the troops; but no good building, except the *mahal*, or palace. Although this is composed of mud, it is not without some degree of magnificence. On the upper story, it contains four halls, each comprising two balconies of state for the prince, and each balcony faces a different *cutchery*, or court for giving audience. No persons, but a few trusty guards, were admitted into the hall with the sultan: but at each end of the court was erected a balcony for the officers of the highest rank. The inferior officers occupied a hall under the balcony of the prince, open in front, and supported by columns as high as the roof of the upper story. The populace were admitted into the open court, in which there were fountains for cooling the air. At each end of the halls are private apartments, small, mean, and inconvenient. The public rooms are neatly painted, and ornamented with false gilding. The offices are mean; and the bath consists of a small room, in which a person may sit, and have water poured over him. The same bath seems to have served both the prince and his women, as it communicates with their apartments by a small court, which contains the huts that served for kitchens, and for lodging the female slaves. There were two apartments for the ladies. One, for the principal wife, contains a *cutchery*, where, like the sultan, she gave audience to the concubines, and to the ladies of the mussulman chief. The other apartment belonged to the concubines. It is a square court, having at two of the sides a corridor, under which the women sat at their meals and amusements. Behind the corridor are their sleeping rooms, which are mean and dark, being about 12 feet square, and without any air or light, but what is admitted by the door, or in some by a hole about a foot wide. Lowness of roof is a fault prevailing over the whole structure. Before the palace is a large square court fronted by the *nobat khana*, or station for the band of music, and surrounded by a fine corridor. The palace lately served

the officers of an European regiment for quarters, while the privates were lodged in the corridor.

‘ I visited the gardens made by the late mussulman princes, Hyder and Tippoo. They are extensive, and divided into square plots separated by walks, the sides of which are ornamented with fine cypress trees. The plots are filled with fruit-trees and pot-herbs. The mussulman fashion is to have a separate piece of ground allotted for each kind of plant. Thus one plot is entirely filled with rose trees, another with pomegranates, and so forth. The walks are not gravelled, and the cultivation of the whole rather slovenly; but the people say, that formerly the gardens were well kept. Want of water is the principal defect of these gardens; for in this arid country every thing, during the dry season, must be artificially watered. The garden of Tippoo is supplied from three wells, the water of which is raised by the *capily*, or leather-bag, fastened to a cord passing over a pulley, and wrought by a pair of bullocks, which descend an inclined plane. This, the workmen say, is a much more effectual machine than the *yatam*. Hyder's garden is watered from a reservoir, without the assistance of machinery. The taste of Hyder accorded more with the English, than that of his son. His walks are wider, his cypress trees are not so much crowded; and in the means for watering the plots there is not so much masonry, or bricklayer's work, employed. There is, indeed, so much of these in the parts of Tippoo's garden which he probably considered the finest, as almost to cover the ground, and to leave nothing but holes, as it were, through which the trees grow.

‘ Tippoo is said to have attempted to introduce a great strictness of manners; absolutely prohibiting the use of all spirituous liquors, and ordering that no loose women should be tolerated. He was himself, however, unreasonably addicted to women; and the Bramins here allege, that he sometimes forced away the most beautiful of their daughters. After some detention in the *zenana*, if he did not like them, he sent the girls back to their fathers, who, in general, refused to admit them into their families. But Tippoo was not to be

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treated in this manner with impunity. On such occasions, he sent for the father, took from him all his property, and flogged him severely. He then ordered the girl to point out any Bramin for a husband, and the unfortunate man was flogged until he gave his consent. A loss of cast, of course, ensued; but the husband commonly fled out of Tippoo's dominions, leaving his wife behind, to want or prostitution. On going to another place, and turning away his unclean wife, he could get an absolution from his Guru, with permission to marry again.

‘About half way to Seringapatam I arrived at a hilly country that reaches very near to the *Cavery*. On the south side of these hills lord Cornwallis encamped, before the final engagement which gave him possession of the island. His marches from Bangalore may every where be traced by the bones of cattle, thousands of which perished through fatigue and hunger. The road among these hills is no where steep, as it leads over a part of the ridge that is not high; but towards the west are numerous small mountains. Many parts of these hills are cultivated; but much more is incapable of ever becoming arable. The whole is stony, and the barest country that I have ever seen. From ascending the ridge, until reaching the *Cávery*, one can hardly find a bush sufficiently large to make a broom.

‘At Seringapatam, I had an interview with *Purnea*, the duan of the Mysore rajah, and, during that prince's minority, the chief administrator of his government. By means of colonel Close, I have received assurances of every assistance in forwarding the objects of my mission; and a Bramin has been appointed to accompany me, with orders to call upon every person that I shall desire for information.

‘*Seringapatam*, as is well known, is situated at the upper end of an island surrounded by the *Cávery*, which is here a large and rapid river, with a very extensive channel, filled with rocks, and fragments of granite. At this season (the 20th of May) it is in many places fordable with facility; but during the rains it rises very high, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. On the south branch of the river a bridge

has been erected, which serves also as an aqueduct, to convey from the upper part of the river a large canal of water into the town and island. The rudeness of this bridge will show the small progress that the arts have made in Mysore. Square pillars of granite are cut from the rock, of a sufficient height to rise above the water at the highest floods. These are placed upright in rows, as long as the intended width of the bridge, and distant about 10 feet from each other. They are secured at the bottom by being let into the solid rock, and their tops being cut to a level, a long stone is laid upon each row. Above these longitudinal stones others are placed contiguous to each other, and stretching from row to row, in the direction of the length of the bridge. The whole breadth of this may be 20 feet. One half is occupied by the aqueduct, which is secured at the bottom and on both sides by the brick and plaster. The road is laid with gravel, and secured by a parapet wall on one side, and by the aqueduct on the other. But, however rude such a bridge may be, it is of most essential convenience to the town, and to the inhabitants of the southern bank of the river, though the construction is attended with great expense. The inconveniencies felt from the want of a bridge on the northern branch are so great, that both Purnea and the resident are very anxious to have one erected; but on an estimate being formed, it is found, that even without an aqueduct, a rude bridge of this kind would cost 16,000 *canter'raia pagodas*, or 5,372*l. 9s. 4d.* It is very fairly proposed, that the company should defray one half of this, as lords of the island; while the rajah should defray the other half, on account of the advantages to be derived by his subjects on the north side of the river.

‘The island is about three miles in length, and one in breadth, and has a most dreary, ugly appearance; for naked rock and dirty mud walls are its predominant features. The fort or city of *Sri Rangu* occupies its upper end, and is an immense, unfinished, unsightly, and injudicious mass of building. Tippoo seems to have had too high an opinion of his own skill to have consulted the French who were about him; and adhered to the old Indian style of fortification,

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labouring to make the place strong by heaping walls and cavaliers one above the other. He was also very diligent in cutting ditches through the granite; but, as he had always on hand more projects than his finances were adequate to defray, he never finished any work. He retained the long straight walls and square bastions of the Hindoos; and his glacis was in many parts so high and steep, as to shelter an assailant from the fire of the ramparts. In the island also, in order to water a garden, he had dug a deep canal parallel to the works of the fort, and not above 800 yards distant from them. He was so unskilled, as to look upon this as an additional security to the place; but had it been deemed necessary to besiege the town regularly from the island, the assailant would have found it of the utmost use. Had Tippoo's troops been capable of defending the place properly, this mode of attack would have been necessary; but the confidence which our officers justly reposed in the superiority of their men, and the extreme difficulty of bringing up the immense stores necessary to batter down many heavy works, made them prefer an attack across the river, where the works were not so strong, and where they ventured on storming a breach, that nothing, but a very great difference between the intrepidity of the assailants and defendants, could have enabled them to carry. The depth of the river was of little importance; but the assailants, in passing over its rocky channel, were exposed to a heavy fire of artillery, and suffered considerable loss.

‘On ascending the breach, our men found an inner rampart lined with troops, separated from them by a wide and deep ditch, and defended at its angle by a high cavalier. By this they were for a little while discouraged; as, from the information of spies, they had expected to have been able to mount the cavalier from the breach, and to form a lodgment there, till means could be taken to gain the inner works, and expel the garrison, which consisted of about 8,000 men, nearly the same number with that employed on the storming party.



‘ After, however, the first surprise occasioned by this disappointment, the troops soon recovered their spirits, and pushed on, along the outer rampart, towards both the right and left of the breach. Those who went to the left found great opposition. At every 20 or 30 yards distant, the rampart was crossed by traverses, and these were defended by the sultan in person. The loss of men here was considerable; but the English troops gradually advanced, and the sultan retired slowly, defending his ground with obstinacy.

‘ The enfilading fire from the Bombay army, on the north side of the river, had been so strong, that the defendants had been entirely driven from the ramparts on the right of the breach, and had been prevented from raising any traverses. Our people who went in that direction did not meet with the smallest opposition; and the flank companies of the 12th regiment, having found a passage across the inner ditch, passed through the town to attack the rear of the enemy, who were still opposing the Europeans on the left. The sultan had now been driven back to the eastward of the palace, and is said to have had his horse shot under him. He might certainly have gone out at a gate leading to the north branch of the river, and nothing could have prevented him from crossing that, and joining his cavalry, which, under the command of his son, *Futty Hyder*, and of *Purnea*, were hovering round the Bombay army. Fortunately, he decided upon going into the inner fort, by a narrow sallyport; and, as he was attempting to do so, he was met by the crowd flying from the flank companies of the 12th regiment; while the troops, coming up behind, cut off all means of retreat. Both parties seem to have fired into the gateway, and some of the Europeans must have passed through with the bayonet; as a wound, evidently inflicted by that weapon, was discovered in the arm of the sultan. His object in going into the gateway is disputed. The Hindoos universally think, that, finding the place taken, he was going to the palace to put all his family to death, and then to seek for his own destruction in

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the midst of his enemies. But, although such is considered by the Hindoos as the proper conduct for a prince in his situation, we have no reason to think that a mussulman would conduct himself in this manner; nor was Tippoo ever accused of want of affection for his family. I think it more probable, that he was ignorant of the British troops having got into the inner fort, and was retiring thither in hopes of being still able to repel the attack.

‘ No individual claimed the honour of having slain the sultan, nor did any of either party know that he had fallen in the gateway. The assailants were, indeed, at that time too much enraged to think of any thing but the destruction of their enemy. Each division pushed on towards the eastern end of the town; and, as they advanced, the carnage increased. The garrison threw themselves from the works, attempting to escape into the island, and from thence to their cavalry. The greater part, however, were either killed by the fall, or broke their limbs in a most shocking manner. *Meer Saduc*, the favourite of the sultan, fell in attempting to get through the gates. He is supposed to have been killed by the hands of Tippoo’s soldiery, and his corpse lay for some time exposed to the insults of the populace, none of whom passed without spitting on it, or loading it with a slipper; for to him they attributed most of their sufferings in the tyrannical reign of the sultan.

‘ The two divisions of the storming army now met at an open place surrounding a very fine mosque, into which the remains of the garrison withdrew, and with their destruction the fighting nearly ceased. The number of burials amounted to somewhat above 7,000; several of these were town’s-people of both sexes, and all ages; but this was accidental, for our soldiers killed none intentionally but fighting men. Those who are disposed to declaim on the horrors of a town taken by assault, may always find room to dwell on the women, infants, and aged persons killed, and on the little protection given by places, however sacred; for such terrible things must always happen, when an enraged soldiery with fire-arms are pursuing an enemy through a populous place.

When our two parties had met, and no longer saw before their eyes the enemy, by whom they, or their countrymen, had been often most barbarously used, they soon cooled, and were disposed, by their officers, in the manner most proper to secure their new conquest; many, however, left their ranks; and the followers of the camp, under pretext of taking refreshment to their masters, poured into the town, and an entire night was employed in plunder. In this, I believe, very little murder was committed; although there can be no doubt that many people were beaten, and threatened with death, in order to make them discover their property. The women on this occasion went into the streets, and stood there all night in large groups; I suppose, with a view of preventing any insult, by their exposed situation; few men being capable of committing brutality in public. This precaution was probably little necessary. The soldiers had mostly been in the trenches two days; they had been engaged in a hard day's work; and their hopes and their rage having then ceased, they were left in a state of languor, by which they were more inclined to seek repose, or cordial refreshments, than to indulge in sensual gratification.

Next day the wounded and bruised of the enemy were collected from the works, and neighbourhood, to which some of them had crept; and the mosque, which had been the great scene of bloodshed, became now the place of refuge, in which these poor creatures had every attention paid to them by the British surgeons.

The town of Seringapatam is very poor. The streets are narrower, and more confused, than in any place that I have seen since leaving Bengal. The generality of the houses are very mean, although many of the chiefs were well lodged after their fashion; but for European inhabitants their houses are hot and inconvenient. Within the fort, Tippoo allowed no person to possess property in houses. He disposed of the dwellings as he thought fit, and on the slightest caprice changed the tenants. A great many of the chiefs fell at *Siddhiswara*, and at the storming of Seringapatam; and those who survived, and the family of those who fell (all of

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whom have been pensioned by the company), have mostly retired to the dominions of the nabob of Arcot, which they consider as more secure and pleasant than Mysore; many of the families having originally come from the lower Carnatic, and settled here on the establishment of a mussulman government. Numbers of the houses which had been deserted, are now occupied by the officers of the garrison.

‘The old palace of the Mysore rajahs of Seringapatam is in a ruinous condition. At the time of the siege, the family was reduced to its lowest ebb. The old rajah, *Crishna*, who was first confined by Hyder, died without issue; but left his wife in charge of a relation, whom he had adopted as his son. This young man soon died, not without suspicion of unfair means. His infant son, the present rajah, was under the charge of the old lady, and of *Nundi* rajah his mother’s father, a respectable old relative, who now superintends his education. Shortly before the siege, the whole family had been stripped, by the merciless Meer Saduc, of even the poorest ornaments; and the child, from bad treatment, was so sickly, that his death was expected to happen very soon. This was a thing probably wished for by the sultan, the family having fallen into such contempt that the shadow of a rajah would no longer have been necessary. The family of the rajah, having been closely shut up in the old palace, knew very little, during the siege, of what was going forward; and in the confusion of the assault, having been left by their guards, they took refuge in the temple of Sri Ranga, either with a view of being protected by the god, or of being defended by the surrounding walls from the attack of plunderers. On the restoration of the prince to the throne of his ancestors, a place for his residence was very much wanted; the necessity of keeping the island of Seringapatam for a military station, having rendered the palaces there very unfit for the purpose. Tippoo, with his usual policy of destroying every monument of the former government, had razed Mysore, and removed the stones of the palace and temples to a neighbouring height, where he was building a fort; which, from its being situated on a place commanding an extensive view, was called *Nazarbar*.

The fortress could have been of no possible use in defending the country, and was probably planned merely with the view of obscuring the fame of Mysore, the former capital. At a great expense, and to the great distress of the peasants working at it, the sultan had made considerable progress in the works of this place, when he began to consider that it afforded no water. He then dug an immense pit, cutting down through the solid black rock to a great depth and width, but without success; and when the siege of his capital was formed, the whole work was lying in a mass of confusion, with a few wretched huts in it for the accommodation of the workmen. Into the best of these, in July last, the young rajah was conducted, and placed on the throne. At the same time the rebuilding of the old palace of Mysore was commenced. It is now so far advanced, as to be a comfortable dwelling; and I found the young prince seated in it, on a handsome throne, which had been presented to him by the company. He has very much recovered his health, and, though he is only between six and seven years of age, speaks and behaves with great propriety and decorum. From Indian *etiquette*, he endeavours in public to preserve a dignified gravity of countenance; but the attentions of colonel Close, the resident, to whom he is greatly indebted for that officer's distinguished efforts in his delivery, make him sometimes relax; and then his face his very lively and interesting.

'The palace of the sultan at Seringapatam is a very large building, surrounded by a massy and lofty wall of stone and mud, and outwardly is of a very mean appearance. There were in it, however, some handsome apartments, which have been converted into barracks; but the troops are very ill lodged, from the want of ventilation common to all native buildings. The private apartments of Tippoo formed a square, in one side of which were the rooms that he himself used. The other three sides of the square were occupied by warehouses, in which he had deposited a vast variety of goods; for he acted not only as a prince. but also as a merchant.

'These goods were occasionally distributed among the *amildars*, or governors of provinces, with orders to sell them,

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on the sultan's account, at a price far above their real value; which was done by forcing a share of them upon every man in proportion to his supposed wealth. This was one of the grand sources of oppression, peculation, and defalcation of revenue. The friends, or wealthy corrupters of the amildars, were excused from taking a large share of the goods; while the remainder was forced upon poor wretches, whose whole means, when torn from them, were inadequate to the estimated value of the goods; and the outstanding balances on this account were always large.

The apartment most commonly used by Tippoo was a large lofty hall, open in front after the mussulman fashion, and on the other three sides entirely shut up from ventilation. In this he was wont to sit, and write much; for he was a wonderful projector, and was constantly forming new systems for the management of his dominions, which, however, he wanted perseverance to carry into execution. That he conceived himself to be acting for the good of his subjects, I have no doubt; and he certainly believed himself endowed with great qualities for the management of civil affairs; as he was at the pains of writing a book on the subject, for the instruction of all succeeding princes: his talents in this line, however, were certainly very deficient. He paid no attention to the religious prejudices of the greater part of his subjects; but every where wantonly destroyed their temples, and gloried in having forced many thousands of them to adopt the mussulman faith. He never continued long on the same plan; so that his government was a constant succession of new arrangements. Although his aversion to Europeans did not prevent him from imitating many of their arts; yet this does not appear to have proceeded from his being sensible of their value, or from a desire to improve his country; it seems merely to have been done with a view of showing his subjects, that, if he chose, he was capable of doing whatever Europeans could perform: for although he made broad-cloth, paper formed on wires like the European kind, watches, and cutlery, yet the processes for making the whole were kept secret. A French artist had prepared an engine, driven by water, for



boring cannon; but so little sensible was the sultan of its value, that he ordered the water-wheel to be removed, and employed bullocks to work the machinery. One of his favourite maxims of policy was, to overthrow every thing that had been done in the rajah's government; and, in carrying this into practice, he frequently destroyed works of great public utility, such as reservoirs, and canals for watering the ground. Although an active prince, he in a great measure secluded himself from his subjects (one of the greatest evils that can happen in an absolute monarchy); and his chief confident, Meer Saduc, was a monster of avarice and cruelty. The people universally accuse Tippoo of bigotry and vain-glory; but they attribute most of their miseries to the influence of his minister. The Bramins, who managed the whole of the revenue department, were so avaricious, so corrupt, and had shown such ingratitude to Hyder, that Tippoo would have entirely have displaced them, if he could have done without their services; but that was impossible; for no other persons in the country had any knowledge of the business.

'Tippoo certainly had considerable talents for war; but his fondness for it, and his engaging with an enemy so much his superior in the art, brought on his destruction; while his early habits of contending with the Maratta plunderers, had given him a ferocity and barbarity, that must prevent every considerate person from pitying his overthrow. The policy in which he succeeded best, was in attaching to him the lower mussulmans. He possessed in the highest degree all the cant, bigotry, and zeal, so well fitted for the purpose, and which some few men of abilities have succeeded in assuming; but with him, I believe, they were natural. None of his mussulmans have entered into our service, although many of them are in great want; and they all retain a high respect for his memory, considering him as a martyr, who died in the defence of their religion.

'Though Tippoo had thus secured the affections of many of his subjects, and though he was perhaps conscious of good intentions, and fondly imagined that his government was fit to be a pattern to all others; yet whoever sees his private

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apartments, will be sensible, that the mind of the despotic monarch was torn with apprehension.

‘ One of the passages from the private square was into the *zenana*, or women’s apartment. This has remained perfectly inviolate under the usual guard of eunuchs, and contains about 600 women, belonging to the sultan, and to his late father. A great part of these are slaves, or attendants on the ladies; but they are kept in equally strict confinement with their mistresses. The ladies of the sultan are about 80 in number. Many of them are from Hindostan Proper, and many are the daughters of Bramins, and Hindoo princes, taken by force from their parents. They have been all shut up in the *zenana* when very young; and have been carefully brought up to a zealous belief in the religion of Mahomet. I have sufficient reason to think that none of them are desirous of leaving their confinement; being wholly ignorant of any other manner of living, and having no acquaintance whatever beyond the walls of their prison.

‘ According to the register of houses which I received from the cutwal, the fort, or city, contains 4,163 houses, and 5,499 families; and the *Shahar Ganjam* contains 2,216 houses, and 3,335 families. At five inhabitants to each house, we may estimate the population of the city to be 20,815, and of the suburbs 11,080; in all, 31,895 persons. This, however, is independent of a strong garrison and its numerous followers. The principal merchant in the place says, that in the reign of Tippoo the island contained 500,000 inhabitants; and he pretends to found his estimate on the quantity of grain consumed. In this calculation, I think he exaggerates grossly; as I see no place where such a number of persons could have lived. I know also, that the man, in other respects, is not to be trusted. Perhaps we may safely admit the former population of the island to have amounted to 150,000 persons; who were entirely supported by the court and army, scarcely any manufactures having been established.

‘ Firewood at Seringapatam is a dear article, and the fuel most commonly used is cow-dung made up into cakes. This, indeed, is much used in every part of India, especially by

men of rank; as, from the veneration paid to the cow, it is considered as by far the most pure substance that can be employed. Every herd of cattle, when at pasture, is attended by women, and these often of high cast, who with their hands gather up the dung, and carry it home in baskets. They then form it into cakes, about half an inch thick, and nine inches in diameter, and stick them on the walls to dry. So different, indeed, are Hindoo notions of cleanliness from ours, that the walls of their best houses are frequently bedaubed with these cakes; and every morning numerous females, from all parts of the neighbourhood, bring for sale into Seringapatam baskets of this fuel.

‘Many females who carry large baskets of cow-dung on their heads are well-dressed, and elegantly formed girls. The dress of the *Karnataka* women is indeed very becoming; and I have never seen finer forms than even the labouring women of that country frequently possess. Their necks and arms are in particular remarkably well shaped. Their nastiness, however, is disgusting; very few of the inhabitants above the Ghats being free from the itch; and their linen, being almost always dyed, is seldom washed.’

The *Gurus* are a kind of hereditary high priests. Five of these chiefs are *Sannyasis*, or unmarried priests. ‘When one of these *Sannyasis*,’ says our author, ‘observes the approach of death, he appoints some *Vidvansa*, or man of learning and piety, to be his successor. If the person chosen give his consent, he must forsake his wife, children, and goods, part of which goes to his children, and part is given in charity; that is to say, to the Bramins. The new *Sannyasi* shave his head, and throws aside the thread by which the Bramins are distinguished. The virtues and powers belonging to his high rank he receives along with *upadesa*, which is delivered to him by his predecessor. *Upadesa* is a mysterious sentence, which the Hindoos receive from their *Gurus*, and constantly mutter when at their devotions. That of the Bramins is entirely different from what is bestowed on the lower casts; and is again very inferior to that given to the *Sannyasi Gurus*, which, according to them, has most wonderful powers. In case of

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sudden death, the followers of the *Mata* meet, and choose from among themselves a *Sannyasi*, who gets an *upadesa* from one of the others. These *Gurus* frequently give an *upadesa*, and some images, to a favourite disciple, and appoint him a kind of deputy to manage their affairs at a distance.

‘The *Sannyasis* and hereditary *Gurus* seem to be totally independent of each other, and to possess nearly the same authority and powers over their followers. When a *Guru* of any sect comes near a place, the whole inhabitants of a pure descent, whether they be his followers or not, must go out to receive him with the utmost respect. What is meant by the followers of a *Guru*, are certain families attached to him, to whom he performs certain ceremonies, and over whom, in all matters connected with religion, he possesses a jurisdiction. In general, every man follows the *Guru* of his father: but this seems to be a voluntary submission; and it is commonly allowed, that a man, whenever he pleases, may change his *Guru*.

‘These ceremonies are never bestowed on a person of an impure birth; so that the *Whalliaru* and *Madigaru* must content themselves with praying to God for his blessing to avert evil, or bestow good. This, however, not being satisfactory, these poor people frequently attack the *Bramins* for an *upadesa*. In order to be quit of their importunity, the *Bramins* sometimes tell them the name of any god, the constant muttering of which pleases the man much better, than the offering up his requests to the Deity in the pure language of the heart. So powerful is the influence of ceremony over that of reason.

‘In their judicial capacity the *Gurus* possess great authority. They take cognizance of all omissions of ceremonies, and actions that are contrary to the rules of cast. Small delinquencies they punish by pouring cow-dung and water on the head of the guilty person, by fine, and by whipping. For great offences they excommunicate the culprit; which is done by shaving his head. This excludes a man from all society, even from that of his nearest connexions; for his very wife would incur a similar punishment by giving him any assistance.

The excommunication may be removed by the Guru; in which case he purifies the repentant sinner by a copious draught of cow's urine. Though the deputies have no proper authority to punish delinquents, yet they frequently make people voluntarily submit to their correction. They threaten any person to send a complaint to his Guru of some crime laid to his charge, and an order to proceed to the residence of the Guru to answer the complaint. Most persons, however, choose to submit to whatever the deputy dictates, rather than undertake the trouble of a long journey; at the end of which they might be more severely punished by the Guru, than they would have been at home by the deputy.'

The doctor, during his residence at Seringapatam, collected much useful information on agricultural subjects. But the adjoining country had been much depopulated by the misgovernment of Tippoo, and the ravages committed by the British armies.

Amongst the few manufactures in the Decan, our traveller mentions that of glass rings. These rings are universally worn by the women, as an ornament on the wrists; and their applying closely to the arm is considered as a mark of delicacy and beauty; for they must of course be passed over the hand. In doing this, a girl seldom escapes without drawing blood, and rubbing part of the skin from her hand: and as every well-dressed girl has a number of rings on each arm, and as these are frequently breaking, the poor creatures suffer much from their love of admiration: but in the female breast this is a more powerful motive than the dread of any common pain.

Our traveller passed through a country naturally beautiful, but dismal on account of having been nearly deserted. 'Since the accession of Tippoo,' he observes, '*Rama-giri* has been strangely agitated. The town, which was then considerable, he removed from the west side of the river, and placed close under the hill upon which the fort is built. It was then surrounded by a wall, and some other defences of no great importance. The army of lord Cornwallis summoned the fort; and the garrison, intimidated by the taking of many strong places which they had seen fall, surrendered without

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any resistance, and for some time kept possession. After the peace Tippoo dismantled the fort, and now the amildar has again removed the town to the west side of the river, and placed it lower down than its original situation. During the incursions of lord Cornwallis the inhabitants were deprived of the means of subsistence, and a large proportion of them perished of hunger. I give this, and other similar accounts of the state of the population, from the information of the natives, which I believe is just, and rather partial to the British side, partly from flattery, and partly from their being sensible that they never before were under the protection of a people so humane, just, and powerful. The place is dreadfully infested by tigers, especially the fort, which occupies a large rocky hill, capable of a very tedious defence, even without any assistance from art. Several Bramins reside near the summit, for the place is reputed holy; but it is kept in a very slovenly state. It is plentifully supplied with water from several large cavities, or chasms, in the rock, which receive the rain, and by their coolness prevent its sudden evaporation.'

Our author stayed 10 days at Bangalore. The trade of this place was formerly great, and its manufactures numerous. Tippoo began its misfortunes by prohibiting the trade with the dominions of Arcot and Hyderabad, because he detested the powers governing both countries. He then sent large quantities of goods, which he forced the merchants to take at a high rate. These oppressions had greatly injured the place; but it was still populous, and many individuals were rich, when lord Cornwallis arrived before it, with his army in great distress for want of provisions. This reduced him to the necessity of giving assault immediately, and the town was of course plundered. The rich inhabitants had previously removed their most valuable effects into the fort; but these too fell a prey to the invaders, when that citadel also was taken by storm. After the English left the place, Tippoo encouraged the inhabitants to come back, and by promises allured them to collect together the wrecks of their fortunes, from the different places to which these had been conveyed. No sooner had he effected this, than, under pretence of their



having been friendly to the English, he surrounded the place with troops, and fleeced the inhabitants, till even the women were obliged to part with their most trifling ornaments. He then kept them shut up within a hedge, which surrounded the town at the distance of a *cross*, till the advance of the army under general Harris made the guard withdraw. The inhabitants, not knowing whom to trust, immediately dispersed, and for some months the place continued deserted. The people, however, are now flocking to it from all quarters; and although there are few rich individuals, trade and manufactures increase apace; and the imports and exports are estimated already to amount to one-fourth of what they were in its most flourishing state. The manufacturers and petty traders are still very distrustful and timid; but the merchants, many of whom have been at Madras, and are acquainted with British policy, seem to have the utmost confidence in the protection of our government.

The trade of the country not having been yet opened a year since the inhabitants had deserted the place, no proper estimate can be formed of the quantity of exports and imports; but it is on the increase every month, and is now about one-fourth of the quantity that was exported and imported in the most flourishing time of Hyder's government. The son of the person who had then charge of the custom-house, states the following particulars of the trade at that period. In one year there were imported 1,500 bullock loads of cotton wool; 50 bullock loads of cotton thread; 230 bullock loads raw silk; 7,000 bullock loads of salt; foreign goods from Madras 300 bullock loads. At the same time were exported of betle-nut 4,000 bullock loads, and of pepper 400 bullock loads.

From the quantity of the raw materials some estimate may be formed of the extent of the manufactures: 1,500 bullock loads of cotton wool, and 50 of cotton thread, make rather more than 5,100 cwt. weight, worth about 8,160*l.* and 230 bullock loads of raw silk make 47,437½ lb. worth about 27,000*l.*

The cloths here being entirely for country use, and never having been exported to Europe, are made of different sizes,

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to adapt them to the dress of the natives; and the Hindoos seldom use tailors, but wrap round their bodies the cloth, as it comes from the weaver.

The *puttuegars*, or silk-weavers, make cloth of a very rich, strong fabric. The patterns for the various kinds of dresses are similar to each other; but are very much varied by the different colours employed, and the different figures woven in the cloth; for they rarely consist of plain work. Each pattern has an appropriate name, and, for the common sale, is wrought of three different degrees of fineness. If any person chooses to commission them, whatever parts of the pattern he likes may be wrought in gold thread; but as this greatly enhances the value, such cloths are never wrought, except when commissioned. The fabric of the cloth for wrapping round the heads and shoulders of the men is also strong and rich; but the figures resemble those on the shawls of *Cashemire*. Turbans are made of a thin fabric of cotton and silk.

The only year in use above the Ghats is the *chandra-manam*, or lunar year; it is that by which, among the Bramins, all religious ceremonies are performed. Although, in common reckoning, the day begins at sun-rise, yet this is by no means the case in the *chandra-manam* almanac. Some days last only a few hours, and others continue for almost double the natural length; so that no one, without consulting the *panchanga*, or almanac keeper, knows when he is to perform the ceremonies of religion. What increases the difficulty is, that some days are doubled, and some days altogether omitted, in order to bring some feasts, celebrated on certain days of the month, to happen at a proper time of the moon, and also in order to cut off six superfluous days, which 12 months of 30 days would give more than a year of 12 lunations. Every 30th month one intercalary moon is added, in order to remove the difference between the lunar and solar years. As the former is the only one in use, and is varying continually, none of the farmers, without consulting the *panchanga*, know the season for performing the operations of agriculture.

These *panchangas* are poor ignorant Bramins, who get almanacs from some one skilled in astronomy. This person

marks the days, which correspond with the times in the solar year, that usually produce changes in the weather, and states them to be under the influence of such and such conjunctions of stars, male, female, and neuter; and every one knows the tendency of these conjunctions to produce certain changes in the weather. The poor panchangas are as much in the dark as their neighbours, and actually believe that the year consists of 360 days, six of which are lost, nobody can tell how. As for the skill in astrology by which the learned are supposed to be able to foretel the seasons, 'I have never met,' says our traveller, 'with even a *Vaidika* Bramin, that doubted its existence.' It is, however, looked upon as a common science, as not having any thing miraculous in it, nor being communicated to its professors by divine favour.

Here our author describes the various customs of different *casts*. Amongst these the *Coramas* deserve notice. They are a set of people considered by the Bramins of an impure or mixed breed. They make baskets, and trade in grain and salt to a considerable extent; but none of them can read or write. They live, in general, in small camps of moveable huts, which are sometimes stationary near large towns; but they are often in a state of daily motion, while the people are following their mercantile concerns. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and purchase them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of *finams*, which are to be paid by instalments, as they can be procured by the young woman's industry; for the women of this cast are very diligent in spinning, and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four sheep, and some country rum, and gives a feast to the cast; concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride. Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himself with giving her a beating, as she is too valuable to be parted with on slight grounds; but, if he chooses, she may be divorced. In this case, he must assemble the cast to a feast, where he publicly declares his resolution; and the woman is then at liberty to marry any person that she chooses, who is willing to take her.

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The Coramas do not follow nor employ the Bramins; nor have they any priests, or sacred order. When in distress, they chiefly invoke *Vencaty Ramana*, the *Tripathi Vishu*, and vow small offerings of money to his temple, should they escape. They frequently go into the woods, and sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and sheep, to *Muni*, who is a male deity, and is said by the Bramins to be a servant of *Iswara*; but of this circumstance the Coramas profess ignorance. They, as usual, eat the sacrifices. They have no images, nor do they worship any.

The *Madigas* are looked upon as a very low cast. They dress hides, make shoes, and some of them cultivate the ground, acting as servants to the farmers. They are divided into small tribes of 10 or 12 houses, and intermarry with the daughters of these houses only, in order to be certain of the purity of their race; of which they seem to be as fond, as those casts that are esteemed infinitely superior in rank. Some of the richer among them take two or more wives; but this is not common, as a girl's father requires from 30 to 80 *fanams* (1l. 0s. 1½d.—2l. 13s. 8½d). They never divorce their wives for any crime, except adultery. They eat carrion, and all manner of animal food, and avowedly drink spirituous liquors.

The people who are called *Chitrakaru* make chests, trunks, scrutoires, beds, palanquins, paint houses, draw pictures of the gods and of women, gild, act as tailors, make gold thread, and sword scabbards, turn wood, and bind books. They never cultivate the ground, nor act as merchants. They pretend to be of the *Kshatriya* cast; and their Guru, in consequence, indulges them with a thread like that of the Bramins; but their pretensions to high rank are entirely disavowed by all other casts. They have among them some rudiments of learning.

The *Chitrakaru* are divided into two sects. Neither division of these people eat animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed plurality of women, but do not confine them. Like all the other tribes of this country, however, they do not willingly admit any person of a different race into the inner apartments of their houses; especially if he be of a cast that

they consider as inferior to their own; persons of their own tribe, and those whom they consider as of higher rank, can go into every part of their house, except the kitchen. The circumstances which seem chiefly to add dignity to a cast are, its being restricted from the pleasures of the world, especially those of the table; the following no useful employment; and the being dedicated to what they call piety and learning. Almost every man endeavours, as much as possible, to assume at least the external appearance of these qualifications; and in the people of this country a hypocritical cant is a remarkable feature. Even young men of active professions, when talking on business, will frequently turn up their eyes to heaven, and make pious ejaculations, attended with heavy sighs.

The *Bheri* are a kind of merchants, who deal in drugs, grain, cloth, and money, and travel about in caravans. Some of them are farmers; but they never cultivate the ground with their own hands; nor do they ever follow any mechanical profession. They are divided by religion into two sects, that do not eat together, nor intermarry; and each has its own hereditary chief, who acts independently as to matters of ceremony; but in matters of a civil nature, the chief of the sect that is most numerous in the place assumes the sole authority. These chiefs are called *ijyamana*, and possess the usual jurisdiction; but are not indulged with any immunities from taxes. When a man wants to marry, he goes to his hereditary chief, as is indeed usual with all the higher casts, presents him with betle, and discloses his intention. The chief sends for the father of the girl, and endeavours to bring the matter to a favourable conclusion. As for the girl, she is not at all consulted, and is indeed too young to have formed any attachments, as she must be married before any signs of puberty appear; for afterwards she is considered as being deflowered, and incapable of marriage. Owing to the custom of polygamy, however, very few of the women in this country live in a state of celibacy, except young widows of the higher casts, who never can marry again, and who are very numerous; for matches between old men and mere children are common. The comfort of having children, however, is, in general, all

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the pleasure that married women of rank in India enjoy. Where polygamy prevails, love is little known; or if it does possess a man, he is generally captivated by some artful dancing girl, and not by any of his wives; all of whom were married before they could either excite or feel that passion.

The *Palliwanlu* worship *Dharma Raja*. He is a beneficent deity, abhorring blood; and is worshipped by offerings of fruit, flowers, and the like. They have temples of this god attended by *pujaris* of their own cast. Like all the other inhabitants of this country, they are much addicted to the worship of the *saktis*, or destructive powers; and endeavour to avert their wrath by bloody sacrifices. These are performed by cutting off the animal's head before the door of the temple, and invoking the deity to partake of the sacrifice. There is no altar, nor is the blood sprinkled on the image; and the body serves the votaries for a feast.

Our author, after leaving Bangalore, fell in with a learned Bramin, who reluctantly gave the following account of his faith. 'He believes,' says he, 'in a supreme god called *Narayana*, or *Para Brahma*, from whence proceeded *Siva*, *Vishnu*, and *Brahma*; which still, however, are all the same god. His sect pray to *Siva* and *Vishnu*, with many of their wives, children, and attendants, among whom are the *saktis*, or destructive powers. *Siva*, however, is the principal object of their worship; for they consider him as the most powerful mediator with *Narayana*, who is rather too much elevated to attend to their personal requests. They abhor bloody sacrifices; but do not apprehend their followers, of the *Sudra* cast, for using that manner of worship. They say, that it is the custom of the *Sudras*; and that what these low people do is of little or no consequence. When a good Bramin dies, his spirit is united to God; but a bad one is first punished in a purgatory, and then by passing through various other lives, as an animal, or as a person of some of the low casts, till at last he becomes a Bramin, and has another opportunity by his good works of gaining heaven.'

The faults that occasion a loss of cast amongst the higher sects of priests, and for which no pardon can be given, are,



—I. Sexual intercourse within the prohibited degree of consanguinity. II. Sexual intercourse with any prohibited cast. III. Eating forbidden food, or drinking intoxicating liquors. IV. Stealing. V. Slaying of any animal of the cow kind, or of the human species; but a Bramin is permitted to kill his enemy in battle. VI. Eating in company with persons of another cast, or of food dressed by their impure hands. VII. Eating on board a ship food that has been dressed there. VIII. Omitting to perform the ceremonies due to their deceased parents. For smaller offences, the Guru or his deputies punish in various ways; by commanding pilgrimages, or fasts; by fines; by holding burning straw to the body of the delinquent, which is sometimes done with such severity as to occasion death; by shaving the head, so as to occasion a temporary separation from the cast; and by giving large draughts of cow's urine, which is supposed to have the power of washing away sin. Ordeals are also in use; and a most barbarous one is applied to those who, having had sexual intercourse with a person of another cast, alledge that it was by mistake. If the criminal be a woman, melted lead is poured into her private parts; if it be a man, a red hot iron is thrust up. Should they be innocent, it is supposed that they will not be injured. A male Bramin, however, even if married, may with impunity have connexion with a dancing girl, all of whom in this country are dedicated to the service of some temple.

There is a numerous tribe called the *Woddas*. They dig canals, wells, and tanks; build dams and reservoirs; make roads; and trade in salt and grain. Some of them are farmers, but they never hire themselves out as *batigaru*, or servants employed in agriculture. Some of them build mud houses; but this is not a proper occupation for persons of their cast. The old and infirm live in huts near villages, and dig and repair tanks, or wells, or perform other such labour; while the vigorous youth of both sexes travel about in caravans with oxen and asses, in pursuit of trade. In these caravans they carry with them all their infants, and their huts, which latter consist of a few sticks and mats. They follow armies to

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supply them with grain, and in the time of peace take to the lower Carnatic grain, *jagory*, and tamarinds, and bring up salt. In Hyder's government they were very numerous; but, having been forced by Tippoo to work at his forts without adequate pay, a great number of them retired to other countries. As they are a very useful set of people, they are now encouraged, and are fast returning. There are no distinctions among them that prevent intermarriages, or eating in common. They eat fowls, sheep, goats, swine, rats, and fish; but reject carrion. They are allowed to take all manner of things that intoxicate, and are in fact much addicted to spirituous liquors. They marry as many wives as they can get, and the women seem to be more numerous than the men, as no person is without one wife, and the generality have two; several go so far as eight. A man is, in general, more restricted from taking many wives by the expense of the ceremony, than by any difficulty in supporting the family; as the women are so industrious, that the more wives he can get, the more he lives at his ease. A lazy woman is immediately divorced by her husband; but, if she can find a man willing to take her, she is at liberty to marry again. The girls continue marriageable from seven years of age, until their death; and a widow is not prevented from taking another husband. Formerly when the cast was richer, a man gave a hundred fanams (3*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*) to the parents of the girl whom he wanted to marry; but this is now reduced to two fanams (1*s.* 4*d.*) to the father, a piece of cloth to the mother, and an hundred cocoa-nuts as emblematical of the original price. The marriages are made in an assembly of the tribe; and the ceremony consists in the bridegroom and bride walking thrice round a stake, which is erected for the purpose. Next morning they give another feast, and present the company with betle. The astrologer does not attend, nor are there any prayers read on the occasion. In case of adultery, the custom of the cast is to put the woman to death; but this severity is not always used. In case of a man's treating his wife very harshly, she may retire to her mother's house, and live there; but, without his consenting to divorce her, she cannot marry

again. The custom of the east is to bury the dead; and, although the women are very harshly used by their husbands while drunk, and although widows are not prevented from marrying again, yet it is said, that perhaps one widow in a hundred throws herself into a pit filled with fire, and burns herself near the grave of her husband. The Bramins do not officiate at funerals; but on those occasions money is distributed among them and other mendicants.

The *Whallias* are also a remarkable class of people. Like the Bramins, the *Whallias* of all nations can eat together; but two persons of different countries never intermarry. Although this cast be looked upon as the very lowest of all others, they are desirous of keeping up the purity of the breed; and never marry but with the daughters of families, with whose descent, from long vicinity, they are well acquainted. Like the *Sudra*, they are divided into several ranks that do not intermarry. The *Whalliaru*, or *Whallias*, are not permitted to build their huts within the walls of towns or villages; but, if there be any hedge, they generally inhabit between it and the ditch. In very large places their huts form streets, and into these a Bramin will not deign to put his foot; nor in a place so impure will a *Sudra* build his house; in like manner as a Bramin is very unwilling to occupy a house in a street which the *Sudra* inhabit. A Bramin, if he is touched by a *Whallia*, must wash his head, and get a new thread; and a *Sudra* who has been similarly defiled, is obliged to wash his head. A Bramin of this country will not give any thing out of his hand to persons of lower birth, of whom he is not afraid; but throws it down on the ground for them to take up. He will receive any thing from the hand of a person of a pure descent; but when a *Whallia* delivers any thing to a Bramin, he must lay it on the ground, and retire to a proper distance, before the Bramin will deign to approach. Europeans, from their eating beef, are looked upon by the natives here as a kind of *Whalliaru*; and nothing but the fear of correction prevents them from being treated with the same insolence.

Another tribe in the south of India called *Morasu*, have their temple at *Sitibutta*, near *Calanore*. The place being

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very dark, and the votaries being admitted no farther than the door, they are not sure of the form of the image; but believe, that it represents a man on horseback. The god is supposed to be one of the destroying powers, and his wrath is appeased by bloody sacrifices. The throats of goats and sheep are cut before the door of the temple as sacrifices, and the flesh is boiled for a feast to the votaries. In this the priest, or *pujari*, never partakes. He is a *Satanana*, and worships the god by offerings of flowers and fruit. He, as usual, consecrates water by pouring it upon the head of the image, and afterwards sells it to the votaries. At this temple a very singular offering is made. When a woman is from 15 to 20 years of age, and has borne some children, terrified lest the angry deity should deprive her of her infants, she goes to the temple, and, as an offering to appease his wrath, cuts off one of her fingers of the right hand.

The *Tricoveluru Satanana*, in order to procure worldly enjoyment, act as schoolmasters to instruct the youth in the reading and writing, both of Sanscrit and of the vulgar languages; and also in music, both vocal and instrumental. Some also, who are rich, become farmers. The proper manner, however, in which they ought to subsist, is by begging; and by this rejection of worldly enjoyment, like the Bramins, they expect in a future state to obtain a high reward. They intermarry, and eat among one another, without any distinction of family, learning, or profession. Those who serve in temples, and who are thence called *Coil*, on account of their assumed superiority, take the name of *Pratama Satanana*. They say, that their proper office is that of *pujari* in the temples of *Vishnu*, and of the gods of his family. The *puja* consists in chaunting some prayers, and pouring some water over the head of the image, and thus making what they call holy water; which is distributed among the people to drink, and to pour on their heads when they pray. As the image is always well rubbed with oil, the water impregnated with this forms no pleasant beverage; but that renders the drinking of it more meritorious. They and the Bramins who are in the service of the temple are the only persons that may

touch the image; they therefore perform all the menial offices about the shrine, and place the images on their chariots, or beasts of carriage, when they are going in procession. The Sudra are only permitted to drag the ropes by which the carriage is drawn.

*Chinna Balabaram* was formerly a mart of great importance. The place was frequently laid under contributions by Hyder, which induced several of the merchants to withdraw. They were soon after entirely dispersed by Tippoo; but he added much to the ornament and strength of the fort. On the arrival of lord Cornwallis the rajah was reinstated; and, after the retreat of the British army, like the other *Polygars* who had been restored to their countries, he refused submission to Tippoo. Ishmael Khan, the father of one of the sultan's wives, was sent with an army to reduce them. In besieging one of the forts he met with considerable loss; and it was only from its ammunition having been exhausted, that the place surrendered. It is said, that the garrison, consisting of 700 men, obtained terms of capitulation, which were not observed; the chief officers were hanged, and every soldier had either a hand or a leg cut off with the large knife used by the *Madigaru*, who in this country are the dressers of leather: the only favour shown to the garrison was the choice of the limb that was to be amputated. A similar punishment was at the same time inflicted on 700 of the neighbouring farmers, who had occasionally stolen into the place, and assisted in its defence. As they had no means of stopping the hemorrhage, except by applying rags dipped in boiled oil; and as many were too poor, and the greater part, on such an occasion, too friendless to procure assistance, a small proportion of these poor wretches survived. 'Some of them,' says our traveller, 'are here now, and subsist by begging; and the messenger of Purnea, who attends me, was present at the execution, as one of Tippoo's soldiers.' This barbarous punishment had, however, the desired effect; and every *Polygar* instantly quitted the country. The town is now beginning to revive; and our author was informed, that both it and the country round are more populous, and better cultivated, than they were

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under Tippoo's government; the vicinity of the nizam's dominions affording excellent means of obtaining a supply of inhabitants.

The *Pacanat Jogies* is a tribe that is scattered over all India. The proper business of this cast is the collecting, preparing, selling, and exhibiting of the plants used in medicine. They are very poor, and go about the street, each crying out the names of certain diseases, for which he pretends to have a powerful specific. These virtuous men, after death, are supposed to become a kind of gods, and frequently to inspire the living; which makes them speak incoherently, and enables them to foretel the event of diseases. Medicine, in this country, has indeed fallen into the hands of charlatans equally impudent and ignorant. Such of the *Jangalu* (the name of this cast in their own language) as are too lazy and unskilled to practise physic, live entirely by begging. In whatever country they have settled, they can all, without distinction, intermarry; which by their neighbours is looked upon as a great indecency, and as subversive of the purity of cast. They keep as many wives as they can; and never divorce them, adultery being either unknown, or not noticed. They do not marry their girls till after the age of puberty. A widow cannot take a second husband; but she is not expected to bury herself with the body of her husband. They can lawfully eat sheep, goats, hogs, fowls, and fish; and intoxicate themselves with spirituous liquors, opium, and hemp. They have moveable huts, which they pitch on the outside of towns, and wander about the country, selling and collecting their drugs. Asses are their beasts of burthen. They have no hereditary chiefs, but follow the advice of old men, who have, however, no power of excommunication.

'The sugar-candy made here,' observes our author, 'is equal to the Chinese, and the clayed sugar is very white and fine. The art was introduced by the sultan at Seringapatam, but was kept secret. Two Bramins, however, of this place, obtained a knowledge of the art; but they also are determined to keep it a secret. The price at which they sell it totally precludes it from extensive sale; as the Chinese sugar-candy



is now sold at Seringapatam, cheaper than the fine sugar-candy of this place is sold on the spot. In Tippoo's reign the prohibition of commerce with the lower Carnatic made the manufacture of importance.

The country in this neighbourhood has suffered much from frequent wars and bad government. The hill forts are the only places where merchants can associate with any degree of safety. Every village is fortified so as to repel the attacks of robbers, which is generally effected by throwing stones. These are hurled by both sexes with equal boldness and dexterity, and is the means of inspiring confidence in the wretched farmers and mechanics of this unfortunate country.

'Although almost every year,' says Buchanan, 'the scarcity of rain, and the partial nature of that which comes, occasions in some part of the country above the Ghats a greater or less scarcity of grain; yet in the time of peace, famine seldom comes to such a height, that many die of absolute want. From those parts of the country that have been most favoured with rain, the superfluous corn is transported to the parts where the crop has failed; and although it is high priced, the poor are able to get as much as prevents them from immediately dying; although the scantiness of their aliment, no doubt, frequently induces disorders that terminate in death. It is said, that one fourth of the grain which, in times of plenty, the people usually consume, is sufficient to keep them alive, and enable them to work for their subsistence. —It is when war is joined to scarcity, and interrupts the transportation of grain, that famine produces all its horrors. These were never so severely felt here, as during the invasion of lord Cornwallis; when, the country being attacked on all sides, and penetrated in every direction by hostile armies, or by defending ones little less destructive, one half at least of the inhabitants perished of absolute want, and repaid dearly for the miseries which they had formerly inflicted on the wretched people of the lower Carnatic. I do not mean, by this, to reflect on the noble leader of the British army: the people, every where that it came, seem sensible that he avoided, as much as was practicable, doing them any injury.'

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In this country, the cow keepers with their families live in small villages near the skirts of the woods, where they cultivate a little ground, and keep some of their cattle, selling in the towns the produce of the dairy. Their families are very numerous, seven or eight young men in each being common. Two or three of these attend the flocks in the woods, while the remainder cultivate their fields, and supply the towns with fire-wood, and with straw for thatch. Some of them also hire themselves to the farmers as servants. They are a very dirty people, much worse than even the generality of the people of *Karnata*; for they wear no clothing but a blanket, and generally sleep among the cattle; which, joined to a warm climate, and rare ablutions, with vermin, itch, ring-worms, and other cutaneous disorders, render them very offensive.

The men who act as breeders have no fire-arms, the report of which would terrify the cattle; and for driving away the tiger, they trust to the noise which they and their dogs make. They are also much distressed by robbers, who kill or carry away the sheep and goats; but unless it be a numerous rabble that call themselves the army of a Polygar, no thieves can annoy their black cattle; for these are too unruly to be driven by any persons but their keepers, and the most hardened villain would not dare to slaughter an animal of this sacred species.

The cattle are milked by the men, who carry the produce home to the women; for they prepare the butter. The milk, on its arrival, is immediately boiled for at least one hour; but two or three are reckoned better. The earthen pots, in which this is done, are in general so nasty, that after this operation no part of the produce of the dairy is tolerable to an European; and whatever they use, their own servants must prepare. The natives never use raw milk, alleging that it has no flavour. The boiled milk, that the family has not used, is allowed to cool in the same vessel; and a little of the former days *tyre*, or curdled milk, is added to promote its coagulation, and the acid fermentation. Next morning it has become *tyre*, or coagulated acid milk. From the top of each potful, five or

six inches of the tyre are taken, and put into an earthen jar, where it is churned by turning round in it a split bamboo. This is done very expertly by a rope, which, like that of a turner's lathe, is passed two or three times round the bamboo, and a quick motion in contrary directions is given by pulling first one end of the rope, and then the other. After half an hour's churning, some hot water is added, and the operation is repeated for about half an hour more; when the butter forms. The natives never use butter; but prefer, what is called *ghee*, not only as that keeps better, but also as it has more taste and smell. In order to collect a quantity sufficient for making *ghee*, the butter is often kept two or three days; and in that time a warm climate renders it highly rancid. When a sufficient quantity has been collected, it is melted in an earthen pot, and boiled until all the water mixed with the butter has evaporated. It is then taken from the fire; and a little tyre and salt, or betle-leaf and reddle, are added. It is kept in pots, has a very strong smell, and best preserved from spoiling by a little tamarind and salt, which at any rate enters into the dishes of all the natives that can afford to use *ghee*. It is eaten when even a year old.

At a town called *Gubi*, our author found it in great disorder, on account of a dispute between two sects. 'Both parties,' says he, 'are extremely violent and obstinate; for in defence of its conduct neither party has any thing like reason to advance. If justice be done, both sides will complain of partiality, and murmurs are now current about the necessity of killing a jack-ass in the street. This may be considered as a slight matter; but it is not so, for it would be attended by the immediate destruction of the place. There is not a Hindoo in Karnata that would remain another night in it, unless by compulsion. Even the adversaries of the party who killed the ass would think themselves bound in honour to fly. This singular custom seems to be one of the resources, upon which the natives have fallen to resist arbitrary oppression; and may be had recourse to, whenever the government infringes, or is considered to have infringed upon the customs of any cast. It is of no avail against any other kind of oppression.'

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At a village called *Madana Mada*, our traveller in the night was awaked by a prodigious noise, 'which,' says he, 'was at some distance from my tents. On inquiry of the sentry, I was told, that there was no one near except himself; every other person having gone into the village as soon as the uproar commenced. I lay for some hours in great uneasiness, supposing that my people had quarrelled with the natives; but, it being a rainy night, I did not venture out, and was unwilling to part with the sentry. Soon after all was quiet, and the people returned. In the morning my interpreter told me with a good deal of exultation, that one of the cattle drivers had been possessed by a *pysachi*, or evil spirit, and had been for some time senseless, and foaming at the mouth. On this occasion the whole people, mussulmans and pagans, had assembled; and, in hopes of frightening away the devil, had made all the noise that they could: but he had continued obstinately to keep possession, till the arrival of the Bramin, who, having thrown some consecrated ashes on the man, and offered up the prayers proper for the occasion, at length procured a release. The interpreter, I suspect, made the most of his story, in order to remove my infidelity; as the day before I had refused my assent to believe, that certain *mantrams* (or prayers) pronounced by a Bramin could compel the gods to be present in whatever place he chose. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the poor cattle-driver was subject to the epilepsy, the recurrence of which this night had, I believe, been occasioned by a violent paroxysm of intoxication, in which the whole party had been so deeply engaged, that until morning I could not get a man to tie up the baggage.'

Another town visited by Dr. Buchanan, was, he informs us, plundered by *Purseram Bhow*, when he was going to join lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam; but at that time he obtained very little, the inhabitants having hidden their most valuable effects, and withdrawn into the hilly country. When the Marattah army retired to *Sira*, they sent to the inhabitants assurances of protection, and began by making small daily distributions of charity to the Bramins. By this means they inveigled back a considerable number of the inhabitants; and

no sooner had they got the leading men into their power, than they put them to the torture, until the wretched men discovered where their effects were hid, and thus they procured 500,000 rupees. During the remainder of Tippoo's reign the place continued languishing, the inhabitants of 300 houses only having ventured back.

The monkies and squirrels are very destructive, but it is reckoned criminal to kill either of them. They are under the immediate protection of the *Daseris*, who assemble round any person guilty of this offence, and allow him no rest, until he bestows on the animal a funeral, that will cost from 100 to 200 fanams, according to the number of *Desaris* that have assembled. The proprietors of the gardens used formerly to hire a particular class of men, who took these animals in nets, and then by stealth conveyed them into the gardens of some distant village; but, as the people there had recourse to the same means, all parties have become tired of this practice. If any person freed the poor people by killing these mischievous vermin, they would think themselves bound in decency to make a clamour; but inwardly they would be very well pleased; 'and the government,' says Buchanan, 'might do it, by hiring men whose consciences would not suffer by the action, and who might be repaid by a small tax on the proprietors.'

'In this country,' our author observes, 'one half of the cattle died last year of the epidemic distemper. There was plenty of forage. The people have not suffered from famine since the invasion of the country by lord Cornwallis; but on that occasion their misery was terrible. On the approach of the British army, the sultan laid waste the whole country between this and the capital, and forced the inhabitants of the open country to retire to the hills, where they built huts, and procured provisions in the best manner that they could; no steps having been taken by their prince to obviate the famine likely to ensue. They were chiefly supported by the grain of the small villages that are hid among the hills and woods, and which it was not thought necessary to destroy. A large proportion, however, perished of hunger, or of the diseases

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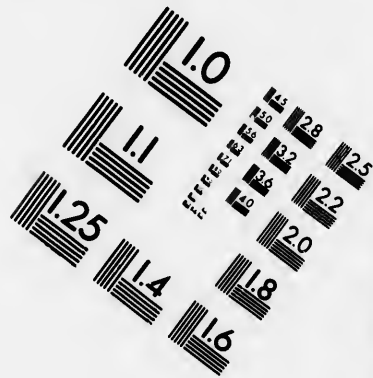
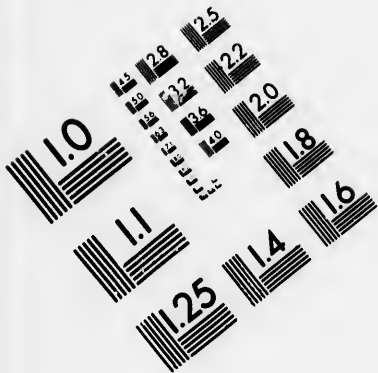
following too scanty a diet; and in the whole *Nagamangala* country, of which this forms a part, one half of the inhabitants are now wanting, although they have had eight years to recover. This is the calculation of the officers of government. To judge from the desolation that I see around me, I should conclude the loss to have been greater.'

Dr. Buchanan having returned to Seringapatam, set off again on a journey through the part of Karnata south from the Cavery. This fine country is in a most wretched state. 'Owing to the devastation of war,' says he, 'the people near *Priya-pattana* are at present so poor, that they are cutting off the unripe ears of corn, and parching them to satisfy the cravings of appetite. Before the invasion of the Bombay army under general Abercromby, the poorest farmer had two ploughs; some rich men had 15; and men who had from 8 to 10 were reckoned in moderate circumstances. A man who had two ploughs would keep 40 oxen young and old, 50 cows, two or three male buffaloes, four females, and 100 sheep or goats. A rich man would have 200 cows, and other cattle in proportion. One plough can cultivate 10 *colagas* of rice-land, and 5 *colagas* of *ragy*-field; altogether a little less than 4 acres. This is too small an allowance; and the farmers seem to under-rate the extent of a plough of land, as much as they exaggerate their former affluence. They pretend that the officers of government are forcing them to cultivate more than their stock could do properly, by which means their crops are rendered poor. The officers deny the charge, and say, that since Tippoo's death this has not been practised. In Indian governments, however, it is a common usage.'

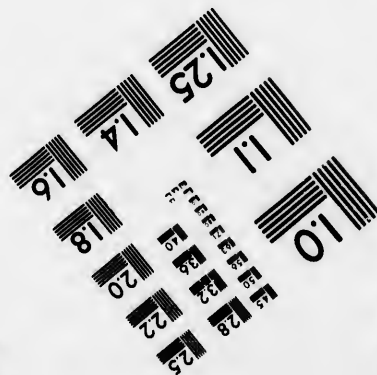
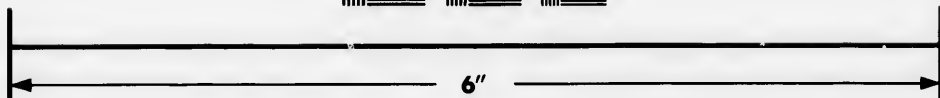
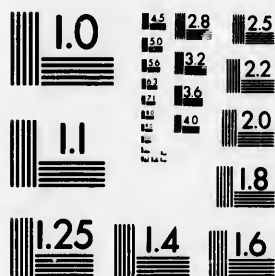
The woods in this part of the country abound with elephants. The natives, when they meet an elephant in the day time, hide themselves in the grass, or behind bushes, and the animal does not search after them; but were he to see them, even at a distance, he would run at them, and put them to death. It is stragglers only from the herds, that in the day time frequent the outer parts of the forest. The herds that at night destroy the crops, retire with the dawn of day into







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the recesses of the forest; and thither the natives do not venture, as they could not hide themselves from a number.

The forest is free from underwood or creepers; but the whole ground is covered with long grass, often as high as a man's head. 'This makes walking,' says our traveller, 'rather disagreeable and dangerous, as one is always liable to stumble over rotten trunks, to rouse a tiger, or to tread on a snake. These latter are said to be found of great dimensions, and have been seen as thick as the body of a middle-sized man. The length of this kind is not in proportion to the thickness, and does not exceed seven cubits. Although I passed a great part of these three days in the forest, I saw neither elephant, tiger, nor serpent, and escaped without any other injury than a fall over a rotten tree.'

The *Toreas* are a kind of the cast called *Besta* that in the southern parts of Mysore are very numerous. They cultivate the fields, and gardens of betle-leaf, arcca, and kitchen herbs; and act as ferrymen, armed messengers, palanquin-bearers, burners of lime, fishermen, and porters. They have no hereditary chiefs; but government appoints a renter, who collects four or five old men of the tribe, and by their advice settles all disputes; and by fines, laid on with their consent, punishes all transgressions against the rules of cast. The renter must always be a *Torea*, and he agrees to pay annually a certain sum. If the members of the cast behave themselves properly, he must pay this sum out of his own pocket; but this is seldom the case: the *Toreas* are apt to be irregular; and the fines which he levies, after paying the rent, leave in general a considerable profit, although they cannot be considered as heavy. They are as follow: for fighting, half a fanam, or 4*d.*; for scolding, half a fanam; for committing adultery with another man's wife, two fanams and a quarter; and for having a wife that chooses to commit adultery, one fanam and a half. If the husband prefer giving up his wife to her seducer, he avoids the fine, which is then paid by the guilty man: but, as the women are bought by their husbands, the men are very unwilling to part with them, especially if they be good workers. The men buy as many wives as they can; for the women are

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very industrious, and assist even to support their husbands. A virgin costs 30 fanams, and a widow from 10 to 15. Both of these sums are given to the women's parents or relations. A Toreia who has connection with a woman of higher rank is flogged, but not fined. If a man of higher rank corrupts the wife of a Toreia, and the husband should choose to part with her, he may pay a shilling to the renter and keep her. The widows, or adulteresses, that live with a second man, are called *cutigas*; but their children are perfectly legitimate.

The *Cavery* is a fine large and deep river, flowing with a gentle stream about a quarter of a mile in width. In the hot season it is fordable; but after heavy rains it rises above its present level 10 or 12 feet perpendicular, and then its channel is completely filled.

The only ferry-boats on this large river,' says our traveller, 'are what are called *donies*, or baskets of a circular form, 8 or 10 feet in diameter, and covered with leather. They transport with tolerable safety men and goods; but cattle must swim, which is both a fatiguing and a dangerous enterprise. Bamboo floats provided with a hawser, so as to form flying bridges, would make an excellent and cheap conveyance.'

In some parts of Mysore they consider the ox as a living god, who gives them their bread; and in every village there are one or two bulls, to whom weekly or monthly worship is performed; and when one of these bulls dies, he is burned with great ceremony. These objects of worship are by no means Sannyasis, but serve to propagate the species. When a woman of the sacred cast has not a child, she purchases a young bull, carries him to the temple, where some ceremonies are performed; and ever afterwards he is allowed to range about at pleasure, and becomes one of these village gods. The Bramins, however, abstain from the absurd worship of these animals, although they are considered as possessed of a Bramin's soul.

In Tippoo's government the farmers were ordered to pay for the whole lands, whether they were cultivated or not; but a small part only reached the treasury. In order to prevent the people from complaining, small balances were allowed to

remain in their hands, while in the public accounts a very large proportion of the nominal revenue was stated to be outstanding, owing to bad seasons, the desolations of war, or other pretences; and, whatever was not allowed to remain with the farmers was embezzled by the officers of government. These, however, did not enjoy in quiet their ill-gotten wealth. They were in constant terror; and, in order to prevent information, were obliged to give very high bribes to Meer Saduc, and to officers who were sent round to inspect the state of the country. The illicit gains of even this description of officers did not enrich them. They were all Bramins, and spent the whole of their money on dancing-girls, and in what they called charity, that is, money given to men reputed holy.

Dr. Buchanan next arrived at Coimbetore. 'For some time before and after,' says he, 'the accession of Hyder, it was governed by a person named *Madana*, who enjoyed his office 40 years, and was a *lingabunt* (one who wears the *linga*). He built a house here, which by the natives is called a palace, and is considered as an immense work. It certainly is abundantly large; but it is a clumsy, inconvenient pile of mud; and at present serves as a barrack for the officer commanding a regiment of cavalry, who is very indifferently lodged. In the government of Madana the place was very flourishing. It suffered much by the subsequent wars; and about eight years ago the fort was destroyed by the late sultan. Since it fell into the hands of the English, and especially since it became the quarters of a regiment of cavalry, the town has recovered considerably; and it now contains 2,000 houses, which is about 5-8ths of what it contained under Hyder's government. It has a tolerable mosque, built by Tippoo, who sometimes resided in the palace; but it has no large temple. Here I was most kindly received by the officers of the regiment, as indeed I was almost every where during my journey; for English hospitality is in no part of the world more eminently distinguished, than among the officers serving under the government of Madras.'

In the south of Hindostan dancing women and their musicians 'form,' says our author, 'a separate kind of cast;

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and a certain number of them are attached to every temple of any consequence. The allowances which the musicians receive for their public duty is very small; yet morning and evening they are bound to attend at the temple to perform before the image. They must also receive every person travelling on account of the government, meet him at some distance from the town, and conduct him to his quarters with music and dancing. All the handsome girls are instructed to dance and sing, and are all prostitutes, at least to the Bramins. In ordinary sets they are quite common; but, under the company's government, those attached to temples of extraordinary sanctity are reserved entirely for the use of the native officers, who are all Bramins, and who would turn out from the set any girl that profaned herself by communication with persons of low cast, or of no cast at all, such as Christians and mussulmans. Indeed, almost every one of these girls that is tolerably sightly is taken by some officer of revenue for his own special use, and is seldom permitted to go to the temple, except in his presence. Most of these officers have more than one wife, and the women of the Bramins are very beautiful; but the insipidity of their conduct, from a total want of education or accomplishment, makes the dancing women be sought after by all natives with great avidity. The mussulman officers in particular were exceedingly attached to this kind of company, and lavished away on these women a great part of their incomes. The women very much regret their loss, as the mussulmans paid liberally, and the Bramins durst not presume to hinder any girl, who chose, from amusing an *asoph*, or any of his friends. The Bramins are not near so lavish of their money, especially where it is secured by the company's government, but trust to their authority for obtaining the favours of the dancers. When a Mussulman called for a set, it procured from 20 to 200 fanams (from 12s. 6d. to 6l. 4s. 9d.), according to the number and liberality of his friends who were present; for in this country it is customary for every spectator to give something. They are now seldom called upon to perform in private, except at marriages, where a set does not

get more than 10 fanams, or about 6s. 3d. The girls belonging to this cast, who are ugly, or who cannot learn to sing, are married by the musicians. The *nutua*, or person who performs on two small cymbals, is the chief of the set, and not only brings up the boys to be musicians, and instructs all the good looking girls, born in the set, to sing and dance, but will purchase handsome girls of any cast whatever that he can procure. When a dancing-girl becomes old, she is turned out from the temple without any provision, and is very destitute, unless she has a handsome daughter to succeed her; but if she has, the daughters are in general extremely attentive and kind to their aged parents. To my taste, nothing can be more silly and unanimated than the dancing of the women, nor more harsh and barbarous than their music. Some Europeans, however, from long habit, I suppose, have taken a liking to it, and have even been captivated by the women. Most of them that I have had an opportunity of seeing have been very ordinary in their looks, very inclegant in their dress, and very dirty in their persons: a large proportion of them have the itch, and a still larger proportion are more severely diseased.'

From Coimbatore Dr. Buchanan journeyed towards the south of Malabar. 'Before entering this country,' says our author, 'it may be necessary to premise, that this province is subject to the authority of three commissioners; under whom are employed a number of gentlemen, that act in their respective circles as magistrates and collectors. These officers, formerly appointed by the government of Bombay, have been lately placed under the presidency of fort St. George. With an establishment the expense of which has far exceeded the revenue, a complete protection from invaders, and a most tender regard to avoid the punishment of the innocent, it might have been expected, that this province would have been found in a situation very different from what I am compelled to represent it. No doubt, this has arisen from a lenity in punishing crimes, and an aversion to employ harsh measures to repress the turbulent, originating in a gentleness

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of disposition, however, amiable in private life, in a government often produces the utmost distress to the peaceable and industrious subject.'

'The environs of *Colangodu*,' says he, 'are very beautiful. The high mountains on the south pour down cascades of a prodigious height; and the corn fields are intermixed with lofty forests, and plantations of fruit-trees. The cultivation, however, is very poor. Most of the dry-field is neglected, and the quantity of rice-land is not great. Here the rain, without any assistance from art, is able to bring one crop of rice to maturity; and in a few places the natives have constructed small reservoirs, which enable them to have a second crop.'

In this neighbourhood, the land is so much divided, that it was a common saying, that in *Malayala* a man could not make a step, without going out of one chief's dominions into those of another. Hyder, taking advantage of these dissensions, subdued the northern part of *Malayala*, or what is now called the province of *Malabar*; while the *Kerit Ram* rajah, and *Cochi* rajah rendered all the petty chiefs of the southern part obedient to their authority. Both of them are descended from sisters of chiefs appointed by *Cheruman Permal*. The former, whom we call the rajah of *Travancore*, has always retained his independence; but the *Cochi* rajah was compelled by Tippoo to pay tribute, as he does now to the company. The violent ligotry and intolerance of Tippoo forced the greater part of the rajahs, nairs, and namburis, either to fly to *Travancore*, or to retire into the forests, and other inaccessible places. On the landing of the British army, a good many of the nairs and some of the rajahs joined it; and after the province was ceded to lord Cornwallis, the rajahs were in general placed in authority over the countries that had formerly belonged to their families; but their government having been found such, that it could not be tolerated or protected, consistent with the principles of humanity that influence Englishmen, they have in general been deprived of all authority, and are allowed 1-5th part of their country's revenue to support their dignity, which is more than any

sovereign of consequence in Europe can spare for that purpose. Some of them, however, are in actual rebellion; some are refractory, and all are undoubtedly discontented; although before the arrival of the British army they had been very wretchedly supported on the allowances which they received from the rajah of Travancore. It is alleged, that they are in some degree excusable; as promises, for corrupt purposes, were made to them by persons high in office, although perfectly unauthorised by government.

On the division of Malayala, *Pali-ghat-shery* fell to the lot of *Shekhury* rajah, of the *Kshatri* cast; but as this family invited Hyder into the country, they are considered by all the people of Malabar as having lost cast, and none of the rajahs of *Kshatrya* descent will admit them into their company. To an European the succession in this family appears very extraordinary; but it is similar to that which prevails in the families of all the chiefs of Malayala. The males of the *Shekhury* family are called *Achuns*, and never marry. The ladies are called *Naitears*, and live in the houses of their brothers, whose families they manage. They have no husbands; but are not expected to observe celibacy, and may grant their favours to any person of the *Kshatri* cast, who is not an *Achun*. All the male children of these ladies are *Achuns*, all the females are *Naitears*, and all are of equal rank according to seniority.

The *Nair* of Malayala pretends to be born to the military life; but they are of various ranks and professions. The highest rank are the *Kirum*, or *Kirit Nairs*. On all public occasions they act as cooks, which among the Hindoos is a sure mark of transcendent rank; for every person can eat the food prepared by a person of higher birth than himself. The second rank of the Nairs are called *Sudra*, although the whole are allowed, and acknowledge themselves to be of pure *Sudra* origin. These *Sudra Nairs* are farmers, officers of government, and accomptants. They never marry any girls but those of their own rank; but their women may cohabit with any of the low people, without losing cast, or their children being disgraced. When a *Nair* dies, his relations, as usual, among

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the Hindoos, are for 15 days considered unclean, and no one approaches them but the *Attacourchis*, who come on the 5th, 10th, and 15th days, and purify them by pouring over their heads a mixture of water, milk, and cow's urine. The Nairs can very generally read and write. They never presume to read portions of the writings held sacred; but have several legends in the vulgar language. They burn the dead, and suppose that good men after death go to heaven, while bad men will suffer transmigration. Those who have been charitable, that is to say, have given money to religious mendicants, will be born men; while those, who have neglected this greatest of Hindoo virtues, will be born as lower animals.

The Nairs marry before they are 10 years of age, in order that the girl may not be deflowered by the regular operations of nature; but the husband never afterwards cohabits with his wife. Such a circumstance, indeed, would be considered as very indecent. He allows her oil, clothes, ornament, and food; but she lives in her mother's house, or, after her parents' death, with her brothers, and cohabit with any person that she chooses of an equal or higher rank than her own. If detected in bestowing her favours on any low man, she becomes an outcast. It is no kind of reflection on a woman's character to say, that she has formed the closest intimacy with many persons; on the contrary, the Nair women are proud of reckoning among their favoured lovers many Bramins, rajahs, or other persons of high birth: it would not appear, however, that this want of restraint has been injurious to population. When a lover receives admission into a house, he commonly gives his mistress some ornaments, and her mother a piece of cloth; but these presents are never of such value, as to give room for supposing that the women bestow their favours from mercenary motives. To this extraordinary manner of conducting the intercourse between the sexes in Malayala, may perhaps be attributed the total want, among its inhabitants, of that pernicious disposition so common among other Hindoos. All the young people vie with each other, who shall look best, and who shall secure

the greatest share of favour from the other sex; and an extraordinary thoughtlessness concerning the future means of subsistence is very prevalent. A Nair man, who is detected in fornication with a Shanar woman, is put to death, and the woman is sold to the Moplays. If he have connexion with a slave girl, both are put to death; a most shocking injustice to the female, who, in case of refusal to her lord, would be subject to all the violence of an enraged and despised master.

In consequence of this strange manner of propagating the species, no Nair knows his father; and every man looks upon his sisters' children as his heirs. He, indeed, looks upon them with the same fondness that fathers in other parts of the world have for their own children; and he would be considered as an unnatural monster, were he to show such signs of grief at the death of a child, which from long cohabitation and love with its mother, he might suppose to be his own, as he did at the death of a child of his sister. A man's mother manages his family; and after her death his eldest sister assumes the direction. Brothers almost always live under the same roof; but if one of the family separates from the rest, he is always accompanied by his favourite sister. Even cousins, to the most remote degree of kindred, in the female line, generally live together in great harmony; for in this part of the country love, jealousy, or disgust, never can disturb the peace of a Nair family. A man's moveable property, after his death, is divided equally among the sons and daughters of all his sisters. His landed estate is managed by the eldest male of the family; but each individual has a right to a share of the income. In case of the eldest male being unable, from infirmity or incapacity, to manage the affairs of the family, the next in rank does it in the name of his senior.

The *Niadis* are an outcast tribe common in Malabar, but not numerous. They are reckoned so very impure, that even a slave will not touch them. They speak a very bad dialect, and have acquired a prodigious strength of voice, by being constantly necessitated to bawl aloud to those with whom they wish to speak. They absolutely refuse to perform any kind of labour; and almost the only means that they employ to



procure a subsistence is by watching the crops, to drive away wild hogs and birds. Hunters also employ them to rouse game; and the *Achumars*, who hunt by profession, give the Niadis 1-4th part of what they kill. They gather a few wild roots, but can neither catch fish, nor any kind of game. They sometimes procure a tortoise, and are able, by means of hooks, to kill a crocodile. Both of these amphibious animals they reckon delicious food. All these resources, however, are very inadequate to their support, and they subsist chiefly by begging. They have scarcely any clothing, and every thing about them discloses want and misery. They have some wretched huts built under trees in remote places; but they generally wander about in companies of 10 or 12 persons, keeping at a little distance from the roads; and when they see any passenger, they set up a howl, like so many hungry dogs. Those who are moved by compassion lay down what they are inclined to bestow, and go away. The Niadis then put what has been left for them in the baskets which they always carry about. The Niadis worship a female deity called *Malaleiva*, and sacrifice fowls to her in March. When a person dies, all those in the neighbourhood assemble and bury the body. They have no marriage ceremony; but one man and one woman always cohabit together; and among them infidelity, they say, is utterly unknown.

A wretched tribe of this kind, buffeted and abused by every one, and subsisting on the labour of the industrious, is a disgrace to any country; and both compassion and justice seem to require, that they should be compelled to gain a livelihood by honest industry, and be elevated somewhat more nearly to the rank of men. Perhaps Moravian missionaries might be employed with great success, and at little expense, in civilizing and rendering industrious the rude and ignorant tribes that frequent the woods and hills of the peninsula of India? In the execution of such a plan, it would be necessary to transport the Niadis to some country east of Malabar, in order to remove them from the contempt in which they will always be held by the higher ranks of that country.

In travelling through the northern parts of Hindostan, our author learned that a Nair would be astonished were you to ask him who his father was, as a man has as much certainty that the children born in his house are his own, as an European husband has; while these children are rendered dear to him by their own caresses, and those of their mother, who is always beloved, for otherwise she would be immediately dismissed; yet such is the perversity of custom, that a man would be considered as unnatural, were he to have as much affection for his own children, as for those of his sister, which he may perhaps never have seen. Of all known manners of conducting the intercourse between the sexes, this seems to be the most absurd and inconvenient. That prevailing in the southern parts of Malayala avoids all the domestic unhappiness arising from jealousy, or want of continued affection; but that here, while it has none of the benefits of marriage, is attended with all its evils.

‘For some time back,’ says Dr. Buchanan, ‘when I passed through among the gardens near houses, I have observed the women squatting down the mud walls, in order to satisfy their curiosity by viewing a stranger. When they thought that I observed them, they ran away in a fright. This does not arise from the rules of cast in Malabar requiring the Hindoo women to be confined, for that is by no means the case; but in the interior parts of north Malabar, the Nairs, being at enmity with Europeans, have persuaded the women, that we are a kind of hobgoblins who have long tails, in order to conceal which we wear breeches. The women and children therefore are much afraid whenever an European appears, which indeed seldom happens. In the southern division, and on the sea coast, we are too well known to occasion any alarm.’

Several authors have affirmed that in warm countries there are a greater number of females than males; but our author says that, by an accurate census, there are in the southern division of Canara 206,633 males and only 190,039 females.

Dr. Buchanan mentions a *Moplay* village, formerly the residence of a rajah, where the *Nairs* are still more numerous

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than the Moplays, yet during Tippoo's authority, while not protected by government, the Hindoos were forced to skulk in the woods, and all such that could be caught were circumcised. It must be observed, that however involuntary this conversion may be, it is perfectly effectual, and the convert immediately becomes a good Mussulman, as otherwise he would have no cast at all; and although the doctrine of cast be no part of the faith of Mahomet, it has in India been fully adopted by the low ranks of Mussulmans. On entering Canara, an immediate change in the police takes place. No person is here permitted to swagger about with arms: these may be kept in the house for protection against thieves; but they must not be brought into public, for the encouragement of assassination.

The fishermen near *Mangalore* pray to a goddess represented in the form of a woman. She never occasions any trouble to her votaries, if they pray and offer sacrifices; but, if these are neglected, she inflicts sickness on the impious persons. —Men who have incurred her displeasure, and who in consequence have become sick, make a vow to suspend themselves by hooks passed through the skin of their backs, and thus to be swung round before her temple. This expiation is performed at the *jatram*, or great annual feast, when many bloody sacrifices are offered. Women who suppose that the goddess has inflicted on them barrenness, or other great infirmity, vow to walk barefooted on red-hot coals before the temple. If the goddess hear their prayers, she prevents the coals from burning their feet. 'My informants impudently assert,' says our author, 'that the ceremony is frequently performed. A quantity of red-hot coals are spread before the temple; and the woman, after having fasted a whole day, walks three times slowly with bare feet over the fire.'

'The princes of the house of *Ikeri* had given great encouragement to the Christians, and had induced 80,000 of them to settle in *Tulava*. They are all of *Kankana* descent, and retained the language, dress, and manners of the people

of that country. The clergy, it is true, adopted the dress of the order to which they belonged; but they are all natives descended from Kankana families, and were purposely educated in a seminary at Goa, where they were instructed in the Portuguese and Latin languages, and in the doctrines of the church of Rome. In Tulava they had 27 churches, each provided with a vicar, and the whole under the control of a vicar-general, subject to the authority of the archbishop of Goa. Tippoo threw the priests into dungeons; forcibly converted to Islamism the laity, and destroyed all the churches. As the Christian religion does not prevent the readmission into the church of such delinquents, these involuntary mussulmans have in general reconciled themselves with these clergy, who now of course are at liberty, and 15,000 have already returned to Mangalore and its vicinity; 10,000 made their escape to Malabar, from whence they are returning home as quickly as their poverty will admit.

In the temples of Tulava there prevails a very singular custom. Any woman of the four pure casts, who is tired of her husband, or who (being a widow, and consequently incapable of marriage,) is tired of a life of celibacy, goes to a temple, and eats some of the rice that is offered to the idol. She is then taken before the officers of government, who assemble some people of her cast to inquire into the cause of her resolution; and, if she be of the Bramin cast, to give her an option, of living either in the temple or out of its precincts. If she chooses the former, she gets a daily allowance of rice, and annually a piece of cloth. She must sweep the temple, fan the idol with a *Tibet* cow's tail (*Bos gruiens*), and confine her amours to the Bramins. In fact, she generally becomes a concubine to some officer of revenue, who gives her a trifle in addition to her public allowance, and who will flog her severely if she grant favours to any other person. The male children of these women are called *Moylar*, but are fond of assuming the title of *stanika*, and wear the Braminical thread. As many of them as can procure employment live about the temples, sweep the areas, sprinkle them with an infusion of

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cow-dung, carry flambeaus before the gods, and perform other similar low offices. The others are reduced to betake themselves to agriculture, or some honest employment.

The Braminy women who do not choose to live in the temple, and the women of the three lower casts, cohabit with any man of pure descent that they please; but they must pay annually to the temple 1-16th of half a pagoda. Their children also are called Moylar; those descended from Braminy women can marry the daughters of the Moylar who live in the temples: but neither of them ever intermarry with persons descended from a woman of inferior cast. It is remarkable in this cast, where, from the corrupt examples of their mothers, the chastity of the women might be considered as doubtful, that a man's children are his heirs; while in most other casts the custom of Tulava requires a man's sister's children, by way of securing the succession in the family.

The Bramins of Tulava, according to their sacred writings, affirm that 1,955,883,865 years have elapsed since the creation of Tulava!

During Tippoo's government, thieves were numerous in the neighbourhood of the Ghats; and many bands of a set of scoundrels, called *Sady Jambutty*, were then in the habit of coming from the Maratta country to plunder. 'The former,' says our traveller, 'have been entirely banished; but the Sady Jambutty still come in bands of 20 or 30 men, although not so commonly as in former times. On Mr. Monro's arrival, a thief of this country, finding that this was not likely to be a convenient place for his residence, withdrew to the Maratta territory, and formed an alliance with *Lol Sing*, a noted robber. With their united forces these two ruffians have made three incursions into this country. In their last expedition, about 12 days ago, both were taken prisoners, and are now in confinement at *Hully-halla*. When these robbers make their attack, or are known to be in the neighbourhood, the Bramins, and other peaceable inhabitants, retire from their houses with their effects, and even during the rainy season conceal themselves in the forests; for pestilence, or beasts of prey, are gentle in comparison with Hindoo

robbers, who, in order to discover concealed property, put to the torture all those who fall into their hands.'

At *Nagara* our author met with a kind reception from captain Lloyd. This was a fortified town, and after it was taken by Hyder its trade increased greatly; for he made it his principal arsenal, and employed many people in making arms and ammunition. He also continued the mint, and much money was coined during his reign. He gave great encouragement to merchants, and endeavoured to introduce the cultivation of mulberries and silk, but in this he had little or no success. On the outside of the fort, he built a palace, and resided in it three years. On the invasion of general Mathews, the commandant of the fort, by way of showing an inclination to make an obstinate defence, burnt the palace; and the whole town shared the same fate during an engagement which took place on Tippoo's coming up with his army. It is commonly reported by the British officers, that general Mathews was surprised; and, indeed, from his infatuated conduct, that would appear to have been the case; yet the people here say, that he had given them eight days previous notice of the probability of a siege, and of consequence they lost little more than their houses, as they had time to remove all their valuable effects. The palace was rebuilt by Tippoo, elated with the victory of which he made so cruel a use; but in the short time that has since intervened, it is now almost a ruin; for it is built entirely of mud and timber; and on these materials the excessive rains of this climate have so strong an effect, that without a very complete repair once in three or four years, no building of this kind will stand for any length of time. Tippoo also re-established the mint and arsenal, and recalled the people; but a great many of them did not return, being under suspense for the event of the siege of Mangalore.

Near *Simoga* a battle was fought between one of Tippoo's generals, and an ally of lord Cornwallis. The mussulmans were defeated; and, after a siege of two days, the Maratta chief took the fort. His march, as usual, was marked by devastation, famine, and murder. The town at that time contained 6,000 houses, the whole of which were destroyed;

the women were ravished, and the handsomest carried away. Such of the men as fell into the hands of the Marattas were killed, and of those who escaped the sword a large proportion perished of hunger; every eatable thing having been swept away by those whom people in Europe are pleased to call the gentle Hindoos. These ruffians did not even spare the *Kudali Swami*, who is the guru of all the Maratta Bramins of the *Smartal* sect, and who is by them considered as an actual incarnation of the deity. His *matam*, or college, was plundered and burnt; but this cost the Maratta chief dear. The enraged Swami held out threats of instant excommunication, and was only pacified by a present of 400,000 rupees. Tippoo had the satisfaction of taking one half of this sum, which was the assessment levied from the Swami on account of the *nuzzur* that lord Cornwallis exacted.

The Swami is said to have been of great use in the famine, and to have employed the utmost of his influence in collecting money to support the starving wretches. He daily fed 3,000 Bramins, and other religious mendicants; for, according to the Hindoo doctrine, it is the charity which is bestowed on religious men that chiefly procures favour in the eyes of the gods.

In the neighbourhood of this place, our traveller came to a village, where the inhospitable disposition of the natives fully manifested itself. 'Near this village,' says he, 'I overtook a Seapoy lying in the utmost agony from a rupture. Having with some difficulty reduced it, the pain in his groin was succeeded by a violent colic, which contracted his limbs; and, had any exercise been at all proper for a man in his condition, rendered him totally unable to walk. I therefore went into the village, in order to procure a cot or bedstead, of which a litter could be readily made. As I had left all my attendants with the sick man, except an interpreter, the villagers held me in contempt. I found the *gauda*, his brother, and some head men of the village, all *Sivabhactars*, standing in conversation, and wrapped up in their blankets. Having made known to them my case, the *gauda* replied, that they had no cots, and his brother talked very loud, and



in an insolent manner. This was checked by the coming up of a superior officer of revenue, who informed me that there were cots in every house; but neither offers of payment, nor threats of complaint, were of more avail than humanity.' This inhospitality partly proceeded from their hatred to the Seapoys of the Bombay army.

At *Heriuru* our author's cook died. 'When this man was taken ill,' says he, 'I had given orders to secure his effects for the benefit of his wife and children; but, on inspection after his death, no money could be found. Whether he had been plundered as soon as he became insensible, and that a guilty conscience occasioned fears among his companions, or whether the sudden manner of his death occasioned suspicions, I cannot say; but it was immediately believed that he would become a *pysachi*, and all my people were filled with terror. The butler imagined, that the *pysachi* appeared to him at night with a black silk handkerchief tied round its head, and gave him instructions to take all the effects of the deceased to his family; upon this, the butler, being a man of courage, put his shoes at the right side of the door, which he considered to be a sure preventative against such intruders. Next night a cattle-driver, lying in all the agonies of nocturnal terror, saw the appearance of a dog enter, and smell round the place where the man had died; when, to his utter dismay, the spectre gradually grew larger and larger, and at length, having assumed the form of the cook, vanished with a shriek. The poor man had not the courage to use the slippers, but lay till morning in a kind of stupor. After this, even the minds of the Seapoys were appalled; and when I happened to be awake, I heard the sentries, by way of keeping up their courage, singing with a tremulous voice.'

Dr. Buchanan, having surveyed the central parts of Mysore, set out from Seringapatam on his return to Madras. At *Cancan-hully* was a temple said to have been founded many hundred thousand years ago. Previous to the invasion by lord Cornwallis, the country was well cultivated. The devastation was commenced by Tippoo, who blew up the works in order to prevent them from being useful to the



British army. After this the *Anicul Polygar* ravaged the country, colonel Read having invited him back to his dominions. According to the accounts of the amildar, this gentle Hindoo has rendered 2-5ths of the whole arable lands a waste; and, from the small number of inhabitants, the beasts of prey have increased so much, that, during the two last years of the sultan's government, 80 of the inhabitants of Cancan-hully were carried away by tigers from within the walls of the fort. These have been since repaired, and the people can now sleep with safety. To keep off these destructive animals, every village in the neighbourhood is strongly fenced with a hedge of thorns. On the approach of the army under general Harris, Tippoo burned the town, and he did not allow to escape this favourable opportunity of destroying an idolatrous place of worship. He broke down the *mandapam*, or portico of the temple, and nothing remains but the gateway, and the shrine; to destroy which, probably his workmen durst not venture. Cancan-hully at present contains 200 houses. Before the invasion of lord Cornwallis there were at least 500.

We have thus endeavoured to select the most amusing and striking features in the character of the Hindoos. From which it is evident, that the separation of the inhabitants into distinct casts, constitutes an insuperable bar to civilization. Intelligence, industry, and property, are not the chief marks of distinction. 'The pride of cast is indeed,' says our author, 'that which is most prevalent with the Hindoos; and there is scarcely a creature so wretched or ignorant but who on this account holds in the utmost contempt many persons in easy circumstances, and respectable situations; for the rank of the different casts is by no means well ascertained; the only one point that is clear is, the immeasurable superiority of the Bramins above the rest of mankind.'

The jealousy that exists amongst the native princes in Hindostan, the terror inspired by the British arms, and the protection afforded from foreign invasion, have conspired to strengthen and extend the authority of the East India company over these immense and populous regions. But the

impossibility of maintaining a permanent authority over a people so inveterately prejudiced; by ancient and religious customs, against their conquerors, by such means as the company possess, must be apparent to every one. The propriety of colonizing Hindostan has been urged as the best means of maintaining the British power: but this scheme, it is supposed, would interfere with the interests of the company.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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