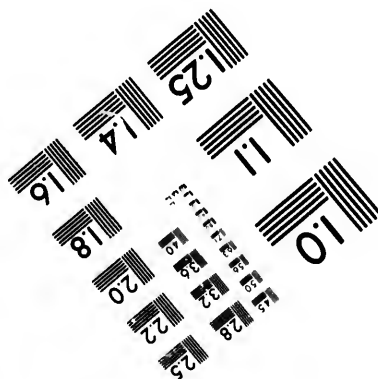
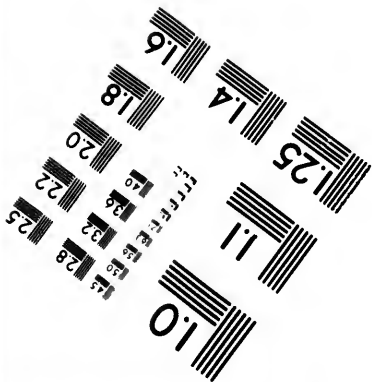
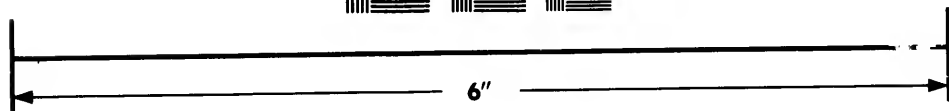
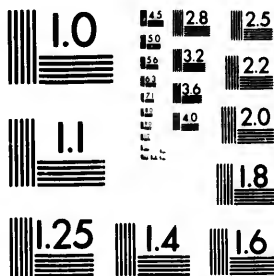


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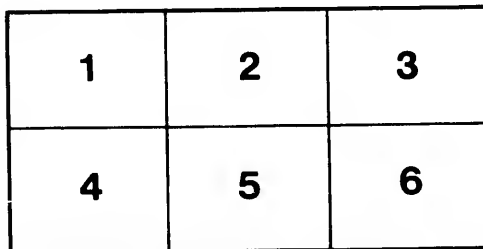
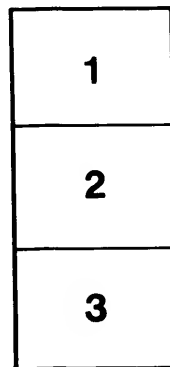
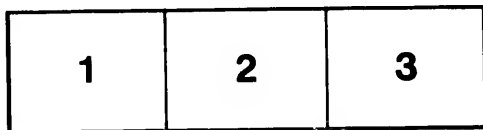
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GENERAL VIEW OF THE FALLS OF NIAGARA.

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GENERAL VIEW OF THE FALLS OF NIAGARA.

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TO THE  
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CONTINUATION OF PINCKARD'S NOTES.

*' At Sea, April 20.*

‘ OUR destination is no longer a secret! The captain went yesterday on board the commodore, and received his instructions—when the Dutch colonies upon the coast of Guiana were avowed to be the object of our expedition.

‘ In the evening we came into thick and muddy water, indicating our approach to the shore; but nothing of land could be perceived even from the top-gallant-mast head. This morning the sea was still more muddy, of a yellowish colour, and comparatively very shallow. Land was unquestionably near, but still not visible. In the course of the day trees were seen from the mast head and we came to anchor only a few leagues from them, but even yet without being able to see the land. It seems to be a peculiar shore, the water being very thick and shallow at a great distance from the land.

‘ The present would appear to be an important moment. Orders are issued for three days' provisions to be cooked, and



for the troops to hold themselves in readiness for immediate debarkation. They have consequently been paraded this evening upon deck; their arms and accoutrements cleaned and inspected; and all put in a state for action. The soldiers are forewarned in general orders that all irregular conduct towards the inhabitants on landing, will subject them to certain punishment and disgrace; and plunder is prohibited on pain of death. The field-artillery, with carriages, sponges, ammunition, and all the necessary apparatus have been put into boats this evening from our ship, preparatory to being conveyed on shore with the troops in the morning, and after a day of great hurry and labour all is now quite in readiness for leaving the vessel.

'Orders are issued concerning the plan of attack by the troops, and the station to be taken by the different ships; and all seems to imply a busy morrow, but, as mine will not be the most prominent post of danger, I shall hope to note to you the detail of our proceedings in a future letter. At present, I seek my birth, cordially bidding you . . . . good night!

' *Stabroek, April 23.*

'I HAVE again the pleasure of addressing you upon *terra firma*, and of telling you that the united colony of Essequibo and Demarara is ours. All being in readiness for landing on the morning of the 21st, the troops were ordered to proceed on shore, with the earliest tide, and the frigates, with the Grenada and the slave ship, were directed to take their stations before the fort, at the entrance of the river.

'In the morning the little fleet of sloops, schooners, and other small vessels, calculated, as it was believed, for the shallow sea they had to pass, got 'under weigh, and stood for the shore. The larger ships were unable to approach near enough to give any protection to the landing.

'The small light vessels into which the troops and stores were removed, were some of them brought with us from Barbadoes for the purpose—and some taken after our arrival upon the coast; but, unfortunately, it proved that even these, light as they were, drew too much water for this muddy shore; for, about five o'clock, we had the mortification to learn that our

little fleet was fast aground deep fixed in mud. Finding the small vessels in this dilemma, our ship, together with the others which had sailed through a very confined channel towards the fort, came to anchor near the entrance of the Demarara river, having the fort, also a Dutch frigate, and a number of shipping in full view before them.

‘ This was an unhappy accident, and might have proved of serious consequence, as the troops were compelled to remain until the next flood of tide, being equally unable either to reach the shore, or to return.

‘ In the events of this day we had a further proof of the extreme uncertainty of military operations, more particularly when connected with, or dependent upon maritime movements. In the morning we had every prospect of seeing the troops on shore, posts secured, the fort taken, and the whole affair decided before we slept: but, in the evening, chagrin and disappointment only were our lot: the great expectations of the day having ended in bringing some of the ships to an anchor off the mouth of the river, and placing the troops in an unhappy dilemma, from which it was out of the power of man to extricate them, until the unerring operations of nature should send back the waters of the ocean to their relief.

‘ At eight o’clock in the morning the flag of truce which had been sent off to the fort returned. Due secrecy was of course observed regarding the reply: and presently the boat was again dispatched to the fort: but as the little schooner fleet was ordered to return to the ships, at the flood of tide, instead of proceeding to land the troops; and as no orders were given to advance to the attack of the fort, it was presumed that the answer had not been hostile.

‘ Between 10 and 11 o’clock the flag of truce again returned, and it was then announced that the capitulation was accepted, and that the fort was immediately to surrender to our troops. A party was accordingly detached to take possession of a post agreed upon, and the whole garrison was to march out at four o’clock. Consequently by evening we found ourselves fully established in fort William Frederic, the strongest, and indeed the only defence of the colony.

‘It is worthy of remark that, although upon the passage, not a morning had passed without a considerable number being reported for the sick-list, we had not one new patient the day it was intended to make the landing; but, on the contrary, the list of the preceding day was diminished. The spirit of attack seemed to operate as a specific remedy. Many actually recovered, and were allowed to join their companies. Others stole off, without reporting themselves, fearful the doctors should not allow that they were well enough to be reported efficient: and others, far too weak to bear arms, feebly crawled from under the awning of the quarter-deck, which had been converted into a sick ward for their accommodation, and begged of me to permit them to go on shore to join their comrades. The idea of going into action proved a more salutary stimulus than could be found in the whole of the London or Edinburgh Pharmacopœia; and, strange to add, the sound of the destructive cannon promised to be a more healing balm, than the mildest emollient prescribed by the doctor.

‘We were completely drenched with rain in the boats, and then set on shore in the midst of a heavy shower. Fatigued by heat, we had to drag along in the rain, either ankle-deep in mud, or slipping and sliding about upon a wet surface of clay.

‘We arrived at the town in a sadly drenched and bespattered condition; but here we found our feet relieved by stepping on a narrow causeway, paved with small bricks put edgewise into the ground. This was a glad change to our trembling limbs, and now, from requiring less heed to our step and the rain ceasing, we had an opportunity of looking round us to observe the general appearance of the town and the country. I could have fancied myself in Holland. The land appeared as one wide flat intersected with dykes and canals—the roads mere banks of mud and clay, thrown from the ditches at their sides—and the houses bedaubed and painted in tawdry colours, like Dutch toys, giving the whole a striking resemblance to the mother country.

‘We could not discover any place bearing the appearance of an inn or hotel, but two other officers and myself had the

good fortune to meet an English settler in the street, who very kindly conducted us to his house, and, with great hospitality, not only provided us with the means of drying our clothes, and cleaning our persons, but also set before us some fine Dutch herrings, with wine, punch, and other refreshments.

‘After waiting upon the general at the government house, I lost no time in proceeding upon duty; and, without delay, went out in search of some building to convert into an hospital, or place of accommodation for our sick. This would have led to a new journey, by way of the wet and slippery road, to the fort; but, among the happy events of the day, fortune threw me in the path of another gentleman residing in the town, who, upon observing me scrambling through the mud and clay, insisted upon my taking his boat and slaves to convey me to the fort, by way of the river, assuring me that to walk it might be a dangerous excess of fatigue; and further directing his negroes to wait and bring me back to his house to dinner.—Perhaps I was little inclined to refuse, but it had been difficult to resist the pressing civility with which the accommodation was offered, accordingly I accepted the boat, and afterwards returned and ate of boiled fowl and a roasted kid. During dinner the friendly invitation was extended to a request, almost amounting to a demand, from both the gentleman and lady of the table, that I would make that house my home so long as the service should require my continuance at Stabroek. Thus has fortune at once established me in good quarters in the enemy’s country, without a billet, and even without the trouble of seeking them.

‘*Demarara, April 28.*

‘DURING the few days since our arrival here, events and circumstances have occurred as if they had been planned for the gratification of our curiosity, or designed expressly to place before us what was likely to be most striking to Europeans.

‘Already have we witnessed the humiliating, but very interesting sight of a cargo of several hundreds of human subjects being landed from a slave-ship, and exposed to public

sale; and on the other hand, naked beings, who range in the utmost freedom of human nature, have presented themselves in crowds to our observation—parties of copper-coloured Indians, from the wild woods, having come down the river in their canoes to visit the town. It has also chanced to occur to me to be addressed by an unhappy slave, strongly entreating me to purchase her from her master; and I have further witnessed with surprise, the more than apathy, perhaps I might say, the exultation of a white lady, on hearing the cries of a negro suffering under the whip. Likewise the honour has been done me of having a young slave placed by my elbow at dinner time, with a fragrant bough to defend me from the flies; and I have been complimented with a negro to sleep at my bed-room door, in order to be in readiness—in case I should require him to beat off the mosquitoes, or to bring me any thing in the night.

‘ I should tell you that the poor unhappy slave, who came to me to entreat that I would purchase her, was a very decent young woman, here termed a “house-wench,” [a domestic slave—not sent to work in the fields]. The hardships and ill treatment she had suffered, had created, she said, such an entire dislike to her present home, that if she could find no “good Massa” who would buy her, she had resolved to try and escape from her misery by running away. The poor creature shuddered as she mentioned this expedient, sensible that if she should be retaken, her sufferings, great as they were, would be sadly multiplied. Still she declared she was firmly resolved to hazard the attempt, rather than continue her present wretched life, hopeless of relief.

‘ She wept as she spake, and the heavy tear swelled on her ebon cheek as she related the severities to which she had been subjected. Her tale was at once interesting and distressful. It needed not the aid of eloquence to move compassion. The simple narration of the hardships imposed, and the punishment inflicted for only trivial faults, instantly reached the feelings, and in strong appeal begat a new regret that whole hosts of human creatures, for the lucre of a few of their fellow beings, differing only in the colour of their skin, should be degraded

to a situation, which not only deprives them of the command of their persons, but also robs them of all the powers of will.

‘The corporal punishment of slaves is so frequent, that instead of exciting the repugnant sensations, felt by Europeans on first witnessing it, scarcely does it produce, in the breasts of those long accustomed to the West Indies, even the slightest feeling of compassion. The lady I have above alluded to appears of good natural disposition, and in no degree disposed to general cruelty; but the frequency of the sight has rendered her callous to its common influence upon her feelings. Being one morning at her house, while sitting in conversation, we suddenly heard the cries of a negro suffering under the whip. Mrs. —— expressed surprize on observing me shudder at his shrieks, and you will believe that I was in utter astonishment to find her treat his sufferings as matter of amusement. It proved that the punishment proceeded from the arm of the lady’s husband, and fell upon one of her own slaves; and, can you believe that on learning this, she exclaimed with a broad smile, “Aha! it will do him good! a little wholesome flagellation will refresh him.—It will sober him.—It will open his skin, and make him alert. If Y—— was to give it them all, it would be of service to them!”

‘I could not compliment the lady upon her humanity. The loud clang of the whip continued, and the poor imploring negro as loudly cried “*Oh Massa, Massa—God a’mighty—God bless you Massa! I beg you pardon! Oh! God a’mighty—God bless you!*”—Still the whip sounded aloud, and still the lady cried “Aye, it’s very necessary!”

‘Presently I learned that this unfortunate slave was punished for drunkenness, having become intoxicated, in consequence of his mistress treating him with money to buy rum. I could not but remark that in such case it doubly became her to petition her husband in behalf of the poor man; observing, that at all events, it must be quite useless to punish him, while he was in a state not to be sensible of the crime. To this the tender lady replied, “Aye but if Y—— was to spare him till the morning he wouldn’t *give it* him then!”

‘ Such is the effect of habit in subduing even our most amiable feelings. Could this lady have known how much her remarks deformed her, policy had no doubt led to a different expression, although humanity had not taught, nor habit allowed her to feel a different sentiment !

‘ *Stabroek, May 6.*

‘ SOMETHING of novelty—scenes and events different from all we have been accustomed to in Europe, occur almost daily to our observation ; but I am afraid of falling into a tedious tautology by detailing them to you as they chance to arise: yet I like to give you them as they occur; for, should I wait to compress them under regular and appropriate heads, you might never have them at all; or they might be divested of the only merit they possess—that of being fresh from the immediate feelings of a first impression: I therefore proceed in my own way to tell, that since the date of my last letter, I have been witness to a gentleman calling up one of his slaves, into the breakfast room, and giving him orders to go with three others into the fields, the highways, or the woods, and cut grass, to sell in the town, charging him to recollect that it was at the pain of a “good flogging” if they did not each bring him home four bits at night [about 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling], and adding, by way of encouragement, that if they could gain more, they might keep the surplus for themselves. They went out, each taking a long knife and a string, and returned punctually in the evening with the 16 bits.

‘ Unfortunately I am now enabled to speak of the punishment of a slave, which was far more severe than that mentioned in my last letter; and, I am sorry to add, attended with similar marks of insensibility and want of feeling, on the part of a white female. Happening to call one morning upon a lady at Stabroek, in company with several Europeans who had been my fellow-passengers hither, we were scarcely seated before we heard the bleeding clang of the whip, and the painful cries of a poor unfortunate black. The lady of the house, more accustomed to scenes of slavery than ourselves, pointing

to the spot, as if it were a pleasant sight for strangers, or something that might divert us, asked with apparent glee if we saw them "*flogging the negre?*" Truly we saw the whole too clearly. A poor unhappy slave was stretched out naked, upon the open street, tied down with his face to the ground before the fiscal's door, his two legs extended to one stake, his arms strained out, at full length, to two others in form of the letter Y, and, thus secured to the earth, two strong-armed drivers placed at his sides were cutting his bare skin by turns, with strong heavy-lashed whips, which from the sound alone, without seeing the blood that followed, conveyed the idea of tearing away pieces of flesh at every stroke.

Consistent with the freedom and impartiality I have always observed in offering you my "notes," I am extremely happy to be able to relieve you from this painful scene, by presenting to you one of a very opposite nature—one in which I am sure every feeling of your heart will warmly participate. A party of recently arrived Europeans went by invitation to dine at "Arcadia," the plantation of a Mr. Osborn, about eight miles from Stabroek. Five slaves were sent, with a handsome covered boat to fetch us, in which we had a most pleasant sail about six miles up the river, and then coming into a canal which led to the estate, we were drawn about two miles further by the negroes running at the side of the canal, singing all the way and pulling in merry tune together. On our arrival at Mr. Osborn's we were presented with wine, fruits, and various refreshments; and, afterwards, were amused till dinner-time in viewing the plantation, the negro-yard, and the different premises. At dinner we shared all the good things of the colony, and, in the afternoon, were conducted across the canal to visit the estate and happy home of Mr. Dougan, a neighbour whom Mr. Osborn had invited to meet us. Here we found a rich sugar plantation bordered with coffee and fruits. Leading to the sugar fields were fine rows of fruit trees, laden with oranges, forbidden fruit, shaddockes, and citrons—the shaddockes and forbidden fruit very superior to any I had before tasted, indeed so exquisite, that perhaps I might say they



were the finest species of the two finest fruits produced in the whole garden of nature.

‘ But however great the richness, beauty, and fragrance of the estate, its canals, and its walks, still I am sensible that I shall more firmly secure your attachment to it, by mentioning the simple fact that, to slavery, it affords . . . . . a happy home !

‘ The slaves of Mr. Dougan are not only fed, and clothed, and tenderly watched in sickness, without any personal thought, or concern, but each has his appropriate spot of ground, and his cottage, in which he feels a right as sacred as if secured to him by all the parchments of the lord-high-chancellor of England, and his court.

‘ Happy and contented, the slave of “ Profit ” sees all his wants supplied. Having never been in a state of freedom, he has no desire for it. Not having known liberty, he feels not the privation of it; nor is it within the powers of his mind either to conceive or comprehend the sense we attach to the term. Were freedom offered to him he would refuse to accept it, and would only view it as a state fraught with certain difficulties and vexations, but offering no commensurate good. “ Who gib me for gnyhaam Massa,” he asks “ if me free ? ” “ Who gib me clothes ! ” “ Who send me doctor when me sick ? ”

At this time a detachment of troops sailed in some small vessels to attack the neighbouring colony at Berbice, which immediately surrendered on the same terms as Essequibo and Demarara. After noticing this and a few other occurrences, our author proceeds to give the following distressing relation of a sale of negroes,—a circumstance which yet frequently occurs in our own colonies, in consequence of failures and the disposal of estates.

‘ *Stabroek, May 8.*

‘ A FEW days ago I had the opportunity of being present at a more regular sale, or market of slaves, than I had

seen before, and here I witnessed all the heart-rending distress attendant upon such a scene. I saw numbers of our fellow beings regularly bartered for gold, and transferred like cattle, or any common merchandise, from one possessor to another. It was a sight which European curiosity had rendered me desirous to behold, although I had anticipated from it only a painful gratification. I may now say—*I have seen it!*—and while nature animates my breast with even the feeblest spark of humanity, I can never forget it!

‘The poor Africans, who were to be sold, were exposed naked in a large empty building, like an open barn. Those who came with intention to purchase minutely inspected them; handled them; made them jump, and stamp with their feet, and throw out their arms and their legs; turned them about; looked into their mouths; and, according to the usual rules of traffic with respect to cattle, examined them, and made them shew themselves in a variety of ways, to try if they were sound and healthy. All this was distressful as humiliating, and tended to excite strong aversion and disgust; but a wound, still more severe, was inflicted on the feelings, by some of the purchasers selecting only such as their judgment led them to prefer, regardless of the bonds of nature and affection! The urgent appeals of friendship and attachment were unheeded; sighs and tears made no impression; and all the imploring looks, and penetrating expressions of grief, were unavailing. Hungry commerce corroded even the golden chains of affection; and sordid interest burst every tie of nature. The husband was taken from the wife, children separated from their parents, and the lover torn from his mistress: the companion was bought away from his friend, and the brother not suffered to accompany the sister.

‘In one part of the building was seen a wife clinging to her husband, and beseeching, in the strongest eloquence of nature, not to be left behind him. Here was a sister hanging upon the neck of her brother, and, with tears, entreating to be led to the same home of captivity. There stood two brothers, enfolded in each others arms, mutually bewailing their threatened separation. In other parts were friends, relatives,

and companions, praying to be sold to the same master—using signs to signify that they would be content with slavery, might they but toil together.

‘ Silent tears, deep sighs, and heavy lamentations bespoke the universal suffering of these poor blacks, and proved that nature was ever true to her feelings. Never was a scene more distressful. Among these unhappy degraded Africans scarcely was there an unclouded countenance. Every feature was veiled in the silent gloom of woe; and sorrowing nature poured forth in all the bitterness of affliction.

‘ A whole host of painful ideas rushed into my mind at the moment. In sad contemplation all the distorted images of this abhorrent traffic presented themselves to my recollection. The many horrors and cruelties I had so often heard of, appeared in their worst shape before me; and my imagination was acutely alive to the unmerited punishment sometimes inflicted—the incessant labour exacted—the want of freedom—and all the catalogue of hardships endured by slaves. I endeavoured to combat the effect of these impressions by attaching my mind to opposite images: but—all in vain! The repugnant influence would not thus be cheated. With such distress before my eyes, all palliatives were unavailing. The whole was wrong, and not to be justified. I felt that I execrated every principle of the traffic. Nature revolted at it; and I condemned the whole system of slavery under all its forms and modifications.

‘ When purchased, the slaves were marked by placing a bit of string, or of red or white tape, round their arms or necks. One gentleman, who bought a considerable number of them, was proceeding to distinguish those he had selected, by tying a bit of tape round the neck, when I observed two negroes, who were standing together entwined in each others arms, watch him with great anxiety. Presently he approached them, and after making his examination affixed the mark only to one of them. The other, with a look of unerring expression, and, with an impulse of marked disappointment, cast his eyes up to the purchaser, seeming to say—“and will you not have me too?”—then jumped, and danced, and stamped with his feet,

and made other signs to signify that he also was sound and strong, and worthy his choice. He was nevertheless passed by unregarded; upon which he turned again to his companion, his friend, brother, whichever he was, took him to his bosom, hung upon him, and, in sorrowful countenance, expressed the strongest marks of disappointment and affliction. The feeling was mutual:—it arose from reciprocal affection. His friend participated in his grief, and they both wept bitterly. Soon afterwards on looking round to complete his purchase the planter again passed that way, and not finding any one that better suited his purpose, he now hung the token of choice round the neck of the negro whom he had before disregarded. All the powers of art could not have effected the change that followed. More genuine joy was never expressed. His countenance became enlivened. Grief and sadness vanished, and flying into the arms of his friend, he caressed him with warm embraces, then skipped, and jumped, and danced about, exhibiting all the purest signs of mirth and gratification. His companion, not less delighted, received him with reciprocal feelings—and a more pure and native sympathy was never exhibited. Happy in being again associated, they now retired apart from the crowd, and sat down in quiet contentment, hugging and kissing the red signal of bondage, like two attached, and affectionate brothers—satisfied to toil out their days, for an unknown master, so they might but travel their journey of slavery together.

‘ In the afternoon of the same day I chanced to be present when another gentleman came to purchase some of the slaves, who were not sold in the morning. After looking through the lot he remarked that he did not see any who were of pleasant countenance; and going on to make further objections, respecting their appearance, he was interrupted by the vender, who remarked that at that moment they were seen to great disadvantage, as they looked worse “*from having lost their friends and associates in the morning.*” Aye! truly, I could have replied—a very powerful reason why they are unfit for sale this afternoon! If to be of smiling countenance were necessary to their being sold, it were politic not to expose them

for long to come. Still some were selected, and the mark of purchase made, the distressful scene of the morning was in a degree repeated.

‘A few of the most ill-looking only now remained, who were meagre, and of rough skin—not thoroughly black, but of a yellowish, or dirty brown colour—of hungry, unhealthy aspect, feeble, of hideous countenance, and in general appearance scarcely human. These remained to a future day, and would probably be sold, not to the planters, but to the boat-women, tailors, hucksters, or some of the inferior mechanics, or shop-keepers of the town, at a price somewhat lower than that demanded for the more robust and well-looking; and, alas! though least able to bear fatigue, these feeble beings would, most likely, be subjected to a far more heavy slavery than those of stronger frame, for it is commonly seen, that the labour exacted by the poorer orders of the people, from their few and weakly slaves, is more severe than that required by the opulent planter from his regular and better-appointed gang: although, *in theory*, the circumstance of being always under the eye of the master, instead of being left to the mercy of a hireling, would seem to be an advantage much in favour of the slaves of those owners, who possess but few.’

The conquest of these colonies being completed, general Whyte returned to the islands, and our author suffered the sad disappointment in being left behind, until relieved from the staff of the Caribbee islands. However, the superior officers paid the utmost attention to the comfort and accommodation of the sick, who now rapidly increased in numbers, but our author had the satisfaction of being comfortably lodged near the hospital.

‘Demarara, May 12.

‘I FIND the distressing annoyance of insects a far greater evil than the increased temperature, or any other ill of climate. I now suffer considerably from the “prickly heat,” but this would be very supportable were it not for the additional and greater torment of musquitoes, ants, centipedes,

jack-spaniards, and the multitudes of other insects biting, buzzing about our ears, crawling upon every thing we touch, and filling the whole atmosphere around us.

‘ My nights have lately been made so wretchedly comfortable, that I have now established the habit of burning wet straw in my room, before I go to bed, in order to smoke out the insects. I likewise practise the habit of looking under my netting, with a lighted candle, after it is let down for the night, to see if any stragglers have been left withinside, and if I find any there I consider them as enemies lurking for my blood, and immediately put them to death. Selfishly looking to a good night’s rest from his destruction, I have no compunction in taking away the life . . . . . of a musquito ! Without contemplating the possible extent of his utility in the great scale of creation, I crush him with as little mercy as a chambermaid cracks a hopping flea. If you knew the acuteness of his bite, you would feel that he is not tortured with a lingering death. Nothing can be more prompt than his execution, and I think I might venture to assert that he suffers not a single moment of pain.

‘ While my pen is employed upon this mighty subject, it occurs to me as a question whether even the rigorous principles of the most devoted bramin would so discipline his mind in religious and philosophical forbearance, as to induce him deliberately to brush from his skin a flea, or a musquito, that was inflicting sharp pain upon him, and robbing him of his blood ? I do not remember ever to have seen, or heard of a person whose humanity led him to spare the life of a poor flea, although he is a very innocent little fellow when compared to the sanguinary musquito : but it has occurred to me to see a gentleman, from a pure regard to the life of all created beings, tenderly and carefully put away a musquito that was bleeding him by the nose. He is a man whose general conduct is guided by the most exemplary humanity, and whose talents command universal respect. He considers the little animal as only following the dictates of instinct, in procuring his food, and feels that he ought not to deal his vengeance against nature ;—or to take away a life he could not give.

"Excellent philosophy," methinks I hear you exclaim! He may have brilliant talents, and vast acuteness of mind; but he has no sensibility . . . . . of nose!

'From the house we now occupy at La Bourgade, a fine avenue of fruit trees leads down the whole depth of the estate, back to the wild forest; or what is here termed "*the Bush*," from which the plantation is separated only by a wet ditch and a bank. Rambling this afternoon in a solitary and pensive promenade, amongst the orange and other fruit trees, protected from the mosquitoes by thick gloves and pantaloons, I suddenly found myself arrested, at the distance of a mile and a half from the house, by the deep woods which in heavy gloom oppose an impenetrable barrier to the estate. My sauntering walk being thus interrupted, I became fixed in contemplation, and, with an eye resting upon the forest, my mind dwelt on the solemnity of the scene, until I fell into a sort of contemplative reverie. The state of man on our globe; his surprising powers in changing its surface; the immensity he had done; the extent of his influence; the great proportion of the earth yet unknown to him; the state of freedom and slavery; the wide difference between man living in the woods, and in polished society; the various stages of savage and civilized life; all passed in mental review before me. The varied appearance of different parts of the globe; the diversity of climate; the extent of these wild woods; their removal by the all-subduing arm of man; their remaining for ever unexplored, and the undisturbed retreat afforded to their wild inhabitants; all passed and repassed as subjects of my contemplation. Monkeys, savages, tigers, serpents, all the infinite variety of animals possessing the woods traversed my thoughts. The grand purpose of life and being; the utility of man; wherefore placed on the globe; and the whole host of such-like suggestions, multiplied by tenfold difficulties, presented themselves to my imagination. External objects ceased to impress my senses, and, becoming absorbed in the great question of creation, I felt humbled at the idea that, in the wide scale of worlds, even man might be of little more importance than the minutest insect—perhaps not more than the very flea or mosquito whose

only purpose in creation seemed to be that of . . . . .  
 . . . . . tormenting him! Pursuing its wanderings, my  
 mind ranged into the infinity of space, and there roved amidst  
 the stars, until the very globe itself became as insignificant as  
 the smallest ant that moves on its surface. Next occurred the  
 infinite wisdom of the great Creator—I saw every thing per-  
 fect, and happily ordained, glanced at the inscrutable ways of  
 Providence, and was lost in profound awe and reverence, when  
 I was suddenly roused from my reverie, by the loud scream-  
 ing of monkies, and the astounding shrieks of large flocks of  
 parrots.—It instantly struck my recollection that there were  
 other, and more dangerous animals in the woods, and with the  
 full strength of the impression, as in the moment of waking  
 from a dream, I felt that besides monkies and parrots these  
 woods gave habitation to tigers and savages, and, worse than  
 savages—to Bush-negroes, to whom the scalp of a *backra-*  
*man* would be an object of gratification. You will believe  
 that the soliloquy I had fallen into was quickly at an end.  
 Sensible of the peril of my situation, I took up a rough staff  
 for protection, and turning from the dark forest, and its sa-  
 vage inhabitants, hastily trod back my path into cultivated  
 fields, and civilized society.

‘As I am to note to you all occurrences, and particularly  
 such as are in any degree novel and interesting, I must not  
 omit the following,—although it may seem to border upon the  
 incredible. It is, nevertheless, a fact that a few days ago I  
 was applied to by the wife of a colonist to request that I would  
*make some complaint* against the slaves of the house, to her  
 husband, very *humanely* urging as a reason for imposing upon  
 me so *grateful* a task, that she wished “*to get them a good*  
*flogging!*” I trust that you, nor any of our fair friends, on  
 the temperate side of the Atlantic, will not condemn my want of  
 gallantry, in resisting the solicitation. Perhaps, in the bright-  
 est days of chivalry, the most adulatory knight had not been  
 obsequious enough to have devoted to gallantry, at such an  
 expence of humanity. It was not even contended that any  
 specific fault had been committed to justify the punishment,  
 but this was *to be prevented*, and merely because some idle



whim—some fit of caprice, or ill humour had led the mistress of these poor slaves to wish them “*a good flogging!*”

Our author next proceeds to give a description of the ‘Bush negroes;’ and of an expedition against them, which terminated in the defeat and slaughter of the Dutch troops. A corps of slaves and Indians were however more successful, but the cruel severities inflicted on the unfortunate prisoners were shocking, and correspond with the disgusting and cruel scenes witnessed by Stedman.

‘Most of the leaders were taken,’ says he, ‘and brought to Stabroek, where they were afterwards tried and executed, the majority of them suffering with a degree of fortitude and heroism worthy a better cause. One in particular, named Amsterdam, supported the extreme of punishment with a firmness truly astonishing. He was subjected to the most shocking torture, in order to compel him to give information regarding the remaining encampment—but in vain! He despised the severest suffering, and nothing could induce him to betray his late companions, or to make known their yet undiscovered retreat.

‘He was sentenced to be burnt alive, first having the flesh torn from his limbs with red-hot pincers; and in order to render his punishment still more terrible, he was compelled to sit by, and see thirteen others broken and hung; and then, in being conducted to execution, was made to walk over the thirteen dead bodies of his comrades. Being fastened to an iron-stake, surrounded with the consuming pile, which was about to be illumined, he regarded the by-standers with all the complacency of heroic fortitude, and exhibiting the most unyielding courage, resolved that all the torture of ingenuity or cruelty might invent should not extort from him a single groan; nor a syllable that could in any way impeach his friends.

‘With the first pair of pincers, the executioner tore the flesh from one of his arms. The sudden infliction of pain caused him to recede, in a slight degree, from the irons; and he drew in his breath, as if to form it into a sigh, but he instantly recovered himself—his countenance upbraided him, and he ma-

most nobly took shame for having betrayed even the slightest sense of suffering—then, resuming more, if possible, than his former composure, he patiently waited the approach of the next irons, and, on these being brought towards him, he steadfastly cast his eye upon them, inclined a little forward, and with an unshaken firmness of countenance, deliberately met their burning grasp! From that moment he shewed himself capable of despising the severest pain. Not a feature was afterwards disturbed, and he preserved a degree of composure implying absolute contempt of torture and of death.

‘ Finally, when the destructive pile was set in flames, his body spun round the iron stake, with his mouth open, until his head fell back, and life was extinguished. I am told, by a gentleman who had the melancholy task to attend the execution, that the most horrid stench continued for many hours to issue from the roasting body, and was extremely offensive throughout the town, penetrating so strongly into the houses to leeward, as to make some persons sick, and prevent them from taking food during the remainder of the day.

‘ Another of the chiefs, or captains, who was taken, is still in confinement at the fort, under sentence of death. His execution has been delayed in the hope of learning from him, the situation of the yet remaining encampment; but hitherto to no purpose; and from his present conduct, it may be expected that he will die as relentless and inflexible as his comrade Amsterdam.

‘ *La Bourgade, May 21.*

‘ I HAVE before informed you that the barrack allotted to the medical officers is a very commodious house, situated near to the hospital; but I gave you no account of the furniture; nor did I describe to you what we here esteem a comfortable dwelling. Let me, therefore, tell you that our mansion is wholly built of wood, and is of the simplest construction. Being set upon low pillars, it is so raised from the ground as to leave sufficient space for dogs and small pigs to pass under it. Chimnies and fire places are not required. The windows are naked holes in the wooden sides, and are neither closed

with plate glass, nor well-fitted sashes, but hung with heavy shutters on the outside, to protect us in time of rain. No fine stucco plasters the walls, nor are the rooms hung with rich paper or tapestry. No painted cloth, nor soft carpet spreads the floor, nor do any rich cornices, or figured plasterings decorate the ceiling. Above, below, and at the sides, all is plain wood: the walls, the ceilings, and the floors are alike of naked boards; many of them so joined together as to allow free admission to air and light. Sitting in the parlour, we see through the openings into the bed-room above; and to the pigs rooting below. The roof is also of wood, and open to the bed-chambers, which are hung only with the well-spun tapestry of industrious spiders. An old bench, or form, with three or four chairs of rough wood, and a coarse deal board, laid upon a pair of cross legs by way of table, complete the furniture.

‘ Thus accommodated, you will be amused to hear that, we have had company to visit us at our dinner table. Ladies! did you ask? No, not ladies! but a party from one of his majesty’s ships of war, who were led by curiosity to see how the “soldier-officers,” (as they term the gentlemen of the army) were accommodated on shore. They did not express themselves violently envious of our comforts; but were much diverted in forming conjectures what might have been the remarks of some of our friends in luxurious London, could they have glanced an eye upon our humble banquet, and the general order of our *manege*. A piece of hard salt beef graced one end of the table, a heavy lump of salt pork the other, and salt-meat soup supplied the place of the rich *plateau* in the middle. Such is our daily repast, and such was our feast; for we gave to our visitors the most sumptuous fare of the larder.

‘ We often dispatch negroes to the distant plantations upon the coast, or the borders of the river, in search of fowls, ducks, roasting pigs, or any other fresh provisions; but they so commonly return empty handed, that we have been led to suspect them of idleness or neglect, and have been induced to make the experiment ourselves, by going to different estates up the river, with a view of purchasing poultry or other stock. But

we have been equally unsuccessful; sometimes failing altogether, and at others procuring only a single chicken, or a roasting pig to serve a mess of six persons for the week. It happened one week that we met with a whole litter of young roasters to the number of six, when we thought ourselves in high good fortune; but as we had no means of keeping them fat or in condition, we were unable to economize the use of them, and from eating pig, pig, pig, every day till they were all consumed, together with the accident of our black and stupid cook, occasionally leaving a little savoury stuffing within, we were not only in danger of growing into porkers ourselves, but became so entirely satiated with pig as to make it extremely doubtful whether we shall ever be able to eat it again.

‘The hospital at La Bourgade being now established, and placed under proper regulations for the accommodation of the sick, I shall proceed without delay to the settlement of Berbice, in order to make the necessary hospital arrangements for that colony.

“  
‘*Berbice, May 31.*

‘EXCEPTING a passage of only a few hours, I left Demarara on board a small vessel which I had not seen previous to embarking for the voyage; and which offered no accommodation but that of being bound direct to the place of my destination. This, indeed, seemed to be all that was required, for I was assured both on shore and when I arrived on board, that in less than 24 hours we should be at Berbice. But, consistent with the uncertainties to which I am always doomed, whenever my person is entrusted to the fickle ocean, this short passage, from a multitude of adverse circumstances, was extended to a sadly tedious voyage; and, in many respects, the most comfortless and disagreeable I have known. Instead of a few hours only, we were four long days at sea.

‘At eight o’clock on the morning of the 26th instant, I embarked on board the above sloop to proceed from fort William Frederic, at the mouth of the Demarara river, to fort St. Andrew, at the entrance of the river Berbice. The vessel was

employed by the commissariat, to convey stores and provisions to the garrison. She was named Voltigeur, and if the term was meant to imply a rolling and tumbling vessel, in opposition to every thing of speed or expedition, it surely could not have been more correctly applied, for never did an unweildy cask move more heavily on the water.

‘Quite unexpectedly I met with five other passengers on board, to all of whom I was an entire stranger. I thought myself fortunate in having procured three small chickens, and a salted pig’s face, with some fruit and vegetables, as my share of stock for the voyage; and which, I was told by my friends on shore, who had often made the passage, was an ample supply, it being probable that I should not have to remain more than a single day on board. The other gentlemen, having more confidence than myself in the wind, the sea, and the Voltigeur, had embarked without provisions or stores of any kind.

‘The anchor was weighing when I arrived on board, I, therefore, had scarcely any opportunity of seeing my fellow passengers before we were under sail; nor had I time to become at all acquainted with them ere I was compelled to retreat, and to hide myself from their society; for, as usual, my head became sensible of the sea-motion before we had well escaped from the river, and my stomach sympathizing, violent sickness seized me, and I was compelled to hurry to bed.

‘Till now I had taken no thought regarding either cabin or couch, the shortness of the voyage, and the warm and steady temperature of the climate had superseded all concern respecting a berth for the night—every accommodation being assured to me by sitting upon deck, or lying down in the open air. The ills of noon, and the unaccommodating nature of the Voltigeur had no share in my calculations. But I now discovered that no relief to the present sufferings could be had upon deck. To sit up was impossible, the violence of the reaching being altogether insupportable, and, as the vessel offered no protecting shade, to lie down upon the deck, exposed to the full power of a burning sun, was to invite almost certain dis-

ease; and, further, as there were no quarter-boards, nor any other defence at the sides of the sloop, I must have been every moment in danger of being rolled overboard into the sea.

‘ Under these circumstances I was driven to seek shelter in the cabin, such as it might chance to be; and, to this end, I was conducted to a kind of trap-door in the quarter-deck, called a hatch-way; and, the hatch being lifted off, a dark hole below was pointed out to me as the cabin, and the only place where I could recline my aching head, or hope relief for my sickened stomach. Subdued by the depressing langour of nausea, I was too ill to hesitate;—to lie down was my only care. A death-like sickness impelled me on; and, unassisted by stairs or ladder, I dropped myself, by means of my trembling arms, down the opening into this murky cell. My feet were quickly arrested by the old chests, and other lumber scattered about this filthy place, which was not of sufficient depth to admit of my standing upright, without being half out at the hatch-way; neither was there room to sit down, nor a chair, nor stool to rest upon—hence it only remained to me to crawl upon my hands and knees over the loose chests and barrels to the farthest extent of the cabin, and there throw myself into a wooden birth fixed at the side; which I found too short to admit of the full extension of my person, and too near the planks of the deck above, to allow of my remaining in any but an extended posture.

‘ Still the annihilating nausea I suffered rendering me insensible to all other ills, I folded myself up, as well as the shortness and narrowness of my contracted birth would allow, and assuming, as nearly as I could, the horizontal position; sought only to escape from the distressing sickness that overpowered me: nor was it until this had somewhat abated that I discovered the horrors of the contracted dungeon into which I had crawled. Darkness and nausea had concealed from me, not only the limited extent, but the many other ills of this wretched hole. At a moment when the all-concealing sickness had a little subsided, a sailor, with a light in his hand, dropped through the opening by which I had descended. It were impossible to describe the sensations I experienced upon disco-

vering the scene which now opened to me. The execrable nest in which I was lying was not simply crowded and confined, beyond all that the annoyances I had felt had led me to suspect, but it was a *tout ensemble* of nastiness, that defies all description. Words can only convey to you, a faint idea of the dirty and abominable place, in which, for four long days, sick and without food, I had to live.

‘ This horrid cell, called a cabin, was only six feet long, seven wide, and four in depth; and was further contracted to less than half its dimension, by the loose old chests, and worm-eaten coffers standing on the deck below; the thick sheets of cobwebs suspended from the deck above; and the crowd of filthy ornaments hanging on all sides. To sit or to stand appeared impossible; scarcely, indeed, was there room to lie down, or to breathe. Not only was I shocked to see the noxious den I was in, but was puzzled to conjecture how I could have steered my passage to the birth where I was lying. Both the entrance to the cabin, and the path I had travelled to my couch were such as I could only have passed during the insensibility of a severe fit of nausea. Descending from the hatchway above, I must have alighted upon a heap of unfixed trunks and coffers, at the risk of my legs being jammed between them; then I had to crawl, upon my hands and knees, over the old unsteady lumber, breaking my way through filth-thickened cobwebs, at the hazard of being entangled in the strong net-work of gigantic spiders, whose labours had known no interruption since the building of the ship; and who, by constant toil, had manufactured sheets and cordage of almost sufficient strength to work it. But when compared to the many other offensive things which filled the place, these arachnoide hangings might be regarded as the rich tapestry of the apartment.

‘ I was really seized with terror on beholding the actual state of this noisome prison-hole, for, considering its confined limits, and the multiplicity of foul and offensive things that were crammed into it, it appeared quite miraculous that I should have escaped the fate of our countrymen who were consigned to the celebrated hole of Calcutta.

‘ At each side of this dark abode was a fixed sleeping birth which was narrow, short, and dirty. The centre was filled with barrels, tubs, old sea chests, greasy coffers, and other lumber. At one end stood a tub of stinking salt meat; at the other, one with rotten potatoes, and pots of rancid butter. The cabin was the general receptacle—the store-house, cellar, pantry, and larder of the ship. Under the births, saluting the noses of those lying in them, were filthy worm-eaten chests, filled with dirty long-worn apparel, and other high-essenced contents. One was set apart for unwashed knives and forks, dirty plates, basons, and dishes; another for the odorous remains of yesterday’s dinner. In one corner stood a bag of musty biscuit—in another hung an old grease-thickened lantern. Hand-spikes, marline spikes, dirty swabs, a broken mouldy case with a compass—an old worm-eaten ditto with a quadrant, two or three broken fishing lines, a battered old speaking trumpet, and a variety of other implements, hung, or strewed about, added to the furniture of the apartment.

‘ But worst of all were the poisonous old blankets of the sleeping births; and the myriads of insects and vermin-crawling about, and making a public high-way of my body. Rats and mice, cockroachers, musquitoes, fleas, and ants, formed only a part of the catalogue.

‘ You will believe that on discovering how I was placed, I lost no time in attempting my escape from this wretched nest. But, on rising, a violent and enfeebling sickness again seized me, and from the causes I have mentioned, it was impossible to remain upon deck; I therefore made the experiment of standing in the hatch-way, with my head through the opening, so as to catch the passing breeze; but the intense heat from the perpendicular rays of the sun, and the death-like nausea and incessant reaching produced by the erect position, soon chased me from this wholesome station, and left me only a choice of evils—either to extend myself upon deck exposed to burning heat, at the risk of being rolled overboard into the sea; or again to throw myself into the deadly hole I had left. The former of these measures almost insured disease—the latter



threatened a poisonous suffocation, and the danger of being devoured by vermin.

‘ In this dilemma—unable to decide which might prove the lesser evil, and almost sinking from the langour produced by nausea and vomiting, I, at length, resolved to return to the manifold ills of the cabin; but continued at the hatch-way, supporting a degree of reaching, which almost inverted my stomach, while one of the sailors removed the blankets and other offensive things that were in the birth, and swept and scrubbed it out, in order to give me the bare boards as a resting place.

‘ I now drew on a pair of thick fustain pantaloons that reached down to my feet; buckled them fast in my shoes; put on a pair of strong gloves; covered my head and great part of my face with my night-cap; and changing my coat for a loose morning gown, rolled myself up so as to leave scarcely more than my nose accessible; and, thus protected, tumbled again into the birth I had quitted, bidding defiance to the insects, vermin, and every annoyance around me. Fortunately my senses were not at this moment very acute, for I laboured under a severe catarrh which deprived me of the faculties of smelling and tasting, and almost robbed me of sight. By sickness and want of rest, my sense of feeling was also become torpid; so that the ear was the only organ which retained its full power of receiving offensive impressions. Situated as I was, all this might be considered as fortunate, for I was compelled to remain throughout the remainder of the day, either violently reaching, or sickly viewing the wretched and disgusting scene around me.

‘ Before evening poor old Mr. Serjeant, one of my fellow-passengers, was likewise seized with sickness, and compelled to seek relief by reclining his head in the opposite birth of the cabin. I had now a companion in my affliction, but this brought no alleviation to my sufferings.—I felt that this old gentleman, who possessed a large property and all the comforts of an opulent estate, might be less prepared than myself, to encounter the hardships and annoyances we were exposed to; and this

idea in no degree contributed to my relief. In painful sympathy we mutually bewailed each other's distress, looking with anxious hope to a less offensive birth upon the open deck, when the sun should take his leave for the night.

‘ But in this expectation we were grievously disappointed. The retreat of the sun was succeeded by heavy torrents of rain; and instead of our being able to return upon deck, all the other passengers were driven below, crowding both the cabin and hatch-way, so as to threaten us with the pains of suffocation. Every old chest and trunk now cracked with the weight of some one hastening down to escape from the rain; and, quickly, no less than seven or eight persons were crowded into this contracted hole of spiders and vermin, committing depredations upon their net-work hangings, and tearing down the strong hammocks in which for years past they had rested undisturbed. The whole host was thus put to flight. All the living things of the cabin seemed to be let loose in alarm. Numerous flocks of old spiders, overgrown cockroaches, rats, ants, and other travellers, ran distracted about the births, kicking up their heels in our faces, and scampering without ceremony over every part of our persons.

‘ Nor was this the worst of our troubles, for, on account of the rain, and from some of the creoles, who were stationed about the opening, complaining of cold, we were exposed to the still greater annoyance—to the extreme peril of lying with the hatch-way closed. But this I felt it totally impossible to endure; and therefore loudly and earnestly entreated, that crowded and stowed as we were, we might not on any account be shut from the breeze. Possibly it might have proved an effectual expedient for relieving us from the vermin and insects; but, from being apprehensive of my own lungs, I was unwilling to hazard the experiment.

‘ In a state truly deplorable did we pass a long and wearisome night. I had taken no food; nausea still oppressed me; my very bones ached; my cold was severe; my eyes were swoln from reaching, and from want of rest; my head throbbd with pain; the heat of the cabin was suffocating; and I was almost expiring from want of air. With what anxiety did

I wait the return of day; and when grey morning stole in at the hatch-way, how joyfully did I hail its happy dawn!

‘My mind’s eye now saw the fort of Berbice close a-head of the sloop, and I contemplated a speedy escape from all the perils and annoyances of the execrable Voltigeur. We had been under sail during the whole of the night, and it was no unreasonable flight of fancy to expect that we approached near to the end of the voyage. But the term of our sufferings was not thus soon to close. New vexations arose, and disappointment again presented its thorns. An old sailor who had been employed to take his watch at the helm during the night, had devoted to all-subduing Morpheus, and steered the vessel a wrong course; from which accident we had now the mortification to find ourselves more distant from Berbice, than we had been in the evening. This was a cruel blow to my happiest expectations; and judging from the progress hitherto made, the warm hope of being soon on shore, was superseded by the fear of being detained another night on board.

‘One of the passengers, who it proved was the owner of the vessel, observing my solicitude, offered me consolation, by remarking that we were not far distant from an estate of his upon the coast, and assuring me, that if the vessel should not be able to reach Berbice in the evening, rather than we should suffer such another night, he would take us all off in the boat to sleep at his house on shore. This was, indeed, a real comfort to me, and I supported the sickness and other ills of the day, in the full confidence of being one way or other relieved from them at night.

‘Our heavy sloop proceeded in dull movement, making slow progress, and scarcely regaining, during the whole of the day, the distance she had lost in the night. Evening again approached and our captain saw no prospect of reaching Berbice. Finding this, the passengers upon deck kindly sent a message down into the cabin, informing me, that we were within sight of the estate, at which we were to sleep. This was happy news indeed! The prospect of escaping from the detested Voltigeur, although but for a few hours, brought instant relief to my sickened stomach! The afflicting nausea vanished,

and, in high delight, I hastened from my hard bed of sickness to seek a sweeter birth on shore.

‘But vexation and disappointment were again our lot; and no alleviating remission of our sufferings was allowed. It was discovered that we were too far distant from the shore to go off in the boat; and moreover that it was the ebb of tide, which rendered it impossible that we could traverse the deep bank of mud, which extended from the water’s edge to the land.

‘It was next debated whether it might answer our purpose to avail ourselves of the return of the tide, and of our nearer approach to the shore at a later hour: but, again, our hopes were defeated, by the unexpected decline of the breeze, which most provokingly placed us upon the water in a dead calm. Presently the evening closed, and it growing suddenly dark, we were compelled to abandon the project, and to submit to the torture of passing another night on board.

‘As my next resource I resolved to avoid the poisonous stench and filth of the cabin, by pillowing my head upon the open deck until morning; but I found that my measure of vexation was not yet filled, for I was quickly chased from this well-aired couch, by the falling of heavy rain; and compelled to return to my nest of spiders. As the evil was without a remedy, I hastened below, and, keeping on my clothes and shoes, tumbled in upon the bare boards I had left, cracking numbers of cockroaches and other insects in my fall; for the whole multitude of creeping things seemed to have met in congress in the birth, not expecting my return; and in the alarm of sudden interruption some were crushed, while the others paced and scrambled their way over my person, even in greater droves than before.

‘The rain continued to fall, and from all the passengers again crowding into the cabin, we were close-stowed in confined and offensive heat, and passed another sadly wretched night: which to me was more distressing than the former, on account of my cold being somewhat relieved, and my olfactory powers in a slight degree restored. How anxiously did I wish to place an additional feather in the wing of time---how pray,

ere the night had well commenced, that morning would again appear !

‘ The few hours absence of light seemed quite an age ; for, annoyed and restless as I was through the night, sleep was a stranger to my eyes. Indeed had the soothing deity of repose invited me to his soft bowers, I should have refused the offering, in the apprehension that if I ceased to keep watch, I might lose a finger, either of the hand or the foot ; or be eaten in holes by the herds of hungry vermin, that were seeking to make a prey of my body. Comfortless, wearied, and with aching bones, I gladly greeted the return of day, and without dwelling upon minor ills, felt it fortunate to have preserved myself . . . . . in a whole skin !

‘ To prevent the accident of the preceding night, we had let go the anchor ; and, without the risk of steering away from our course, remained near the shore until the revolving sun again broke from the waters of the east to guide our path. It was now discovered that we had been lying near to the estate of our fellow-passenger, where it was intended we should have slept ; and it also appeared that we were only a few hours run from Berbice ; and that, unless some new prevention occurred, we could not fail to complete our voyage in the course of the day.

‘ But, unhappily, the proprietor of the vessel now desired to be set on shore, and we could not weigh anchor until the sailors who went off in the boat should return. At 7 o’clock Mr. ——— took his departure from the vessel, carrying with him the other passengers, and leaving me to make the remainder of the voyage alone.

‘ I before observed that these gentlemen brought no provisions on board ; and as my scanty stock had only served the mess for a single dinner, we had already been reduced to the negro diet of plantains and water for nearly two days. This had, hitherto, been no inconvenience to me, for my sickened stomach refused equally every kind of nourishment ; but my greatest distress arose from the other passengers having devoured every morsel of my fruit, while I was lying sick and ill

below, not leaving me a shaddock, nor any orange, to moisten my lips, or cool my tongue.

‘ On their leaving the sloop, I earnestly entreated them not to detain the boat a moment after they landed, lest we should be prevented from reaching Berbice by night. They in reply assured me that it should not be delayed a minute beyond the time necessary for sending us “some fruit, and some provisions for the captain’s dinner.” But, incertitude was still the maxim of the fickle element, and stern ocean remitted not his unsteady and despotic rule. Instead of the boat coming back directly, we were kept waiting the whole of the day, under an anxiety which it were more easy to conceive than express.

‘ The third night came on and no boat appeared. Our situation was now tenfold more distressing than before. Without the men who went off with the boat, we had not hands enough to work the vessel. No remedy therefore remained but to wait for them, however delayed their return. The mortification of having to pass another night in my offensive den, was sadly aggravated by the vexation of lying at anchor near to the place of destination, more than double the time that was required to complete the voyage; and if ever one day of 24 hours was longer than another it was surely this. Only one idea occupied the mind. The delayed return of the boat excluded every other contemplation, and chaining our thoughts to a single link, the langour of disappointed expectation lengthened a most wearisome day into more than a tedious week!

‘ The poor captain, grown even more impatient than myself, became quite outrageous, and from no satisfactory cause explaining to his mind the detention of the boat, he sought not to restrain his rage, but kicked and stamped upon the deck, pouring forth dreadful sea oaths, in the full coarseness of broad Barbadian dialect, and with all the emphasis of unbounded execration. His curses were really tremendous. They were unlike all that had before met my ear; and were rendered doubly odious by the drawling accent in which they were pronounced.

‘ Notwithstanding my determination to meet the rough and the smooth of life as they shall chance to fall in my path, this I confess was a day of trial to my philosophy. Being without food and drink, without society, or other *agrement*, I was not able to beguile the slothful hours, either by conversation or the pleasures of the table; and even disappointed in the hope of diverting my mind, from the fatigue of unremitted suspense, by reading. Intending to make the trial, I begged of the stamping, raving captain to shew me his library.---Aye, exclaimed he, with a broad oath, that I can soon do! And, in truth, so he might; for it consisted only of an old mouldy copy of the sailor’s *Vade mecum*, and the second volume of *The Tattler*, worm-eaten, and held together by a needleful of worsted. As I was not in humour with the sea, nor any thing appertaining thereto, I threw aside the musty old guide, and sat down to tattle with Mr. Bickerstaff, hoping in his society to forget the cares of the moment; but still the boat---the boat annoyed me at every page, and I found it impossible to abstract my thoughts from the painful apprehension of passing another night on board the execrable Voltigeur. However, with sometimes tattling, sometimes thinking, and sometimes looking out, I contrived to wear away the torpid hours; and, slow and dilatory as they had seemed, I found that the tedious day had too soon passed away; for the cheering god of light again sunk into the western waves,---and no boat had arrived!

‘ The vessel being at anchor and near the shore, the motion was not considerable; and, consequently, the violent sickness and reaching, which had hitherto distressed me, were a little abated, and I remained, during the greater part of the day, upon deck; but as is common at this season of the year, heavy rain again fell at night, and I was driven below to pass the hours of darkness amidst the filth and perils of my former retreat. Defending myself, as before, against the enemies that besieged me, I very reluctantly committed my person to their attack. My head ached severely; I was enfeebled and languid from former reaching, and the want of food; and every cir-

cumstance around me, tended to rob me of rest. I, at exhausted nature sought relief. My eye-lids hung heavy and did occasionally fall together; yet all repose was denied me, for no sooner was I off my guard, than I was again roused by formidable troops marching across my face and my person, and inflicting sharp wounds in order to drink my blood.

‘The poor enraged captain, bidding defiance to the showers, remained throughout the greater part of the night swearing and stamping upon deck; and, in his watchful look-out for the boat, kept himself awake by pouring dread Barbadian curses upon the heads of those who detained it.

‘After a long and wearisome watching the eye of morning unclosed, and day again broke in at the opening of the cabin. Much rain had fallen during the night, but the sun smiled propitious through his morning robes, and seemed to offer cheerful greetings. With eager anxiety I sought tidings of our boat, but could obtain no intelligence regarding her. Neither was she arrived, nor in sight. The whole round of a day and night had passed since she left us, and we were wholly lost in conjecture what could possibly detain her.

‘I now began to feel alarmed for my fellow-passengers, and soon became more anxious concerning their safety, than regarding the return of the boat. Something surely must have happened. The tide and the mud appeared no longer sufficient to explain the delay. Still had we no means of obtaining, nor even of seeking information, and it only remained to us to continue the expectations of the preceding day, rendered far more anxious from our apprehensions respecting the fate of the gentlemen who had left us.

‘I had very early escaped from the cabin, and having exhausted all inquiries and conjectures without discovering any possible remedy, it next became a question how to kill the heavy time. I had already travelled as far as *Finis* with Isaac Bickerstaff; and had nothing left in the shape of a book but the dirty worn-out *Vade mecum*: therefore, great as was my aversion to the sea, a seeming necessity drove me to separate the dirty pages of the old guide. A Dutch dictionary had been nearly as entertaining. I nevertheless laboured through



latitudes and longitudes, and meridians, and altitudes, quite to the end: and still . . . . . no boat appeared!

'I next resumed my tattling with Mr. Bickerstaff, pursuing our conversation of yesterday until about noon, when, to the great joy of all on board, our long lost boat hove in sight.—Both tattler and guide were instantly forgotten, and, leaping up, I asked impulsively if we had yet time to reach Berbice by night. The captain assured me that we had; and you will believe that we kept our eyes stedfastly on the boat, wishing her ten-fold speed. At length, after an absence of thirty-two most tedious hours, she came safe alongside; when we learned that no accident had occurred; but that owing to the immense beds of drifted mud on the coast, and to the tide making against them, when they first *neared* the shore, all the party had been kept at sea in the open boat, exposed to the full ardour of a vertical sun, and without a morsel to eat, or a drop to drink, during the whole of the preceding day, from seven o'clock in the morning until ten at night: since which the boat had been kept on shore to give rest and refreshment to the poor sailors, who were cruelly exhausted with heat and fatigue.

'Thus did it appear that there were situations even more distressing than being confined on board the odious Voltigeur; for those who had gone off in the boat had been greater sufferers than myself. But I was surprized to find that men, who had so recently known the ills of privation, did not experience some feelings of sympathy towards others. Although they knew that we were lying waiting in sad suspense, and without food or drink, except some stale plantains and bad water, notwithstanding the boat remained on shore full twelve hours after they landed, they had not the liberality—the compassion, I might say, to send off either a bit, or a drop to the master of the vessel, whom they had kept waiting; or to the person whose provisions they had eaten.

'We could not but feel hurt at this neglect: but we recollected that they landed at night, and in a state of fatigue and discomfort but little calculated to extend their consideration beyond their own persons; and we hoped to feel it the less on

account of speedily reaching the haven whither we were bound: but, as if the torments of this vexatious voyage were never to end, when the boat reached us, it was discovered that the tide did not serve for us to get under weigh; and, consequently, we were obliged to spend two hours of more tedious waiting than all that had passed, before we could open our sails to the wind. At length the boat being hauled up astern, and the tide serving, we again stood out to sea: the captain assuring me that we still had sufficient time to reach Berbice by sun-set. Knowing her talents for sailing I had strong doubts of this; but did not deem it wise to discourage the commander by condemning his vessel. The fact probably would too soon explain itself.

‘The wind was not in our favour, and on my first venturing to ask how we came on, I learned that we were about half a league *further from port* than when we were lying at anchor. Still I was enough a sailor to have this explained to my satisfaction, by the observation that it was necessary to *stand well out*, in order to *fetch the river upon the next tack*. But very soon after, on attempting to *bring the vessel about*, new perplexities arose. The Voltigeur disobeyed the helm, and would not *veer to the wind*. In the sailor’s language she would neither *tack nor wear*, but remained fixed like a log upon the water. I stood equally fixed, observing all that passed, without hazarding a syllable of remark; for, however bad a vessel may be, and however much her captain may abuse her himself, still every commander is so tenacious regarding the vessel under his direction, that it were treason for any other person to speak of her as a bad sailer.

‘The poor captain now stamped and swore worse than ever; and I had a full opportunity of hearing the whole catalogue of vulgar sea-oaths, delivered in the broadest creole dialect. He cursed the vessel’s eyes, her heart, and her sides—uttered dreadful oaths upon her head, her soul, and her liver, and after loading her with all the dreadful imprecations that vulgar rage could invent, he completed the climax, by exclaiming to the sailors “*d----- her, cut her old throat, d----- her!*”

‘ After much exertion and a varied repetitions of oaths, and enraged stampings upon the deck, the vessel was brought about, and we stood in for the shore, sailing for a short time in steady approach for the river; but within less than a short half-hour, the bright prospect, which had so recently opened to us, was again obscured, by the Voltigeur striking upon the mud, and being nearly fixed aground. Fortunately she *went about* on this tack, with greater facility than the other, and hence, by putting her round, she was soon set afloat again: but it was now necessary to stand away, and make a long reach from the shore, in order to get into deep water. This would necessarily delay our arrival, yet still the captain insisted that we should reach Berbice at night. But upon my next inquiry respecting our progress I found that this was not very probable, for we were then six miles *further off* than when the boat came to us in the morning.

‘ Soon afterwards all hands were summoned, and “*about, about,*” re-echoed throughout the sloop. But the vexatious Voltigeur again resisted. She had a sad antipathy to the Berbice river, and on their attempting to tack for the shore, she refused to turn her head that way. The poor captain, who had carefully stationed every man at his post, and prepared with all due care for putting her about, grew almost frantic. He stamped and raved, and swore with all the bitterness of unbridled wrath; and, having gone through all his volume of oaths, he threw himself down, exhausted by his exertions and his fury, exclaiming—“*Dammee if we shall get in to-night, for she’ll neither wag one way nor t’other.*” For this I was not unprepared, my expectations for some hours previous, having been of accord with the information: and although the epithets of old, rotten, and leaky, used by the infuriated captain, were from all appearance very true, I was grown too resigned, or too callous to all the ills of my situation, to experience any feelings of alarm respecting our safety.

‘ After some delay the vessel did *come about*, and we again stood on boldly for the land, making all possible sail, the master and his crew not despairing of being able to reach Berbice

by night. But, as if the very fates had combined with the elements, to throw every obstacle in the way of our passage, the breeze suddenly dropped, and we were beset in a calm! Against this impediment neither the oaths of the commander, nor the exertions of the sailors could ought avail. The captain who had already opened his whole store of imprecations was about to repeat them with manful energy, but, recollecting himself, he bestowed one round curse upon the wind and the passage, and as a closing exclamation cried out, "*D---n the old tub, it is not her fault neither—there is not a thimbleful of wind! Dammee if we shall get in this week!*"

' Thus ended the sailing of the day, and we again let go our anchor for the night. The poor harassed man now became more tranquil, and I took courage to address him in conversation, when I learned, that after all the fatigue and exertions of the day, we were further from Berbice than we had been the preceding night; but that we had the advantage of lying in deeper water, and, consequently, were better situated for availing ourselves of the morning breeze.

' I resumed my hard birth, protected as before, and bade defiance to the many companions of my nest. Nausea had distressed me throughout the day, and the restored powers of my olfactories was not in favour of its removal. The very severe reaching had ceased, but the want of food, and the extreme heat of the atmosphere rendered me feeble and languid: yet I was more comfortless than ill, and seemed only to require rest to relieve me from personal sufferings. Unhappily this was denied me, and in nausea and discomfort, I rolled out the tedious hours of night.

' The fifth morning of this wretched voyage was serene and clear, and I left my sleepless couch at an early hour to breathe a purer air upon deck; when, upon looking out, I perceived an island not far distant, and lying directly in our course.--- From the sailors I learned that it was within the mouth of the river Berbice. This was happy intelligence, and seemed to promise a speedy termination of our teemful voyage. When the captain came upon deck, he greeted me with a broad oath, assuring me that I should breakfast at fort William Frederic.

I wished it might be so: indeed all seemed now within our reach, and it appeared to be scarcely possible that any new impediment could interrupt the completion of our passage; but the experience we had had was sufficient to create doubts in the mind of the most sanguine, and to temper his warmest expectations to the sobriety of tardy and interrupted accomplishment—nay, to convince him that the uncertainties of a sea voyage could never end until the foot was again upon *terra firma*. If any stronger conviction of this fact could have been required, it had been amply supplied to my mind by what followed.

‘ At seven o’clock we weighed anchor, and immediately made all possible sail, with the island displaying its thick woods directly a-head of the sloop, and forming a very pleasing object. As we came nearer to it, I observed that it was situated about the middle of the river, and nearly opposite to the landing place at the fort. All seemed now propitious, and we sailed smoothly on: but we had yet to experience a further trial of patience! An hour had not passed, from the time of our getting under weigh, before our passage was completely arrested by the Voltigeur again striking upon the mud. “*By Heav’n’s,*” exclaimed the captain, “*she aground! This is worse than ever!*” All his vexations were now cruelly aggravated by the mortification of his pride, in consequence of being seen from the fort; and he ran, stamped, stormed, and cursed, in loud burst of rage, which out-did all his former doings.— I felt the less annoyed by this additional delay, from the opportunity it afforded me of contemplating the scene before us—more particularly as the vessel could not suffer any injury from her soft bed, and as we were near enough to reach the shore in the boat, even should any accident render it necessary for us to quit the sloop. The best exertions of the crew were of no avail—fixed in the mud we were compelled to let go the anchor, and wait until the flood of tide should again set us afloat.

‘ The view before us was that of a wild country, only just opening into cultivation. It comprized an extent of wood and water, with small patches of land breaking into incipient tillage,

but it had nothing of the bold and romantic scenery of mountainous regions. The picture was soft and harmonious. We were lying a few miles out at sea, looking directly up the river; the quiet waters of which were stealing in tranquil stream to the ocean. No part of the territory of the island was visible, but from being flat and low, it appeared a mere cluster of trees, growing out of the water, and causing a pleasant break in the wide embouchure of the river. On the right was the western shore covered with one heavy forest, whose gigantic timbers, gradually elevating their crowded summits from the water's edge, formed one wide expanse of interminable verdure, which fancy might easily have converted into a green field of immense extent, gently sloping to the water. On the left was the eastern shore, shaded also with deep forests; but, on this side, the river's bank was partially thinned of its woods—and presented to our view the fort and batteries, with a deep savannah at the back of them. I gazed in earnest contemplation upon the solemn wildness of the scene, and lamented not the accident which had so peculiarly placed it before me. For a moment my mind was wholly abstracted from every thing directly around me, and rambling in the society of the wild men, the monkeys, and other animals that inhabit *the bush*, I was totally lost amidst these vast and unbounded forests. But I was quickly interrupted from my reverie and recalled from the endless woods, by a loud cry of "*All hands to heave the anchor.*" The tide had supplied us with water to float the sloop, and we lost no time in attempting to escape from our muddy birth.

The vessel now stood directly into the mouth of the river, and, being careful to keep the middle of the stream, we again felt secure of our passage. But the fates had not yet sufficiently schooled us in adversity. Before we had time to reach the fort the wind dropped, and, from the vessel disobeying the helm, we again drifted aground. This was worse than all; and the poor captain now swore that "*the very devil himself must have set his spell upon the vessel!*"

We were again compelled to let go the anchor, in order to wait the return of the breeze. Being near to the island and

the fort, I might have gone on shore in the boat, but I could not venture to ask our angry commander to spare any of his men for that purpose. I had often before seen him expend his wrath without presuming to interrupt him. It was now increased to frenzy, and he loudly vociferated—“*There is some daamm devil in the ship that's bringing us this passage, and we must heave him overboard, or we shan't get in this month.*” It was perilous to speak to him, and, if any thing I might say should chance to cross him, it was not certain but, in the overflowings of his rage, he might fix upon me as the “*Jonas,*” and deem it expedient to take his measures accordingly. At all events it was necessary to keep out of the way, in order not to interrupt him or his men in working the vessel; I therefore remained below, during the high tide of his ravings and stampings, shewing my head only at the hatch-way, like an unhappy object peeping out of a prison.

“ We remained for a considerable time deep fixed in mud. Luckily the meridian sun approached with a fine breeze in his suite, and we were once more set afloat, when we were quickly placed alongside the battery at St. Andrew's fort, and I most gladly jumped on shore, rejoicing in the termination of a voyage which had been harassing and vexatious, beyond all that the most ill-tokened calculation could have anticipated. Never was poor suffering prisoner more happy in being released from long confinement, than I was to escape from my noisome abode in the Voltigeur. During four sad long days, and four still more wearisome nights, had I been immured in the filthiest of all filthy dungeons, ill, and in a manner without food or support, having only the repetition of bad plantains every day for breakfast, for dinner, and for supper.

“ I was met at the water's edge by Mr. Mackie, the acting surgeon of the garrison, who kindly conducted me to an apartment, where I could cast off my sea garments, and submit my person to the purifying process of a complete ablution. Few, perhaps, would have wished for my birth on board the Voltigeur—but all might have envied me the luxury of my bath on leaving it! I cannot tell you how delightful—how grateful it was! The adult baptism of the most devoted bigot could not

be more enchanting. It was in truth the water of holiness. It refreshed, it animated,—nay, inspired me! I felt new life, and certainly was . . . . . *a very different being!* On landing I had been sick and comfortless, with my head dizzy, my knees trembling, and my whole frame enfeebled: but, after my ablution, I felt born a-new; my strength returned; I was no longer sick; a general glow of health and freshness was diffused over me, and I became the creature of . . . . . a new world!

‘ *Berbice, June 3.*

‘ THE whole scenery at New Amsterdam, as well as at fort William Frederic, betrays the infant state of the colony. The dreariness of the land, just robbed of its thick woods—the nakedness that prevails around the government-house—the want of roads and paths—the wild savannah—the heavy forests; in short all that meets the eye conveys the idea of a country just emerging from its original wildness into cultivation. In the woods wild Indians range wide and free. Sometimes also tigers are seen prowling from their deep shades; and our ears are daily and almost hourly saluted with the loud chattering of monkies, the horrid screaming of parrots, and the confused noise of numerous other inhabitants.

‘ I have been present at the sale of a Dutch cargo of slaves, at the new town of Amsterdam. Many of the officers went from the fort to witness this degrading spectacle, and although my feelings had suffered from a similar scene at Demarara, I could not resist the novelty of observing the Dutch mode of proceeding in this sad traffic of human cattle.

‘ On arriving at the town we were surprized to find it quite a holiday, or a kind of a public fair. The sale seemed to have excited general attention, and to have brought together all the inhabitants of the colony. The planters came down from the estates with their wives and families all arrayed in their gayest apparel: the belles and beaux appeared in their Sunday suits: even the children were in full dress; and their slaves decked out in holiday clothes. It was quite a gala-day, and greater numbers of people were collected than we had supposed to have



been in the colony. Short jackets, with tawdry wide-flowered petticoats, and loose Dutch slippers, formed the prevailing dress of the females. Scarlet, crimson, and poppy, with all the bright colours used in a northern winter, rivalled a tropical sun, and reigned conspicuous in the flaming broad-patterned petticoat. To the inhabitants it seemed a day of feasting and hilarity, but to the poor Africans it was a period of heavy grief and affliction; for they were to be sold as beasts of burden—torn from each other—and widely dispersed about the colony, to wear out their days in the hopeless toils of slavery.

• The fair being opened, and the crowd assembled, these unpitied sable beings were exposed to the hammer by public auction. A long table was placed in the middle of a large room, or logis. At one end was seated the auctioneer: at the other was placed a chair for the negroes to stand upon, in order to be exposed to the view of the purchasers; who were sitting at the sides of the table, or standing about the different parts of the room. All being in readiness, the slaves were brought in, one at a time, and placed upon the chair before the bidders, who handled and inspected them, with as little concern as if they had been examining cattle in Smithfield market. They turned them about, felt them, viewed their shape and their limbs, looked into their mouths, made them jump and throw out their arms, and subjected them to all the means of trial as if dealing for a horse, or any other brute animal. Indeed the indelicacy shewn towards the poor defenceless Africans, by some of these dealers in their species, was not less unmanly and disgusting than it was insulting to humanity.

• We were shocked to observe women in the room who had come to the fair for the express purpose of purchasing slaves. Nay, even children were brought to point the lucky finger, and the boy, or girl, thus chosen, was bought by papa at the request of superstitious mama, to give to young massa or missy!

• In the course of the sale, a tall and robust negro, on being brought into the auction-room, approached the table with a fine negress hanging upon his arm. The man was ordered to mount the chair. He obeyed, though manifestly with reluc-

tance. His bosom heaved, and grief was in his eye. The woman remained in the crowd. A certain price was mentioned to set the purchase forward, and the bidding commenced: but on the slave being desired to exhibit the activity of his limbs, and to display his person, he sunk his chin upon his breast, and hung down his head in positive refusal—then, looking at the woman, made signs expressive of great distress. Next he pointed to her, and then to the chair, evidently expressing that he desired to have her placed by his side. She was his chosen wife, and nature was correctly intelligible. Not obtaining immediate acquiescence, he became agitated and impatient. The sale was interrupted, and as he could not be prevailed upon to move a single muscle by way of exhibiting his person, the proceedings were at a stand. He looked again at the woman,—again pointed to the chair,—held up two fingers to the auctioneer, and implored the multitude in anxious suppliant gestures. Upon his countenance was marked the combined expression of sorrow, affection, and alarm. He grew more and more restless, and repeated signs which seemed to say, “Let us be sold together. Give me my heart’s choice as the partner of my days, then dispose of me as you please, and I will be content to wear out my life in the heavy toils of bondage.” It was nature that spake—and her language could not be mistaken! Humanity could no longer resist the appeal, and it was universally agreed that they should make but one lot. A second chair was now brought, and the woman was placed at the side of her husband. His countenance instantly brightened. He hung upon the neck of his wife, and embraced her with rapture—then folding her in his arms, and pressing her to his bosom, he became composed; and looked round with a smile of complacency, which plainly said “proceed!—I am yours, yours, or yours! Let this be the associate of my toils, and I am satisfied.” The bidding was renewed! They exhibited marks of health and strength, and quickly the two were sold together for 1,650 guilders.

“Enough!”—you will say. “Give me no more of slaves, nor of slavery!”—For the present I obey, and, leaving the dusky Africans, proceed to introduce you to the copper-co-

loured Indians ; thus leading you to the opposite extreme of human life, and placing you among those of our species who spurn alike the shackles of slavery, and the slavish trammels of society.

‘ At the fort we had a visit from an Indian family, who came to us in the true style of native accommodation—exhibiting the full equipage of the family canoe, and forming a scene of high interest and novelty. Before the canoe reached the fort, we observed the long black hair and naked skins of the man, his two wives, and several children, who were all stowed about the vessel with the strictest attention to equipoise—*trimming* it most exactly. The canoe was large, and, in addition to the family, was loaded with cedar and other kinds of wood for sale or barter. On the top of the cargo appeared a ferocious-looking animal, setting up his bristles like the quills of the porcupine. It was a species of wild hog caught in the forest, and hence called a *bush-hog*. A small monkey was likewise skipping about the canoe. At one side sat two very fine parrots, and on the other was perched a large and most beautiful mackaw, exhibiting all the rich splendour of his gay plumage. On the canoe arriving at the landing-place, the bow and arrows, the clay cooking-vessel, calabashes, hammocks, and crab-baskets, were all brought into view, and we gazed on the whole, as forming a very complete and striking specimen of original equipage and accommodation. The whole family—the household apparatus—the bow and arrows—the canoe paddles—the hammocks—in short all the furniture and implements for cooking, for sleeping, for shooting, fishing, and travelling, were here moved together in one compact body, so as to render it indifferent to them, whether they should return to the home from whence they came, or take up a new abode in any other part of the forest.

‘ *Berbice, June.*

‘ ALTHOUGH we had not the usual incitements of a sumptuous dinner and a splendid ball, we were not unmindful that the 4th instant was a day of rejoicing. The troops fired a *feu de joie* ; and a royal salute sounded through the thick

woods from the fort, and from an armed schooner which was lying in the river. Bumpers were filled to his majesty's health, and we were merry and happy as you who are revelling in all the luxuries of London.

' On the 10th a sloop arrived from Demarara bringing us news of the surrender of St. Lucia: but stating only the simple fact, unconfirmed by any authentic details. Still we cheerfully hail the tidings, not doubting but the conquest has been honourable to our countrymen and comrades.

' I mentioned in a former letter that alligators were in the list of our neighbours at fort William Frederic. They abound in the adjoining savannas, and in their journey down a small muddy stream to the river, they often visit the fosse surrounding the fort; and sometimes are even bold enough to ascend the works, and peep like spies upon the ramparts. One of them lately alarmed a sentinel in the night, by suddenly approaching him as he was standing at his post within the fort. The soldier, terrified at so unexpected a visitor, in the impulse of surprize fired upon the animal, and spread an alarm throughout the garrison. The guard instantly turned out, and all the troops were roused, and flying to arms, in the idea that the enemy was about to land—but lo! the frightened crocodile retreated, and the soldiers, instead of fighting, had only to return to their beds!

' We have since had one of these frightful amphibia killed, and I may venture to say, that a more hideous specimen of the animal creation can scarcely be met with. It appeared the most forbidding of nature's forms. The green eyes, the sharp teeth and monstrous jaws, the strong waving tail, the hard impenetrable skin, and the short thick legs, and formidable claws, together with the circumstance of its crawling so near the earth, render the alligator a real object of horror. He is strongly armed both for attack and defence: while his scaly horn-like skin, serves as a protecting coat of mail, he possesses, as an assailant, the devouring grasp of his sharp-like teeth, and the power of striking a blow with his strong shell-like tail, which might knock a man down, or might fracture his legs.—

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His short limbs are also of peculiar strength, and are each armed with four powerful claws.

‘ With all this strength of form and of action, he is an animal singularly tenacious of life: indeed, by the common means of destruction it is impossible at once to deprive him of animation; for however cut, beaten, or torn, still signs of vitality remain for a considerable time. It is only with extreme difficulty that he is conquered in the first instance, and, even when subdued, to kill him is still a task. Unless at certain parts, a musquet ball will not penetrate his skin, and a strong blow scarcely does him any injury. If cut, or torn in pieces, and left to appearance dead, he, for a long time after, exhibits marks of vitality upon being touched.

‘ I had intended that you should some day have seen the formidable coat of armour of the one we destroyed; but, having left him near the hospital while we walked into the fort, the negroes took an opportunity of stealing him away; and on returning we found our alligator chopped in pieces, and stewing into soup, the slaves anticipating the mess as a delicious feast.’

Our author experienced the kindest attention from the governor and his lady, and also partook of the hospitality of several opulent planters. - At last he determined to join a few other officers in a journey into the interior.

‘ We set off,’ says he, ‘ *en quartette*, captain de Courcy, captain Webb, lieutenant Webb, and myself, on our anticipated journey. We had a four-oared boat from the fort, with an awning built over the part where we sat, which not only protected us from the sun, but also, by means of a door and windows, enclosed us as it were in a cabin. Sufficient intelligence could not be collected to enable us to fix either the limits of our excursion, or the period of our return. We had therefore no settled route, and our movements were to be forward or retrograde, as we found that pleasure or discomfort attended our path. It was completely a *marooning* or rambling adventure.

‘ To provide for ourselves the comforts, or even the necessaries of the journey, was not in our power. Our whole list of stores consisted of a cold ham and some bread, with a supply of plantains for the negroes, some wine and Hollands, a few bottles of water, and our hammocks.

‘ The sides of the river being for the most part very flat and low, and entirely covered with thick woods, we were sensible that the views could not be sufficiently varied at all times to amuse the eye and the mind, or to prevent the fatigue which must necessarily arise from sitting many hours each day in the boat; we therefore took with us some books and a pack of cards, as occasional resources to divert us from the continued sameness of the scene.’

Thus equipped, the party embarked with a crew of five negroes; and, after three days of heavy and incessant labour to the rowers, they arrived at the old town of Amsterdam, having been entertained on the voyage by several planters, with great kindness and cordiality. Here our author remarks that, the old professional association of surgeon and barber had not grown obsolete.

‘ One of our party,’ he proceeds, ‘ in the indolence of the moment, wishing to avoid the trouble of unbarbing his own chin, sent for a person to shave him. Quickly appeared the hospital-surgeon, equipped with a set of chirurgical instruments and tonsoric apparatus. He bowed most respectfully, and not ungracefully, on entering the room, demanding in Latin, which of us it was who required to undergo the *operation*.— Struck with his address and the formidable appearance of his case of instruments, we imagined that the slave who had been sent to fetch *the barber* committed some mistake: but, on asking the question, our hero of the brush instantly replied— “ *Non, domini! Sum chirurgo-tonsor.*” then, displaying his razor and bason, assured us that he was more attached to the *operative*, than to the other branches of his profession. Without further hesitation, therefore, two brave officers submitted to be taken by the nose, and underwent *the operation*, with

much ease and pleasantness, from the dextrous hand of Mynheer the *chirurgo-tonsor*; who, during the whole process, conversed fluently in Latin, upon medical and various other subjects. His education had been liberal, and he was not devoid of information, either literary, or medical: yet, from custom, he did not seem to feel any sense of humiliation in stooping to the menial office of scraping another man's chin! ---Such is the force of habit! What would our English knights of the scalpel say were they called upon, in these enlightened days, to *shave* even the most dignified of his majesty's subjects?

From hence the doctor and his party proceeded to M. Fenner's estate, who very obligingly planned an improved variety in their mode of travelling for the next day. Accordingly, in the morning M. Fenner conveyed his guests across the river, where they found slaves and horses in readiness to conduct them to Arends. 'The distance,' says our author, 'was much shorter by land than by water: our negroes, therefore, were sent round with the boat, by way of the river, in order to meet us in the evening; while we proceeded on horseback through the woods and savannahs. The first part of our ride was across a wide plain bordered with heavy forests, and exhibiting all the rudeness of primitive nature: next we traversed the deep woods, by way of a narrow path, following each other singly, in true Indian file: then we escaped again into an open and wild savannah, more varied and interesting than any uncultivated spot we had seen in the colony. As we were tottering behind each other through the still shades of the forest, we perceived that the notes of our conversation became unusually soft, and rumbled in gentle murmurs amongst the trees. Struck with this unexpected charm of our voices we were induced to sound the huntman's call, and the halloo! of the chace, in order to observe the sweetness of the echo. But we quickly discovered that, however musical and delighting in the domestic copses of England, these were calls of danger in the deep and wild woods of Guiana! Our friendly conductor, M. Fenner, instantly took alarm, and begging us to

desist, desired that we should trot on, and be still, lest we should bring down the Bush-negroes to our path; who, if they should find themselves able to overpower us, would certainly take off our scalps, and perhaps not leave us our heads! —Need I say that we observed, and rode in silence?

‘The accommodations of this day’s journey were quite West Indian, each had a slave running at his horse’s side, or holding at his tail; and each slave was loaded either with a trunk of clothes upon his head, or a bottle of Madeira wine, of rum, or of water in his hand. Imagine to yourself the picture of a party of Europeans riding through the wild woods and savannahs of South America, with a body of African slaves running at their sides, carrying bottles in their hands, and trunks on their heads, and you will have a correct idea of our travelling group. The negroes kept pace with us throughout the whole of the journey, and were not only at hand to give us drink on the road, but were likewise in readiness to supply us with dry clothes on our arrival.’

Their reception at Arends was friendly and cordial. The proprietor, M. Paúels, was found to be a man of liberal education and refined manners. This gentleman and M. Femer having promised to conduct the party to M. Heynemann’s, the remotest European settlement of the colony, they quitted Arends with the afternoon tide. In two hours and a half they arrived at M. Heynemann’s. This gentleman had been chosen king or captain of a band of Indians, who frequently brought him presents of what they esteemed rare, or curious. His household consisted of a medley of Europeans, Indians, and Africans, amongst whom he had resided for many years. He received the strangers with great kindness and hospitality.

Next morning was pleasantly spent in viewing M. Heynemann’s collection of Indian curiosities, and in seeing him and one of the Indians shoot with the common bow and arrow of the woods, and blow the poisoned arrow at a mark from its tube. The accuracy of the Bucks (or male natives) in this exercise was described as being minute to a wonder.



M. Paúels and M. Fenner in the afternoon returned to their respective homes, and the party set off to visit Savonette, a plantation cultivated principally by Bucks, accompanied by an old non-commissioned officer as interpreter, who had been in the English service. At two o'clock in the morning they reached this Indian plantation, after having been nearly eight hours in the boat, and much of the time in the dark.

'Near to the water,' says our narrator, 'was an Indian hut, built like the open sheds of England, the roof only being covered in, and the sides being left entirely open. Desirous of witnessing their mode of sleeping in their native dwellings, we made no calculations of peril, on the score of unexpectedly disturbing these rude inhabitants of the woods in the night; but without hesitation entered the house, and advanced with our light close up to their hammocks. In the middle of the hut was burning a small fire of wood, immediately over which were suspended three hammocks, made of the bark of a tree, and open like net-work. Two were placed abreast very near to the fire, and the third directly above the others. In one of the lower was lying a naked Indian man: over the sides of the other were hanging several legs and arms, and two heads, which we discovered to belong to a boy and a woman, who were lying naked together in the same hammock: in the upper one was another man with his long legs hanging out, soliciting his share of influence from the fire below. But, from the sides of the hut being left open to the breeze, it was manifest that the object of the fire was rather to protect them from insects, than to add to the heat of this almost equatorial climate. We rambled about until three o'clock, availing ourselves of this moment of unexpected visitation, to gratify our curiosity with all the variety in our reach. We looked into every hut we met with, and observed the above to be the common mode of taking rest for the night. It was matter of surprize to us to find how little these people of the woods were incommoded by our sudden and nocturnal appearance among them. They expressed no concern at our presence, nor evinced the slight-

est apprehension or curiosity regarding us. Not so with Vandyke, a hardy old Dutch soldier, whom M. Heynemann had stationed at Savonette, as a kind of manager, and deputy post-holder, in order to take charge of the estate, and maintain a friendly intercourse with the naked inhabitants of the woods. This man, like the Bucks themselves, was living almost in a state of nature. Nothing therefore could exceed his surprize, on waking in the dead of the night, and finding a party of officers, armed, and in scarlet uniform, standing at his bedside. You will imagine that it was with difficulty he gave credit to his senses, or believed that he was actually awake. Although I carefully remarked the expression of his countenance, his incoherent replies, and all his agitated movements, you will better conceive the effect of such a visit upon his mind than it is possible for my pen to describe it. Vandyke's bed, like the couch of the Indians, was a simple hammock; and only differed from theirs in being made of cotton instead of the bark of a tree. In another hammock close at his side, was lying a naked Indian woman, whom he had selected from the woods as his wife. She appeared to be ill, and we were led to ask some questions regarding the means of procuring her medical relief, when Vandyke, with an air of nonchalance, instantly replied, "*Och! als zy ziek is, moet ik eene andere hebben,*" which may be thus translated, "when she grows sick, I turn her into the woods and take another."

Vandyke was too much astonished at our unexpected appearance, as well as too much a soldier, to remain quietly in his hammock, while he saw a party of officers unprovided; he therefore very quickly rose, and, conducting us to the best room he had, set before us such fare as his scanty means enabled him to collect, and kindly bade us welcome; then pointed out to us some hooks, whereon to suspend our hammocks for the remainder of the night. Our chamber very much resembled an old barn.

The convenience of hammocks was never greater, nor more striking than upon this occasion. In such an apartment beds or mattresses had been objects of terror to us, but suspended in our hammocks, we lay in comfort, bidding defiance

to lizards, vermin, thick cobwebs, dirt, and all other annoyances.'

The next morning our author viewed the new scene with a lively interest, and walked to the village with feelings of anxiety. 'You will believe,' says he, 'that our curiosity was active. Not a house, a hut, nor a hammock, escaped us. The multiplied vision of Argus could not have accomplished more. Not an article of furniture, not an implement, nor utensil; not a step of ground; nor a movement, nor look of any inhabitant was disregarded. We hunted through every corner and place, taking up some things in our hands, eyeing others, and assailing Vandyke with questions concerning all. The Bucks were gone into the forest to cut wood, the *Buckeen* and their children being left at home. Most of the women were occupied in one step or other of the process of preparing the poisonous cassada into food. We were anxious to see them in their different employments, and, therefore, hastened from hut to hut in the idea of coming upon them, before their occupations were interrupted by the curiosity which we thought it probable might be excited from the unexpected arrival of a party of clothed strangers among them. But on this head we need have had no anxiety. Not an individual suffered any interruption from our presence. The curiosity by which we were actuated was in no degree reciprocal; for scarcely did any one take the trouble even to look towards us! We passed through their huts, and around their persons, in a manner unnoticed; and they continued at work, or unemployed, precisely as we found them! Whether on their legs, whether seated, or lying in their hammocks, so they remained, no observable change being induced by our visit.

'After having gratified our curiosity by a long visit, and a minute inspection of every thing worthy of notice at the Indian town, we were led through a close and narrow path, devoid of any turning, either to the right hand, or the left, into the profoundest shades of the forest. The way was difficult, and we were compelled to follow each other in single file, throughout the whole length of our walk; which, from the closeness of

the wood, the narrowness of the path, and the consequent defection of the breeze, was distressingly hot and confined. The object from which we were to expect compensation was . . . . . a tree! we had strong apprehensions that the sight of it might not be an adequate reward for so fatiguing a walk, but we had thrown ourselves upon the judgment of Vandyke, desiring him to conduct us to all that might be gratifying to strangers, we therefore marched on in tacid obedience, relying upon his guidance; and our perseverance was amply recompensed by viewing the great chief of the forest—an enormous tree of the *tonquin bean*, which appears in lofty and majestic trunk, extending its high-exalted foliage above the hosts of aspiring rivals that surround it. The body forms an immense perpendicular pillar rising to the height of, perhaps, 70 or 80 feet before it throws out a shoot or a bud, then spreading its wide-expanded branches in proud canopy, so elevated as to protect from the reach, and even conceal from the eye, the nuts which contain its sweet-scented jeans. Viewing this huge tree with regard to its straight and perpendicular trunk, its immense bulk, and, above all, its prodigious height, it may be considered as one of the finest specimens of vegetable production growing on the face of the globe. In beauty and grandeur it is equalled only by the stately mountain-cabbage, whose majestic trunk, and fine palmated foliage, stand unrivalled in the vegetable world.

While we were gazing at this vegetable giant, Vandyke cut on its bark the initials of our names, and the date of our visit; and this necessary ceremony having been duly performed, we trod our way back, by the narrow path, to the residence of our friendly guide, and there most gladly made a resting place. But Vandyke was allowed no respite, for we still beset him with hosts of questions: and when he had satisfied our inquiries, and we learned that Savonette offered no further novelty, we resumed our places in the boat, and returned to the abode of the hospitable Heynemann. Vandyke presented us with several specimens of Indian implements, most of which I hope some day to shew you in England. Some of the Indians followed us to the water-side, and put into our

boat large baskets filled with fine water-lemons, which they had gathered from the woods.

'On our quitting the shore Vandyke honoured our departure with the firing of cannon. He was a soldier, and in addition to other civilities, felt a pride in shewing to officers who visited him every mark of military respect. We were the more pleased with the compliment, as it afforded us an unexpected and most welcome opportunity of hearing the enchanting echo through the woods.'

The generous Heynemann pressed a variety of Indian curiosities upon our author, and his kind attentions were equally liberal. The Guiana Indians from their indolence are described to be rather *enbonpoint*, and their bodies are peculiarly free from hair. They are very fond of rum, and have great pleasure in swallowing it in large draughts. But when they visit the towns only a half of their number gets intoxicated at once, the other half acting as protectors, after which they have their turn. Like all uncivilized tribes they are very arbitrary and despotic towards their women; so that the latter in the presence of their lords are sombre and reserved. 'The women wear a small apron of beads of different colours. 'This,' says Dr. Pinckard, 'is used as high dress, and is much valued. It happened that I one day met a young buckeen thus ornamented, walking with her mother, and, being desirous to add a sample of the kway to my collection of specimens, I made signs to the parent, meaning to ask if she could procure me one; when, without the slightest hesitation, she took off that which was before my eyes, and presented it to me: the young lady very modestly, but without blushes, supplying its place with the pocket-handkerchief which I gave her in exchange.'

The party proceeded down the river, and were welcomed by all the planters whom they had formerly visited with kind hospitality. At one place our author gives a *feeling* description of the annoyance to which Europeans are in particular exposed by the myriads of insects that inhabit warm climates. 'The supper-board,' continues the doctor, 'was spread, and

to crown the evening, some very fine old Hollands, and the social pipe were introduced. You perhaps will be surprized to learn, that I was the only one who could not enjoy this part of the repast: most of the officers have acquired the habit of smoking, and some of them have become such adepts in this, I cannot but add, dirty and inelegant custom—however social—that they can already drink gin, and whif a pipe, or segar, almost as well as any semper-smoking Dutchman of the colony! You will probably envy them the accomplishments as little as I do! We went to our hammocks very soon after supper, hoping, by a long sleep, to relieve the heavy fatigue of two disturbed and restless nights; but we were sadly disappointed! the tormenting mosquitoes again besieged us, and the third night proved no less sleepless than the two preceding. The heat and itchings from former bitings—the pain of new and acute punctures—and the still more wearisome buzzing of the insects in our ears combined in such utter annoyance, as not only to deprive us of sleep, but of all rest and ease. Even the quiet of lying still was unattainable. The irritation, caused by the pain and excessive itching, rendered us quite feverish, and with the weariness and langour arising from want of sleep, made us really ill. At length, grown impatient of suffering, and finding it impossible to rest in our hammocks, we got up, walked about the room, washed with cold water, rubbed ourselves with orange juice and with limes, then opened the windows, shook our hammocks, beat about the room with cloths and handkerchief, and tried all the various means of driving out the insects, and obtaining relief: but in vain, all our efforts failed of success. Immitigable torment pursued us, and we were compelled to drag out a most wearisome and comfortless night.

‘Early in the morning we left our room oppressed with feverish feelings, and a sense of general stupor:—and almost blind! Our eye-lids were swollen and heavy—our whole faces tumefied and inflamed. It were difficult to convey to you a just idea of our afflicted appearance. Perhaps if you call to your imagination the visage of a sot, after he has devoted two or three whole nights to the bottle; then, before he has had

time to sleep of his intoxication, subject him to an attack of "St. Anthony," you may conceive a tolerable representation of the main-countenances of your friend, and his sleepless musquito-bitten comrades.

'We breakfasted with M. Abbensets, and at nine o'clock embarked for New Amsterdam. The negroes cheerfully pulled the oars for five hours without intermission, in order to reach the landing place before the turn of the tide; and all the relief they sought, throughout the whole of the time, was that of occasionally taking up a handful of water from the river, and pouring it upon their oars, to prevent them from becoming hot and dry, and thereby blistering their hands. At two o'clock on the 23d of June we finished our journey, and were again safely on shore at the government landing place at New Amsterdam.'

Shortly after Dr. Pinckard and captain Maxwell were pressing invited to visit the estate of M. Roboloski, by whom they were most gladly received. 'This gentleman in his attentions towards us,' observes our author, 'seemed anxious to rival all the friendly hospitality we had experienced. Every mark of distinction and respect was conferred upon us, and a liberal supply of all the best things of the house and estate was served for our entertainment. When we were at table, slaves were placed at our elbows to wave lime boughs, in order to defend us from the insects; and, in the evening, we were set down to cards with two or three negroes burning lime sprigs around us, while others were placed with green branches to chase away the musquitoes, as well as to serve us with copious libations from an adjoining table, which was spread with wine, punch, sangaree, and other rich liquors. At going to bed, and at rising, slaves attended us with water for our feet, and were strictly enjoined to kneel down and wash them: nor were we suffered to encounter *the fatigue* of stooping, nor allowed to wet our hands in so humble an office.

'It happened that I expressed a desire to make the tour of the estate, in order to observe its extent and cultivation. The wish scarcely had utterance before orders were given for the

favourite horse of M. Roboloski to be brought to the door. I had intended myself a pedestrian ramble, but was not permitted to engage in such "excessive fatigue." Old grey was quickly led out, and appeared before the window; when the process of putting on the best saddle "for Mynheer," and arranging the gay trappings became the business of no less than six slaves, and occupied them for nearly an hour and half, forming a truly diverting and ludicrous scene. The head, the neck, each side, and the very tail of the animal, had its appropriate negro. The bridle, the cupper, every girth and stirrup, occupied a separate slave, all hurrying in the full bustle of attentive exertion. At length the ponderous saddle was miserably fixed, and, without attempting to instruct the master or correct the slaves, I mounted upon *the neck* of old grey, and soberly trotted round the plantation. At every angle or turning, I met with a fresh slave who had been stationed there in readiness to run after my horse, and to direct and attend me, whithersoever I might wish to bend my way: but as neither old grey, nor myself, were inclined to advance with great speed, all my running foot-men were able to keep pace with me, so that before I had completed my journey, I had collected quite a host of attendants, and found myself moving amidst a naked and numerous throng.

Together with a natural sprightliness and vivacity of temper, M. Roboloski is generous and hospitable to an extreme. All that was rare was presented to us while we remained, besides which numberless offerings were heaped upon us at our departure, and he would have given us more than we could carry away. The whole produce of his house and estate—all he had, his *Wowski* excepted, was at our command. On leaving him he loaded us with fruits, pickles, Tonquin beans, and other good things; and it was with difficulty we prevented him from depriving himself of even the comforts of his home for our accommodation. Towards his slaves he is extremely rigid, and holds them in very strict subjection; but, with the many good qualities he possesses, it cannot be suspected that cruelty has any share in his government. Unhappily, with the most liberal and generous nature, he has an unfortunate disposition that



torments him with all the harrowing pangs of a dark and embittering passion. Kind and attentive as he is both to his friends and to strangers, he knows neither peace, nor comfort, whilst they are in his house, from his mind being incessantly tortured with the dread suspicion that a disgusting black woman, whom he keeps as his wife, may be seized with a fit of inconstancy, and share with others those joys he expects her to reserve for him alone. He, therefore, locks her up stairs while his visitors are with him, and keeps the key of the door in his pocket. To such excess, indeed, does he carry his jealousy, as to employ a young slave in the house, for the express purpose of watching the poor hideous woman's conduct, and reporting to him her every look and action;—an unhappy and fallacious policy, which can have no other effect but to distress her, and aggravate his own discomfort.

'The day after our return from M. Roboloski's, we witnessed one of the great and awful scenes of a West India climate—one of those convulsions of the weather, which convey the idea of enraged elements warring to reduce all nature again to chaos. It is not easy for any one, who is acquainted only with the soft breezes and showers of Europe, to conceive the terrific grandeur which is sometimes exhibited by a storm within the tropics.

'The governor has a large electric eel, which he has kept for several years in a tub, made for that purpose, placed under a small shed near to the house. This fish possesses strong electric powers, and often causes scenes of diversion among the soldiers and sailors, who are struck with astonishment at its qualities, and believe it to be in league with some evil spirit. Two sailors wholly unacquainted with the properties of the fish, were one day told to fetch an eel, which was lying in the tub in the yard, and give it the cook to dress for dinner. It is a strong fish of seven or eight pounds in weight, and gives a severe shock on being touched, particularly if at all irritated or enraged. The sailors had no sooner reached the shed, than one of them plunged his hand to the bottom of the tub to seize the eel; when he received a blow which benumbed his whole arm; and without knowing what it was, he started from the

tub shaking his fingers, and holding his elbow with his other hand, crying out, "Dammee Jack, what a thump he fetched me with his tail." His messmate laughing at "such a foolish notion," next put down his hand to reach out the eel, but receiving a similar shock, he snapped his fingers likewise, and ran off crying out, "Dammee, he did give you a thump! He's a fighting fellow: he has fetched me a broadside too!—Dammee, let's both have a hawl at him together, Jack, then we shall board his d----d slippery carcase spite of his rudder." Accordingly they both plunged their hands into the tub, and seized the fish, by a full grasp round the body. This was rougher treatment than he commonly experienced, and he returned it with a most violent shock, which soon caused them to quit their hold. For a moment they stood aghast, then rubbing their arms, holding their elbows, and shaking their fingers, they capered about with pain and amazement, swearing that their arms were broke, and that it was the devil in the tub in the shape of an eel. They now perceived that it was not a simple blow of the tail, which they had felt before; nor could they be prevailed upon to try again to take out the fish, but stole away rubbing their elbows, swearing the devil was in the tub, and cursing "the trick about the cook and the eel."

From a party of Indians who visited the fort, the doctor obtained a small lion monkey. 'He is,' says he, 'a very handsome playful little fellow. He is the smallest of the monkey tribe, being considerably less than the common squirrel of England, and in weight not more than five or six ounces. He perches very commodiously upon a person's fore-finger—or will run up the side of a quart bottle and take his seat very conveniently at the top, amusing himself with putting down his little hand to taste the wine or water, or whatever may be contained within. His colour is nearly black, with sometimes a slight mixture of dark grey—the tail is longer than his body. His neck is covered with thick, long, and bushy hair, like the full mane of the lion, whence the name of *lion monkey*, by which he is commonly known. His face is oval, approaching

to circular, and his features are less disgusting than is common among the monkey kind; the ears are smooth and round, and without hair. He is a very delicate little animal, and extremely susceptible of cold—even in this climate he will creep into the folds of the bedclothes, or within the bed for warmth. His kennel is commonly a cocoa-nut shell, his bed a little cotton, put within it, and this he seems to enjoy, without feeling it too close or hot.

‘You will scarcely pardon me, were I to omit noting to you a fact which occurred to my observation during my visit at New Amsterdam. In company with some of the officers I went to make a morning call at the house of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the town; and while we were sitting with the lady of the family, a fine black child, about a year old, strayed into the room, and trotting round, looked and smiled with innocent playfulness at each of the party. Diverted with the naked little *Pickaninny*, I took her upon my knee, and danced her about, and played with her for some time; then led her out at the door, to give her to a young mulatto woman, one of the slaves of the house, whom I saw sitting in the hall. On offering the child to this copper-skinned lady, she darted a repulsive look and turned from me. Not aware of the cause of this I lifted up the infant, to place it upon her knee, when she indignantly pushed the poor babe away. I still repeated the attempt, endeavouring to make her comprehend that I wished to have the child taken from me: but no! she continued to thrust her away with increased indignation. Surprized at this conduct, and wholly unable to account for it, I led my little naked female back into the parlour, and mentioning the circumstance to Madame S——, begged of her to tell me whether it was the black face of the infant, or my pallid face, that was the object of dislike to the damsel of *golden bloom*. A monosyllable conveyed the explanation! Madame S——, pointing to the child, whispered “*noire!*” Is it possible? I exclaimed! Can it be credible that this creature who is a slave herself, and only one remove from the negroes, can have imbibed such proud ideas of distinction, as to despise a fellow-slave, and helpless infant, merely because she differs

a single shade from herself, in the colour of her skin? "*Il n'y a rien de plus vrai,*" replied Madame S——, who further remarked, that this very mulatto was herself a most excellent nurse, and peculiarly fond of children—but, to be worthy of her attentions, it was indispensable that they should be, at least, as fair as herself: her sister's children, the offspring of a mulatto woman and a white man, she would nurse with the utmost attention and tenderness! On learning that I again went to the mulatto, and endeavoured to prevail upon her, to take from me the good humoured and playful little negress. But I found that no persuasions could induce her to notice the poor babe, who, all the time, looked up in her face, and solicited her attentions with a smile of heavenly innocence. Her skin was black, and it would demean even a slave, but a single degree whiter than herself, to treat her as a fellow-being. Such are the distinctions of colour! and such alas! the misfortune, which luxury presumes to impose upon a numerous race, for no better reason than that, in his infinite wisdom, it has pleased the common parent of all, to place upon his children of Europe, a paler skin, than he has given to his children of Africa.

In consequence of a rapid increase of sickness among the troops in the colony of Demarara, Dr. Pinckard was recalled from Berbice. When he arrived at Stabroek, he found the hospital crowded, and the yellow fever threatening every European with the perils of his ordeal. At Mahaica, where a strong division of troops were stationed, the heavy pressure of sickness demanded his attention. Having lost two of his assistants by disease, he had, unassisted, to discharge all the duties of the hospital-staff, in the exercise of which he endured the most excessive fatigue and exhaustion. The officers, troops, and even the planters, expressed the most friendly apprehensions respecting his safety, each feeling sensible how much his health, and even his life might depend upon his care and exertions. The disease generally succeeded exposure to great heat and fatigue, and in numerous instances operated with the greatest rapidity. One case is related as follows:—

‘ A few days ago, on my passing by the guard-house, I observed a grenadier, named Chapman, sitting among the men who were upon guard, seemingly unwell; and on my asking him if he was sick, he answered in a firm strong voice, that he felt “*a little poorly with head-ach, but not ill;*” still I perceived that he had more of indisposition about him than he was aware of, and I was the more particularly led to notice any symptoms of disease in this man from his having been repeatedly an object of conversation and remark, in health. He was a hardy robust grenadier, and from having been much exposed on fatigue-duty in Ireland, during the time of the sickness which the troops had experienced at Spike island and at Cove; from having supported much of similar duty on the passage; and also a considerable share since his arrival in the West Indies, without suffering from it, the officers had pointed him out to me, as a person who was “*secure against even yellow fever, and the doctors.*” He was sitting in his usual clothing, talking to the men of the guard, sensible only of slight head-ach and lassitude: but as I saw evidently that it was an attack of fever, without mentioning this to him, I hinted that it would be better he should go to the hospital, if he was at all unwell, in order that he might have the benefit of medical attendance, and of such remedies as his case required. He instantly expressed great alarm, and said, “*I am not ill: if you take me to the hospital, I shall catch the fever and die.*”—On my stating the impropriety of his remaining among the well men, and not using the proper means of recovery, he replied “*I am not sick, and only want an appetite to be quite well,*” and when I urged him further to go into the hospital, he answered with quickness, “*Indeed I am not bad, and if I was, I would rather stab myself at once, than go where so many are dying of the yellow fever.*” Poor fellow! he was wholly unconscious that the disease, he so much dreaded, was upon him—and as I found that his terror of the hospital was quite insupportable, I did not augment his alarm, either by insisting upon his being carried thither, or by telling him that the fever had already seized him; but in order that he might be removed from the guard-room, I gave directions for a hammock to be

put up under the piazza of the house, where he might be in quiet, and entirely alone. This being done without delay, I prevailed upon him to go directly and lie down, and was glad to see him safe in bed; for, in my conversation with him, I had discovered enough to cause strong apprehensions lest he should die, amidst the men of the guard, before we could have him removed! Although he felt so little of illness, and those around him were so wholly insensible of his peril, there was an indescribable something about him, particularly in his countenance, which bespake extreme danger; and from which the eye of experience might see that he was soon to die! After having him placed in the hammock, and prescribing for him such remedies as were necessary, I instructed the medical gentleman, who had lately arrived at this post to give me assistance, to pay particular attention to his case, remarking, that from his present appearance, I should not be surprized if, in the course of an hour or two, I should learn that he was dead. The event verified my suspicions: a convulsive tremor of the muscles quickly seized him, and at noon he was a corpse! Such are the fevers of this climate! Often a man is well in the morning, and at night is no more: nor is it possible for any one, who has not seen many cases of the disease, to judge of the degree of danger which threatens those who are attacked. Chapman had been one of the party employed to drag the fishing net in the sea; and I have been the more minute in relating his case, because, in him, the circumstances I have mentioned were strikingly exemplified. He was a man who possessed great strength of constitution—had been exposed to the heat of the sun immediately previous to the attack—and was very rapidly destroyed by the disease.

Notwithstanding the temperance and precautions observed by our author, he at last was himself attacked, and nearly conquered by his insidious enemy. We shall give his feelings under this dreadful disease in his own words, as it contains a most inimitable description of the nature of the yellow fever from which those happy isles are exempt.

*Demarara, Sept. 30.*

'ALAS, my friend! the unwilling expectation is at length fulfilled, and I now lift my pen with a hand trembling and enfeebled, almost beyond the power of supporting even a feather! The yellow-visaged monster, who has committed such devastations amongst us, avenging the efforts I have opposed to his progress, has dealt me a blow, which all who witnessed it, believed to have fallen from the hand of death: and truly, the shock had well nigh brought me to the still home from whence there is no return.

'On Saturday the 17th instant, excepting only the time occupied in my morning and evening visits at the hospital, I sat the whole of the day in my room, busily employed in writing. In the evening I felt an aching sensation in the middle of my thighs, which I attributed to sitting so many hours upon a rough wooden chair. At tea time I joined the gentlemen of the hospital-mess, and afterwards invited the surgeon to accompany me in a promenade, in the idea of walking away the uneasy weight which I felt in my limbs; but the exercise failing of success, I bathed and went early to bed, unsuspecting the enemy, who lurked in my veins, and nothing doubting but sleep would prove an effectual remedy. But I was again disappointed, for instead of the uneasy feelings being removed, a severe head-ach and pain of the eyes, with great thirst and dryness of mouth supervened, and I passed a disturbed and restless night. Awakened suspicion now taught me that I was attacked by an enemy much more formidable than the supposed wooden stool; I therefore took some medicine, and remained in bed until noon: yet from having, several times, experienced similar symptoms, and nearly equal in degree, whilst I was on duty at Mahaica, I was willing to believe that it might be only a false alarm. The medicine produced some relief. I sat up during the afternoon, and in the evening made my visit as usual to the hospital; but feelings of languor and general indisposition were hovering about me, and I returned to my pillow at an early hour, again hoping that the soothing deity of repose would bring me a cure; but a sleepless and

most wretched night unveiled the delusion. All the symptoms of disease was highly aggravated, and every sensation assured me that I had now to oppose, in my own person, the insatiate foe, whose ravages upon others I had so frequently deplored. No time was to be lost, and happily I was not dismayed, but confiding in our resources, I resolved to stand the assault, in firm and decided combat; and to a persevering resistance, I feel that I am indebted for the blessing of again addressing you.

‘ All the violence of disease now rushed in upon me, hurrying on towards rapid destruction. The light was intolerable, and the pulsations of the head and eyes were most excruciating—conveying a sensation as if three or four hooks were fastened into the globe of each eye, and some person, standing behind me, was dragging them forcibly from their orbits back into the head, the cerebrum being, at the same time, detached from its membranes, and leaping about violently within the cranium. A wearying pain occupied my back and limbs, and in particular the calves of my legs, feeling as if dogs were gnawing them down to the bones, while a tormenting restlessness possessed my whole frame, and totally prevented the slightest approach to ease and quiet. The skin was burning, and conveyed a pungent sensation when touched: the pulse was quickened but not very full: the tongue was white and parched, with excessive thirst, and constant dryness of the mouth, lips, and teeth. I know not from which I suffered most, the excruciating pain, the insatiable thirst, or the unappeased restlessness; for all were equally insupportable, and either of them might have sufficed to exhaust the strongest frame. Combining their tortures, they create a degree of irritation amounting almost to phrenzy; and which, but for the means used to alleviate it, must have destroyed me in a few hours. No place, nor position, afforded a moment’s rest. I rolled about the bed,—turned every instant from side to side—placed my head high—laid it low—threw my limbs from under the sheet, hung them over the side of the bed—tumbled off the clothes, and moved about incessantly to find a resting place; but all in vain—no ease was to be found, not even a momentary respite was



granted from this excessive torment. It was under these symptoms that I requested the surgeon to take 12 or 14 ounces of blood from my arm, and to give me a strong dose of calomel. The pain of the head and eyes was considerably relieved by the bleeding,—the restlessness was also in a slight degree diminished—but the thirst, with heat and dryness of skin, still continued. I drank copiously of mild diluents, and the calomel acted freely as an evacuant; but still I had no rest, and passed a third night in extreme suffering, and without sleep. On the 20th the pain was less excruciating, and the light less intolerable; but the other symptoms of fever remained, together with an increased degree of langour and debility: I therefore avoided further evacuations, and took a saline medicine with camphire. The night was again most painfully restless, sleep was wholly denied me, and I felt myself sinking into extreme exhaustion.

In the morning of the 21st I was free from the high action of fever, the heat and pain had subsided; the pulse was less quick, and I was in a copious perspiration: but the whiteness of tongue remained, with a most harassing and unquenchable thirst; and in proportion as the more violent symptoms abated, others, even more distressing if possible, supervened. My strength and voice were gone; an indescribable uneasiness affected my whole body: I was attacked with an exhausting diarrhæa; felt a most annihilating sensation at the scrobiculus cordis; and sunk into a degree of langour and prostration, not to be conceived.

I passed the day and night under the most wearisome and distressing sensations, and with my bodily powers so rapidly declining, that I felt more and more enfeebled every hour.— On the 22d scarcely a hope remained of my recovery. Every energy of the system seemed to be subdued, and the langour and prostration of strength had reached their extremest degree.

I now felt that my life only hung by a slender filament, and was conscious that each half-hour might be my last. I was so reduced as to be no longer able to support myself upon my side, in bed; but lay supine and prostrate, with my flaccid limbs stretched in full extension, and which, if they were lifted

from their place, fell lifeless upon the same spot. A weakening diarrhæa continued, and a still more debilitating vomiting was superadded. Upon the slightest motion I fell into syncope, and was so utterly exhausted as to faint if my head was raised from the pillow. My fauces were parched and dry, and I had the thirst of Tantalus, together with the languid and sinking sensation at the epigastrium, and a most distressful feeling of restlessness and horror, over my whole frame. Every symptom bespoke the utmost debility and loss of strength, and it seemed to require only a sigh to sever the thread of life.

Thus situated, I contemplated the probable event, and having calmly reconciled the thought of dying, I endeavoured, in broken whispers, to utter a few words to the surgeon, for him to commit to paper, as my will; to which, with his guidance, a feeble and trembling hand traced my signature, but in characters which I now find to be scarcely legible. This ceremony was executed with the greatest composure of mind, for I was never more collected, nor more tranquil. Still, however reconciled to my fate, I felt that I ought not to reject the means of relief which my profession offered, whilst even a possibility remained of being saved, I therefore made myself understood by Mr. Blackader, and expressed a wish to have large quantities of bark and opium, with wine, and the cold bath.

The fierce ardour of fever; the painful throbbing of the head and eyes; and the pungent dryness of skin, were very much diminished; and the pulse, though enfeebled, was not much quicker than in health; the prescribed remedies were, therefore, used with great freedom. Happily the opium quickly arresting the reaching, and also the diarrhæa, which allowed the bark and wine, and bathing, to be employed with less reserve; and I persevered with such effect, that in the course of only a few hours, I had no less than *six ounces* of the powder of bark (swallowed and otherwise administered) and a bottle of sound old hock remaining in my stomach and bowels.

Of the wine and bathing I know not in what terms to speak, for language has no power to express the delightful sensations which these most grateful remedies conveyed to my

exhausted frame. I was more refreshed by them, more revived, and more relieved, than words can possibly describe. To the bark and opium I was perhaps quite as much indebted, but their effects were less immediate, and less sensible. For many years Bacchus and I had been strangers. Now I was to take wine as a medical potion; and in order to rank it high in this character, the commissary had kindly sent me some very choice old hock, which, in great truth, was both food and medicine. It was nectar and ambrosia—nay more, it was life and health to me! The peculiar and exquisite sensations I experienced, when the first glass wetted my parched lips, and cooled my burning stomach, will be remembered to my latest hour. They were heavenly! The nectareous drinks of the gods—unless the gods could drink them in “yellow” fever—were never so delicious!

The bathing was scarcely inferior to the wine, for at a moment when ineffable langour was rapidly sinking my weakened body to the grave, I was lifted out of my bed, into an empty bathing tub, and calabashes of cold sea water were dashed upon my naked person, with an effect which exceeds all description. Not only were the sensations of the moment inconceivably refreshing and delightful, but the more durable and important benefits were equally striking.

Although I was not delirious, I perceived a peculiar sense of confusion, or horror about me, at various times during this day, and lapsed occasionally into a sort of stupor, approaching to coma, but it did not proceed to such a degree as to deprive me of consciousness. This had been my worst day—the feelings of the night I cannot attempt to describe. All was horror, horror, restless deadly horror! The sickened mind became unsettled as its troubled mansion, and, like the body, was only sensible to wretchedness and horror!

The dawn of the next day seemed like an introduction to a new existence; but with such extreme misery and horror was it accompanied, that could these have continued many hours longer, life would have been bought at too dear a price. The mind was crowded with confused and incoherent ideas, painting the world as new, and altogether different from that

I had so lately left; indeed so distorted and unnatural did every thing seem around me, that I felt a kind of hesitation whether to accept of my return of life, or proceed onward to the grave, which I saw wide open before me. This was the sixth day. The morning was dark and gloomy, and highly calculated to favour the *sombre* impressions of my mind. It rained and blew; fierce lightning tore the heavens, and louder thunder, bursting from the clouds, ruptured the elements into unison with the confusion and disorder with which my feelings were pervaded. All nature seemed to partake of the unaccountable change, and to administer to the horrors which beset me. The whole order of things was inverted, and, for a time, I could not divest myself of the idea that the heavens were agitated with the convulsive throes of bringing forth a new world. One whole day, and a sad long night were thus dragged out in all the tumult and distress of regaining an existence, which only a day or two before, I had given up almost without a sigh.

‘After I had escaped from these distracting incoherences, I perceived the symptoms of the disease gradually declining, and, by persisting in the use of my remedies, I am become better reconciled to the world, and again recognize it as the same which I had so quietly resigned. I continued to drink most liberally of old hock, and took the bark in immoderate quantity, the extent and frequency of the dose being limited only by the power of the stomach and bowels to retain it. The bathing was also repeated with inexpressible comfort to my languid and trembling frame. I also took copious draughts of bottled porter, which I found to be an exceedingly grateful and refreshing drink, as well as one of my most effectual remedies.’

Our author after this gradually recovered, and received the most hospitable and friendly attentions from the colonists. In a short time he was able to resume the hospital duties; but disease continued to make sad havoc amongst the European soldiers. The 93d and 99th regiments were drafted into the 39th, and the officers ordered to return to England. Our

author was now obliged to add to his other duties that of chaplain, and to read the funeral service; on his recommendation the usual military procession was dispensed with in the British corps; but it was with the utmost difficulty that the Dutch could be prevented from sounding the dead march at the door of the hospital. At the decline of the wet season the health of the troops began gradually to improve.

Our author relates the circumstance of the barbarous murder of a slave, and of the cruel flogging which his wife suffered beside the bloody body of her dead husband; but the reader must be sickened with the numerous instances which we have already recorded of the savage brutality of the Dutch, and this is attended by too many circumstances equally offensive to humanity and to delicacy to bear a recital.

The new corps of rangers, consisting of negroes just taken from the fields, were quartered close to the quarters of the medical officers, who had constantly before them all the noise, hurry, and confusion of the regiment. 'The colonel,' says the doctor, 'zealous for their improvement, and desirous to make soldiers of them as speedily as possible, is indefatigable in his attentions towards them; and their drills are so frequent as to keep them in almost perpetual motion. The ridiculous mistakes they commit—their egregious blunders—uncouth gestures, and the extreme awkwardness of their movements, might be sometimes diverting, were it not that our feelings are pained by the very rough treatment exhibited towards them, by the despotic sergeants and corporals of their own colour.

'Frequently the "awkward squad" is led out to drill, with a proportion of non-commissioned officers nearly equal in number to the privates, each giving the word of command in the most authoritative manner, holding a short pipe in his mouth, scarcely extending to the point of his nose; and each busily marching his party to the right and left, backwards and forwards, and in every variety of direction, pushing, pulling, and cuffing them about, as if they were machines totally devoid of sensibility. When stepping forward to the words "left, right, left, right," a stout black serjeant suddenly seizes the leg of some one who does not put it forth to his mind, and

jerks it on with a force that endangers the dislocation of his hip; when the poor fellow, forgetting that his body must maintain the military square, whatever becomes of his limbs, looks down to see that he steps out better next time; but another serjeant instantly lodges his coarse fist under his chin, and throws back his head with such violence as almost to break his neck. Again fixed erect, he unfortunately looks to the left, instead of the right, when his angry commander grasping with both hands twists round his neck, with a force nearly sufficient to wring off his head. Still some unfortunate member forgets itself, and strays out of place: an arm perhaps falls an inch before the line in which it should hang; when one of the attending serjeants, or corporals, forces it back with a thrust that might put out the shoulder. Next a knee is off its guard, and, bending itself into ease, meets with a severe rap from a huge grenadier with a shingle, or any other rough weapon which happens to be in his hand. Then, by some mistake, the right leg advances instead of the left, or the left instead of the right, the remedy for which is a hard kick, or a rough blow upon the shin. Perhaps when resting under the word, "*attention*" the heels are placed at an angle a little more acute than is desired, upon which a broken board, or some other rough piece of wood is through the ancles, to wrench them asunder; and not unfrequently, at the expence of a painful excoriation: thus the poor black is beset on all quarters and at all points, and, whether standing or moving, feels the weight of the cane, the fist, or some other weapon, upon either his head or his shoulders, his back, knees, shins, or naked toes.

‘ Even the Indians, whose gravity seldom allows a smile to escape, have been diverted at the drilling of the black "*awkward squad*." A party, from the woods, came in one day at the gate, at the time the regiment was under arms, and, forgetting their usual reserve, expressed symptoms of amazement on seeing a body of negroes drawn up in a line, with firelocks in their hands, and clothed in uniform; but their attention was soon diverted from the great body of the battalion, by observing the *awkward squad*, whose blundering evolutions seemed

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to afford them more amusement than any other occurrence we had witnessed. Indeed it was the first time we had been able to mark the expression of surprize or curiosity upon the Indian countenance. The bucks pointed with their arrows to the unseemly group making remarks to the buckeen, who, like the men, were so roused from their indifference as to smile, and seem much diverted.

‘ From the great heat of climate, and the consequent rapidity with which dead animal matter tends to resume its gaseous form, it is become a custom here for the butcher, when he is about to kill beef, to secure the sale of the whole carcass, before he slaughters the animal: for which purpose he sends rounds a ticket or notice informing the inhabitants when the beef is to be killed, in order that each person may put down what part, and what quantity he may wish to have.---It is likewise a custom among the Dutch people to send round a notice when any person dies, inviting the neighbours to the funeral, and this paper is commonly superscribed in conspicuous characters “*doed brief*.” A Dutch officer having died, the burial ticket was sent round in due form, when a lady, who had lately arrived from Barbadoes, reading the words “*doed brief*” put down her name for “*twelve pounds and a half of the buttock*.” The messenger proceeding throughout the town with the notice, the mistake was quickly known in every house, and the gloomy solemnity of the occasion was interrupted by the various witticisms, upon the English lady bespeaking twelve pounds and a half of the Dutchman’s buttock.

‘ *December 26.*

‘ IN tracing the date of this letter, I am reminded of the freezing season under which you are shivering in England ---and a sense of cold chills me as I pursue the association: but you will be persuaded that this is the mere effect of imagination, when I tell you that the thermometer, at noon, is usually about 83; and that, from using only moderate exercise, I am so streamed with perspiration as to make it necessary to change my clothes four or five times in the course of the day: even at this moment from only the slight exertion of

writing, the drops fall so rapidly from the backs of my hands, as to spoil my paper, and I almost fear, to such a degree, as to render my letter illegible.

‘ I must not neglect to tell you that Christmas is here the high season for oranges. They are now ripe in their greatest perfection. You will be surprized to hear what quantities I am in the daily habit of consuming. From six to twelve, pulled fresh from the tree, make my usual allowance before breakfast, and I commonly take as many in the evening, besides eating great numbers in the course of the day. Indeed fruit and vegetables form almost the whole of my diet, and I now suffer no distress on account of our scanty supply of animal provisions. As was predicted to me, I am become so fond of plantains as scarcely to require any other food, and I am persuaded that if they could be had in all climates, they would be found, without exception, the most valuable production of the earth. Roasted, they serve as bread—fried, they are as meat and as fruit—boiled, they are a substitute for potatoes, and beat into paste, they form excellent pudding. Like the slaves I now eat them morning, noon, and night. At breakfast they are my bread and butter—at dinner my meat and pudding—and at tea-time my only cake and toast.

‘ We have again had abundant occasion to remark the fact regarding the coincidence between the return of fever in this climate, and the periods of the spring tides; for we now find that the primary invasion of the disorder is more frequent, and the number of fever-patients admitted into the hospital greater, at these periods, than at any other time.

‘ The 18th inst. being the queen’s birth-day, we honoured it in public and private rejoicing, and as our days of festival are few, you will believe that due justice was done to the occasion. In the morning we had a general review of the troops; afterwards a large party dined, and drank her majesty’s health with the commandant: and, in the evening, the officers gave a splendid ball at the fort.

‘ In going to the field either the Hollanders had neglected their usual punctuality, or all the others had assembled before the appointed hour; for the Dutch corps did not arrive until



long after the others had taken their ground; a circumstance which was rendered more remarkable, on account of these formal beings continuing their march in slow step, even after they appeared in sight, and perceived that the commandant with all the officers, and the troops, were in the field waiting for them. You will not wonder that upon seeing them the impatient crowd exclaimed "a funeral! a funeral!" for, in verity their movement had far more the air of a funeral procession, than a march to a review: but it is their custom to proceed to the field, on such occasions, in slow time; and custom among the Dutch, would seem to be as sacred as the Persian laws.

' At the dinner, the board was enriched with all the dainties of the country, and the appetite provoked by choice wines and cheering music. The governor, the fiscal, and most of the officers, and many of the principal inhabitants of the colony, were present. A military band enlivened the banquet, and merry toasts and songs caused the bumper glass to move in much quicker time, than the Dutchmen had marched to the review. I left the party early, in order to make my round of duty at the hospital, and joined the party again in the evening at the ball, where, in a group of about 70 persons, we met all the beauty and fashion of the colony. The occurrences best worth noting to you were—the surprizing exertion supported by the ladies in dancing—and the astonishing supper-appetites betrayed by some of the Dutch females. Some of them, with only the interval of supper-time, danced country dances, and cotillions, from nine o'clock in the evening, until day-light in the morning; in a room where, probably, the heat was above 90 degrees. Knowing this, you will not be surprized that, although early in the evening, the beaux had to contend for belles—late in the morning the belles had to seek for beaux.

' At supper, few as the ladies were, it happened to be my fortune to be placed between two of them: but of one only I have now to speak; yet let me first remark that the whole colony was ransacked to furnish the table; which was most sumptuously and profusely spread. On my noticing the un-

common crowd of dishes, an officer dryly replied—"perhaps you are not aware that the party to be entertained is Dutch."—I thought it fully sufficient for five such parties, whether Dutch, English, or French; but if all had eaten like the lady in question, I must have been very egregiously deceived. Many others also enjoyed the feast most abundantly, and their capacious appetites excited alternate sensations of diversion and surprize—not to say—disgust!

'The lady at my right elbow, was very large, and of true Dutch figure. Her person may be well described in two words—broad and bulky! By some accident she had sprained her wrist, and this formed a ready apology for appealing to my particular attention, which, from not being in the habit of eating supper, I could the better devote to her service: but I almost fear to note to you the fact I have to relate, lest you should imagine that I assume a traveller's privilege, and indulge in the marvellous at the expence of the fair associate guest. Let me therefore premise, that in what follows, the boundaries of sober truth are not out-stepped one single iota; for I not only helped the lady to her meats, and poured forth her wines, but was rather called upon to cut her food, into small pieces, ready for the fork, by which I had the opportunity of observing literally *every mouthful*.

'Scarcely had we taken our seats, before my fair neighbour requested me to help her to a glass of claret, of which I found a *full* bottle standing *between* us. The ceremony of a gentleman drinking at the same time was not deemed essential; I therefore tasted but very slightly: yet it somehow happened, and without the bottle being once removed, that, before the supper was at an end, the gentle lady was compelled to have recourse to a sound glass or two of Madeira, to supply the deficiencies of our *empty* bottle! With this, her eating was in no degree at variance, for she commenced by forming a solid stratum of two heavy slices of fat ham, after which I helped her from no less than *fourteen* other dishes, of each of which, to my surprize, she partook with seeming appetite! Such a supper I had not seen swallowed by man, woman, or any thing in human shape! And though satiated, not satisfied, she af-

terwards desired me to reach towards her several of the dishes of fruit, from each of which, after liberally tasting, she *privately* gave a portion to a female slave, who was standing at her back; and when she rose to leave the supper room, I observed *under her chair* a loaded plate of fruits and sweets, which, without doubt, the negress had received instructions to convey home to regale her mistress on the morrow. This, by the bye, is a custom, which I have more than once seen practised by foreign ladies, both Dutch and French!

‘But what will surprize you most is, to know that after this *light supper*, my lady of Turkey stomach *briskly* resumed the merry dance! and, when I retired at five o’clock in the morning, she remained tripping it away as light as . . . . . Batavian clay!

‘Although it is commonly remarked that gratitude is not a prominent virtue among the slaves, I may mention to you an additional fact, in proof that they are not destitute of this amiable quality. On the morning of the 13th of January, a well-looking robust negro, unexpectedly presented himself at my door, tendering his services, and begging that he might be allowed to work for me. Upon my going out to speak with him, his countenance gladdened with joy, and looking animated and cheerful, he said he would “*do ebery ting to ’blige Massa, wait upon Massa, clean Massa’s horse, and do all de work Massa tell him.*”

‘Not immediately recollecting his features, I asked him who he was, whence he came, and how it happened that he addressed himself to me? When he replied—“*Ah Massa, if you no remember Prince, Prince no forget dat Massa tell ’em soldiers for break one great iron collar off Prince’s neck, and give him for gnyaam when Massa at Mahaica!*” This brought him to my recollection, and I recognized an unhappy slave, whom, in one of my walks at Mahaica, I had met wandering in a cotton field, bearing a heavy iron collar upon his neck, with three long iron pikes projecting from it, terminating in sharp points, at the distance of nearly a foot and a half from his person; and with his body flogged into deep ulcers, from his loins to his hams. In this state, and almost starving with

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hunger, he appealed to my feelings. *Humanity* pleaded in his behalf, and without a too scrupulous inquiry into the whys and wherefores of the punishment, its tender dictates were obeyed. The poor man followed me to the fort: the soldiers grew indignant on seeing his naked sores; and the impulse of their feelings not being opposed, his neck was quickly freed from its load, and the massive yoke and its spikes were as speedily converted into pot-hooks for the benefit of the mess. Thus made happy, the thankful slave had now found his way to my home at La Bourgade, in order to make his further acknowledgments, and to tender me his services. Shall it be said that Africans know not the divine sentiment of gratitude!

Dr. Pinckard about this time had an opportunity of purchasing a horse, for which he paid nearly 40 guineas, horses being very scarce, and of high value upon this coast. He also had the gratification of accompanying another party upon an excursion up the river Demarara; but it did not differ much from his former one up the river Berbice. On his return 'the first object,' says he, 'that attracted my attention, upon approaching the barracks of the hospital department, was a string of negroes singing out in the sailors' cry,—*yeoh-yeoh, yeoh-yeoh*, and hauling at a long rope, towing something heavy round the corner of the building. Curiosity arrested me, for a moment; when, alas! I discovered at the end of the cord, the body . . . . . of my poor horse! who, in the night of his master's absence, had fallen a victim to the *typhoid* foe, who spares neither man, nor the patient steed. His body now being dragged away to his grave, and my pause of curiosity only brought me the sad gratification of casting a last look upon his corpse.

'This is a heavy loss to me, and less on account of the exorbitant price of horses in these colonies, than from the extreme difficulty, or perhaps the impossibility of finding another, at any price whatever. I had long waded through the mud before an opportunity offered of providing myself, and by mere chance, I had, at length, been well suited—but I had scarcely brought my horse into condition fit for riding, before he was

natched from me, by what is often termed the seasoning maldy of the climate.

‘ I should not omit noting that on my return, I was almost stifled with the greetings of a fat old negro woman of the house, who, at the moment I appeared in her sight, ran to me in loud shoutings of joy, and, seizing me in her arms, squeezed me until I had scarcely power to speak; at the same time calling out to one of her sable companions—“ *Come and help Jenny hug Massa, for me no savez hug Massa enough, for tell him how glad Jenny for see Massa again.*” But the gratulations of both Jenny and her friend together, became alarmingly impressive; and, in order to prevent the evils of impeded respiration, I was compelled rudely to force myself from their jetty embraces.’

At this time our author was induced from curiosity to be present at another sale of *human* merchandise, called a *prime cargo* of 300 *men and women* from the Gold coast of Africa. ‘ Amidst a scene,’ says he, ‘ every way repugnant to humanity, I was pleased to remark that a general sympathy was excited towards one particular family, whose appeals to the compassion of the multitude were no less powerful than their claims. This family consisted of a mother, three daughters, and a son. The parent, although the days of her youth were past, was still a well-looking woman; the children appeared to be from fourteen to twenty years of age: they were very like the mother, and still more resembled each other, being all of distinguished face and figure, and remarkably the handsomest negroes of the whole cargo. The distress lest they should be separated, and sold to different masters, was so strongly depicted upon their countenances, and expressed in such lively, and impressive appeals, that the whole crowd were, impulsively, led to commiserate their sufferings; and, by universal consent, they were removed from the three great lots, and placed in a separate corner by themselves, in order that they might all be sold to the same master.

‘ Observing their extreme agitation, I was led particularly to notice their conduct, as influenced by the terror of being

torn from each other, and I may truly say, that I witnessed a just and faithful representation of . . . . *the distressed mother!* and such as might bid defiance even to the all-imitative powers of a Siddons! for the fears of the parent, lest she should be separated from her children, or these from each other, were anxious and watchful beyond all that imagination could paint, or the most vivid fancy can pourtray. When any one approached their little group, or chanced to look towards them with the attentive eye of a purchaser, the children, in broken sobs, crouched nearer together, and the tearful mother in agonizing impulse, instantly fell down before the spectator, bowed herself to the earth, and kissed his feet; then, alternately clinging to his legs, and pressing her children to her bosom, she fixed herself upon her knees, clasped her hands together, and, in anguish, cast up a look of humble petition, which might have found its way even to the heart of a Caligula!—and, thus, in Nature's truest language, did the afflicted parent urge the strongest appeal to his compassion, while she implored the purchaser, in dealing out to her the hard lot of slavery, to spare her the additional pang of being torn from her children:—to forbear exposing her to the accumulated agonies which would result from forcing those asunder, whom the all-wise disposer of events had bound together by the most sacred ties of nature and affection.'

In the beginning of May, the commandant received instructions for our author to proceed to St. Domingo, by the earliest opportunity; after which, it does not appear that he drew more 'NOTES,' although these have been most willingly 'accepted' by the public.

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**E**NGLAND was the second nation that ventured to visit the new world. The account of Columbus's successful voyage filled all Europe with astonishment and admiration. But in England it did something more; it excited a vehement desire of emulating the glory of Spain, and of aiming to obtain some share in those advantages which were expected in this new field opened to national activity. The attention of the English court had been turned towards the discovery of unknown countries, by its negotiation with Bartholomew Columbus. Henry VII. having listened to his propositions with a more favourable ear than could have been expected from a cautious, distrustful prince, averse by habit as well as by temper to new and hazardous projects, he was more easily induced to approve of a voyage for discovery, proposed by some of his own subjects, soon after the return of Christopher Columbus.

But though the English had spirit to form the scheme, they had not, at that period, attained to such skill in navigation as qualified them for carrying it into execution. From the inconsiderate ambition of its monarchs, the nation had long wasted its genius and activity in pernicious and ineffectual efforts to conquer France. When this ill-directed ardour began to abate, the fatal conquest between the houses of York and Lancaster turned the arms of one half of the kingdom against

the other, and exhausted the vigour of both. During the course of two centuries, while industry and commerce were making gradual progress both in the south and north of Europe, the English continued so blind to the advantages of their own situation, that they hardly began to bend their thoughts towards those objects and pursuits, to which they are indebted for their present opulence and power. While the trading vessels of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as well as those of the Hans Towns, visited the most remote ports in Europe, and carried on an active intercourse with its various nations, the English did little more than creep along their own coasts in small barks, which conveyed the productions of one country to another. Their commerce was almost wholly passive. Their wants were supplied by strangers; and whatever necessary or luxury of life their own country did not yield, was imported in foreign bottoms. The cross of St. George was seldom displayed beyond the precincts of the narrow seas. Hardly any English ship traded with Spain and Portugal before the beginning of the 15th century; and half a century more elapsed before the English mariners became so adventurous as to enter the Mediterranean.

In this infancy of navigation, Henry could not commit the conduct of an armament, destined to explore the unknown regions, to his own subjects. He invested Giovanni Gaboto, a Venetian adventurer who had settled in Bristol, with the chief command; and issued a commission to him and his three sons, empowering them to sail, under the banner of England, towards the east, north, or west, in order to discover countries unoccupied by any Christian state; to take possession of them in his name, and to carry on an exclusive trade with the inhabitants, under condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit on every voyage to the crown. This commission was granted on March 5th, 1495, in less than two years after the return of Columbus from America. But Cabot (for that is the name he assumed in England, and by which he is best known) did not set out on his voyage for two years. He, together with his second son Sebastian, embarked at Bristol, [May, 1497,]

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on board a ship furnished by the king, and was accompanied by four small barks, fitted out by the merchants of that city.

As in that age the most eminent navigators, formed by the instructions of Columbus, or animated by his example, were guided by ideas derived by his superior knowledge and experience, Cabot had adopted the system of that great man, concerning the probability of opening a new and shorter passage to the East Indies, by holding a westerly course. The opinion which Columbus had formed with respect to the islands which he had discovered, was universally received. They were supposed to lie contiguous to the great continent of India, and to constitute a part of the vast countries comprehended under that general name. Cabot accordingly deemed it probable, that by steering to the north-west, he might reach India by a shorter course than that which Columbus had taken, and hoped to fall in with the coast of Cathay or China, of whose fertility and opulence the description of Marco Polo had excited high ideas. After sailing for some weeks due west, and nearly on the parallel of the port from which he took his departure, he discovered a large island, which he called *Prima Vista*, and his sailors *Newfoundland*; and in a few days he descried a smaller isle, to which he gave the name of *St. John*. [June 24.] He landed on both these, made some observations on their soil and productions, and brought off three of the natives. Continuing his course westward, he soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from 56th to the 38th degree of latitude, from the coast of Labrador, to that of Virginia. As his chief object was to discover some inlet that might open a passage to the west, it does not appear that he landed anywhere during his extensive run; and he returned to England, without attempting either settlement or conquest in any part of that continent.

On Cabot's return to England, he found the king's inclination unfavourable to his schemes, as the continent and islands which he had discovered, lay within the limits of the ample donative which the bounty of pope Alexander VI. had conferred upon Ferdinand and Isabella, whom Henry was anxious

to oblige. The attention of Henry VIII. was engrossed by other objects than those of discovery: nor was the feeble minority of Edward VI. a juncture for forming schemes of doubtful success, and remote utility. The bigotry of Mary, and her marriage with Philip, disposed her to pay a sacred regard to that grant of the holy see, which vested in a husband, on whom she doted, an exclusive right to every part in the new world. Thus through a singular succession of various causes, 61 years elapsed from the time that the English discovered North America, during which their monarchs gave little attention to that country which was destined to be annexed to their crown, and to be a chief source of its opulence and power.

But though the public contributed little towards the progress of discovery, naval skill, knowledge of commerce, and a spirit of enterprize, began to spread among the English. The great fishery on the banks of Newfoundland seems to have been prosecuted with activity and success. But the discovery of a shorter passage to the East Indies was still the favourite object of the nation. Cabot warmly urged the English to make the attempt by the north-east; in consequence of which, two ships and a small bark, under the command of sir Hugh Willoughby, sailed in May, 1533, directly northwards along the coast of Norway, and doubled the north cape. But in that tempestuous ocean, his small squadron was separated in a violent storm. Willoughby's ship and the bark took refuge in an obscure harbour in a desert part of Russian Lapland, where he and all his companions were frozen to death. Richard Chancelour, the captain of the other vessel, was more fortunate; he entered the White sea, and wintered in safety, at Archangel. The captain there learned that this was a province of a large empire subject to the czar of Muscovy, who resided in a great city 1,200 miles from Archangel. Chancelour immediately set out for that distant capital, and had the honour of first opening a communication with this vast empire. The ports of Turkey and Africa were also visited by the English, who now began to discover some presages of their future improvement.

On the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, a period commenced extremely auspicious to this spirit which was rising in the nation; and, as every effort to discover a north-east passage to the East Indies had proved abortive, a scheme was formed, under the patronage of the earl of Warwick, the head of the enterprising family of Dudley, to make a new attempt, by holding an opposite course by the north-west. The conduct of this enterprize was committed to Martin Forbisher, an officer of experience and reputation. In three successive voyages, [1576, 1577, and 1578,] he explored the inhospitable coast of Labrador, and that of Greenland, (to which Elizabeth gave the name of *Meta Incognita*,) without discovering any probable appearance of that passage to India for which he sought. This new disappointment was sensibly felt, and might have damped the spirit of naval enterprize among the English, if it had not resumed fresh vigour, amidst the general exultation of the nation, upon the successful expedition of Francis Drake. That bold navigator, emulous of the glory which Magellan had acquired by sailing round the globe, formed a scheme of attempting a voyage, which all Europe had admired for 60 years, without venturing to follow the Portuguese discoverer in his adventurous course. Drake, as before related, undertook this with a feeble squadron, in which the largest vessel did not exceed 100 tons, and he accomplished it, with no less credit to himself than honour to his country.

From this period, the English seem to have confided in their own abilities and courage, as equal to any naval enterprize; and began seriously to form plans of settling colonies in those parts of America, which hitherto they had only visited. The projectors and patrons of these plans were mostly persons of rank and influence. Among them sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton in Devonshire, ought to be mentioned with the distinction due to the conductor of the first English colony to America. He had early rendered himself conspicuous by his military services both in France and Ireland; and having afterwards turned his attention to naval affairs, he published a discourse concerning the probability of a north-west passage,

which discovered no inconsiderable portion both of learning and ingenuity, mingled with the enthusiasm, the credulity, and sanguine expectations, which excite men to new and hazardous undertakings. With those talents he was deemed a proper person to be employed in establishing a new colony, and easily obtained from the queen letters patent, June, 1578, vesting in him sufficient powers for this purpose. But two expeditions, both of which he conducted in person, ended disastrously. In the last he himself perished.

The miscarriage of a scheme, in which Gilbert had wasted his fortune, did not discourage his half-brother Walter Raleigh. He adopted all his brother's ideas; and applying to the queen, in whose favour he stood high at that time, he procured a patent, on the 16th of March, 1584, with jurisdiction and prerogatives as ample as had been granted unto Gilbert. Raleigh, no less eager to execute than to undertake the scheme, instantly dispatched two small vessels, under the command of Amadas and Barlow, two officers of trust, to visit the countries which he intended to settle, and to acquire some previous knowledge of their coasts, their soil and productions. They took their course by the Canaries and the West India islands, and approached the North American continent by the gulph of Florida. Unfortunately their chief researches were made in that part of the country now known by the name of North Carolina, the province in America most destitute of commodious harbours. They touched first at an island which they call Wococon (probably Ocacoke) situated on the inlet into Pamlicoec sound, and then at Raonoke, near the mouth of Albermarle sound. In both they had some intercourse with the natives, whom they found to be savages, with all the characteristic qualities of uncivilized life, bravery, aversion to labour, hospitality, a propensity to admire, and a willingness to exchange their rude productions for English commodities, especially for iron, or any of the useful metals of which they were destitute. After spending a few weeks in this traffic, and in visiting some parts of the adjacent continent, Amadas and Barlow returned to England with two of the natives, and gave such splendid descriptions of the beauty of the country, the

fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the climate, that Elizabeth, delighted with the idea of occupying a territory superior, so far, to the barren regions towards the north hitherto visited by her subjects, bestowed on it the name of *Virginia*; as a memorial that this happy discovery had been made under a virgin queen.

Their report encouraged Raleigh to hasten his preparations for taking possession of such an inviting property. He fitted out a squadron of seven small ships, under the command of sir Richard Greenville, a man of honourable birth, and of courage so undaunted, as to be conspicuous even in that gallant age. But the spirit of that predatory war which the English carried on against Spain, mingled with this scheme of settlement; and on this account, as well as from unacquaintance with a more direct and shorter course to North America, Greenville sailed by the West India islands. He spent some time in cruizing among these, and in taking prizes; so that it was towards the close of June before he arrived on the coast of North America. He touched at both the islands where Amadas and Barlow had landed, and made some excursions into different parts of the continent round Pamplioe and Albemarle sounds. But as, unfortunately, he did not advance far enough towards the north to discover the noble bay of Chesapeak, he established the colony, which he left on the island of Raonoke, an incommodious station, without any safe harbour, and almost uninhabited.

This colony consisted of 180 persons, under the command of captain Lane, assisted by some men of note, the most distinguished of whom was Hariot, an eminent mathematician. Their chief employment during a residence of nine months, was to obtain a more extensive knowledge of the country; and their researches were carried on with greater spirit, and reached farther than could have been expected from a colony so feeble, and in a station so disadvantageous. But from the same impatience of indigent adventurers to acquire sudden wealth, which gave a wrong direction to the industry of the Spaniards in their settlements, the greater part of the English seem to have considered nothing as worthy of attention but mines of

gold and silver. These they sought for wherever they came; these they inquired after with unwearied eagerness. The savages soon discovered the favourite objects which allured them, and artfully amused them with so many tales concerning pearl fisheries, and rich mines of various metals, that Lane and his companions wasted their time and activity in the chimerical pursuit of these, instead of labouring to raise provisions for their own subsistence. On discovering the deceit of the Indians, they were so much exasperated, that from expostulations and reproaches, they proceeded to open hostility. The supplies of provisions which they had been accustomed to receive from the natives, were of course withdrawn. Through their own negligence, no other precaution had been taken for their support. Raleigh, having engaged in a scheme too expensive for his narrow funds, had not been able to send them that recruit of stores with which Greenville had promised to furnish them early in the spring. The colony, reduced to the utmost distress, and on the point of perishing with famine, was preparing to disperse into different districts of the country in quest of food, when Sir Francis Drake appeared with his fleet, on the 1st of June, 1586, returning from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. A scheme which he formed of furnishing Lane and his associates with such supplies as might enable them to remain with comfort in their station, was disappointed in a sudden storm, in which a small vessel that he destined for their service was dashed to pieces; and as he could not supply them with another, at their joint request, as they were worn out with fatigue and famine, he carried them to England.

Such was the inauspicious beginning of the English settlements in the new world; and after exciting high expectations, this first attempt produced no effect but that of affording a more complete knowledge of the country; as it enabled Harriot, a man of science and observation, to describe its soil, climate, productions, and the manners of its inhabitants, with a degree of accuracy which merits no inconsiderable praise, when compared with the childish and marvellous tales published by several of the early visitants of the new world. There is

another consequence of this abortive colony important enough to entitle it to a place in history; Lane and his associates, by their constant intercourse with the Indians, had acquired a relish for their favourite enjoyment of smoking tobacco; to the use of which, the credulity of that people not only ascribed a thousand imaginary virtues, but their superstition considered the plant itself as a gracious gift of the gods, for the solace of human kind, and the most acceptable offering which man can present to heaven. They brought with them a specimen of this new commodity to England, and taught their countrymen the method of using it; which Raleigh, and some young men of fashion, fondly adopted. The Spaniards and Portuguese had, previous to this, introduced it in other parts of Europe.

Raleigh afterwards made another fruitless attempt to colonize Virginia, and then sold his right of property in that country to a company of London merchants, who were satisfied with a paltry trade carried on by a few small barks. At last, Bartholomew Gosnold, in a small bark, with 32 men, sailed due west from Falmouth, and reached America by a new and more direct course. He first descried Massachusetts bay. He and his companions visited the adjoining country, and were delighted with its inviting aspect. This voyage had important effects, and plans for establishing colonies began to be formed in various parts of the kingdom. These schemes were warmly promoted by Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, and patronized by James I. who divided that portion of North America, which stretches from the 34th to the 45th degree of latitude, into two districts, nearly equal; the one called the first or south colony of Virginia, the other, the second or north colony. He authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, mostly resident in London, to settle any part of the former which they should choose, and vested in them a right of property to the land extending along the coast 50 miles on each side of the place of their first habitation, and reaching into the interior country 100 miles. The latter district he allotted, as the place of settlement, to sundry knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England.

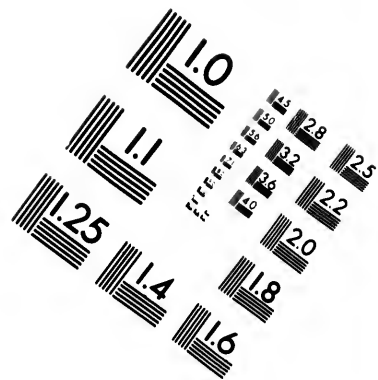
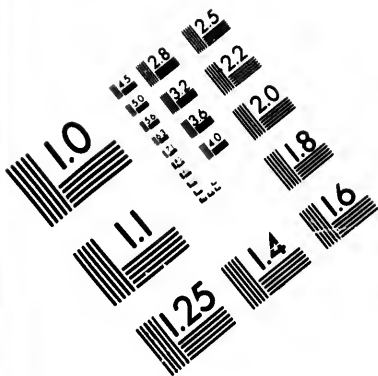
with a similar grant of territory. Neither the monarch who issued this charter, nor his subjects who received it, had any conception that they were proceeding to lay the foundation of mighty and opulent states.

Without hesitation or reluctance the proprietors of both colonies prepared to execute their respective plans; and under the authority of a charter, which would now be rejected with disdain, as a violent invasion of the sacred and inalienable rights of liberty, the first permanent settlements of the English in America were established. From this period, the progress of the two colonies of Virginia and New England formed a regular and continuous history. The former in the south, and the latter in the north, may be considered as the original and parent colonies; in imitation of which, and under whose shelter, all the others have been successively planted and reared.

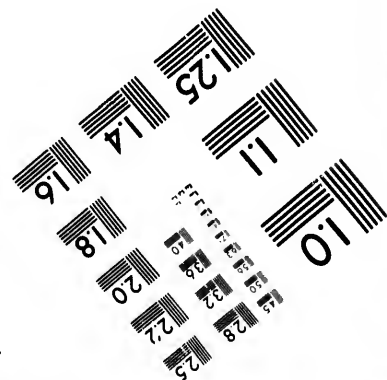
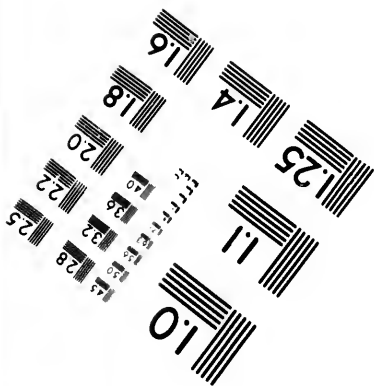
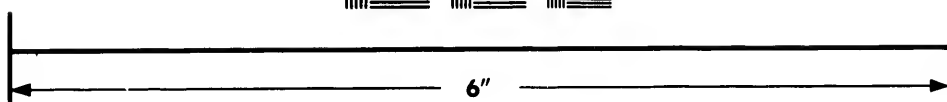
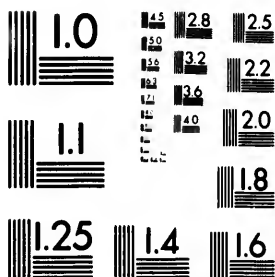
The history of the various, important colonies which were successively formed, with the time, the motives, and the circumstances, of their establishment, it does not fall within our plan to detail. We will, therefore, proceed to give an account of their present situation, as described by the best modern voyagers and travellers.







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# GRAY'S LETTERS

FROM

## CANADA.

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**MR. HUGH GRAY**, from whose letters the following interesting particulars respecting the natural, civil, and political, state of Canada, have been selected, resided in that country during the years 1806, 1807, 1808. The immense regions in North America, which still form a part of the British empire, are very little known to the English nation. The facts here stated will therefore be found not only extremely curious, but also highly important to readers of every description.

*' At Sea, May 1806.*

' I PROMISED to write you, my worthy friend, on my arrival in Canada; I will do more; I will write you before I get there. You may perhaps say, What can be found worthy of notice on the face of the trackless ocean? Not so much, I grant you, as in the cultivated vale, or crowded city. But on the ocean even, we meet with occurrences which highly excite our curiosity, and merit our attention. Our approach to the American shore; our crossing the gulph of St. Lawrence; our progress up that noble river; cannot fail to furnish objects well deserving remark.

' Canada is a most important country to Great Britain. It claims our attention from its geographical position relative to the United States; from its extent of territory; from its numerous productions; and from its rising value as a British colony. Few subjects are likely to be more interesting than

the topographical description of a country so little known to us, presenting features every where peculiar and striking, and phenomena well deserving the attention of any one the least acquainted with natural history. It shall be my endeavour, during my residence in Canada, to elucidate these points, and make myself acquainted with its trade and political economy.

'The weather hitherto has been pretty favourable, not however without some variety. Indeed, the wind has been sometimes extremely violent, at least what a landsman would call so: on these occasions, the proper place for us *landlubbers* is our cabin; we should *turn in*, as the sailors call it. You may, no doubt, go to *bed*, but you cannot say you go to *rest*, for you are incessantly rocked about in the most unpleasant manner, from the rolling and pitching of the vessel. Besides, the abominably jarring discordant sounds with which one is constantly annoyed on board ship, are intolerable, particularly in the middle of the night, when all is dark around you, and sleep is wished for in vain. A heavy swell heaves and strains the ship; the waves dashing and roaring under the cabin-windows; the ropes and sails flapping and rattling overhead; the timbers and bulkheads creaking, cracking, and growling; form altogether such a pretty kind of concert, as one might expect to find in the palace of Pandemonium.

'A gale came on a few days ago: I could neither sit nor stand without great exertions; but curiosity kept me on deck. The waves ran tremendously high, and the ship seemed ready to be swallowed up. One moment you are elevated, and mount the briny swell: you are then sunk down, immersed in the deep, shut up, as it were, by the foaming surge, which seems to present on all sides an insuperable barrier.

'A sudden squall laid the ship almost on her beam-ends; a head sea struck her while *gunwale under*, and made a clear sweep *fore and aft*; to hold fast is, in this case, your only chance of safety. The ship at length *righted*, and we saw the seamen at the prow, emerging, as it were, from the wave, reeling from side to side, making fast every thing they could, and putting themselves in situations that a landsman shudders even to look at. The waves were running, what those who

delight in hyperbolic description would call, *mountains high*. In fact, we were so deeply immersed sometimes, and the waves were rolling so high around us, that we could not see *the top-gallant royals* of a frigate that happened to be within a few hundred yards of us, so that at any rate we must have had a *very pretty specimen* of a storm of the first magnitude.

‘ We are now on the banks of Newfoundland, the region of codfish; and I am called on deck. The ship is *hove to* for the purpose of fishing: fresh cod for dinner would not be a little acceptable; besides, I understand there is a good deal of amusement in cod-fishing; you shall know what success we have: *en attendant*, Adieu!

‘ *Off Cape Breton, May 1806.*

‘ LAND-A-HEAD! land! land! repeated half a dozen voices. Joyful tidings! I had just fixed myself in a position to secure me against the rolling of the ship, a very necessary precaution at sea; I had a sheet of paper before me, for the purpose of saying something to you about the banks of Newfoundland and cod-fishing, when my ears were agreeably assailed with the joyful sound of *land-a-head!* I am very fond of music; yet I can safely say, that the fine tones of a *Catalani*, which I have often heard with pleasure, or the modulation of a *Braham*, which is exquisite, are sounds vastly inferior in their power of pleasing to the shout of *land-a-head*, after having been tossed and buffeted across the Atlantic ocean.

‘ Here we are, on the 20th May, in sight of *Cape Breton*. As we left Portsmouth on the 14th of April, our being now in sight of the *new world* is pretty fair. Five weeks at sea, however, is quite enough to give a high relish for a sight of land of any sort; and you can hardly suppose a greater contrast than the land we have left—the green fields of England—and the barren mountains of Cape Breton: yet we have great pleasure in looking at it. We have still a long voyage to perform. We have to cross the gulph of St. Lawrence, and go up the river, which may probably occupy a fortnight.

‘ For some days past the great increase of cold which we felt made us conjecture that we approached either snow-clad

mountains, or *islands of ice* which are known to float in these latitudes at this season of the year. Those floating islands are of great height, some have been ascertained to rise upwards of 200 feet from the surface of the sea; the breadth and depth in the water must, of course, have been immense. From the comparative specific gravity of ice and water, the body of ice under water must have been rather more than 9-10ths of what appeared above water. These islands are supposed to be formed on the coast of New Britain, and on the Labrador shore, during the severe winters which reign in those regions for about nine months in the year. The sea, in a gale of wind, dashed against a rock, will be thrown up to a great height, and be arrested, in part, by the severe frost; frequent accumulation will render the mass of great magnitude. When the summer heat begins to melt the snow, and act upon the land, these immense masses of ice are loosened from the shore, and floated off by the north-west winds. They are supposed to continue and float in the Northern ocean for more than one year; and they, in part, owe their immense height to the snow and rain which fall upon them and freeze. When, in the course of time, they are floated into the more southern latitudes, the warm air, which comes in contact with them, is condensed and parts with the moisture it held in solution, which appears in the form of mist, and with which these immense masses of ice are constantly surrounded and fed; for during the night the vapour is frozen, and adds to the height of the whole mass.

‘ A vessel to leeward of one of these floating islands is surprised, sometimes before it is seen, with a sudden and unlooked for degree of cold; and I am assured that it is extremely dangerous to approach them. There are many instances of Quebec vessels, and others, navigating those seas, having been wrecked on these islands of ice. The *Lady Hobart*, a Halifax packet, struck on one a few years ago, and was totally lost. The passengers and crew took to the boat, and, after being *fourteen days* at sea, were fortunate enough to reach the island of Newfoundland, but, as you may well suppose, in a most exhausted state.

‘ In crossing the banks of Newfoundland we had very unpleasant, hazy, and wet weather, which, I am told, is generally found on them. It is accounted for in this way :

‘ An immense body of water, called by seamen *The Gulf Stream*, flows from the gulf of Mexico, and proceeds along the coast of America, at a considerable distance from the shore. Its breadth is generally supposed to be about 15 to 20 leagues. It runs at the rate of about four miles an hour, and it has been ascertained by the thermometer that it is considerably warmer than the ocean on each side of it. This heat is communicated to the air in contact with it, which therefore holds in solution an increased quantity of water. When it gets so far to the north as the banks of Newfoundland, it meets with a cold atmosphere, which cools and condenses the warm air, and renders it incapable of retaining all the water it previously had dissolved ; and a deposition of it, in the form of mist, fog, and rain, takes place in consequence. These increase to such an extent as to obscure the sun for days, and sometimes weeks, to the great annoyance of the seaman, who is thereby prevented from taking *an observation* to ascertain his latitude.

‘ I was called on deck one day to look at *a banker* ; I immediately thought of *Lombard-street* : yet it seemed strange that those who have *so many thousand reasons* for staying at home, should find any to induce them to be on board ship, alongside of us, on the banks of Newfoundland. I found, however, that *the banker* is a small vessel stationed on the banks for the sole purpose of fishing. There are immense numbers of them. They come from Newfoundland, and also from the United States.

‘ When one reflects on the great extent of the banks of Newfoundland, being nearly 400 miles in length, by about 200 miles in breadth, besides the smaller banks and fishing grounds on the coast of Cape Breton, and round the shores and islands of the gulf of St. Lawrence, there seems room enough for all the cod-fish catchers in the world ; and it may seem hard that any of them should be excluded. But as Great Britain has both the right and the power to monopolize this trade, I cannot see any impropriety in her doing so. The allowing the



Americans a share in this trade was an act of pure generosity on the part of Britain. However, a nation ought to be *just* to its own subjects before it is *generous* to those of another country.

‘ For some days past we have seen a greater number of enormous *whales* rolling their huge carcasses in the deep. It is curious enough to observe them when several appear near the vessel at the same time. They come to the surface to breathe, or blow, as it is generally called (and with great propriety, for the noise is equal to that of 50 bellows of the largest size), and the water is spouted to an immense height, like the steam of a fire engine.

‘ Amongst the extraordinary things one meets with at sea, it is not one of the least surprising to observe *small land-birds* several hundred miles from land. I was sitting on the deck the other day, when, to my great surprize, my attention was arrested by the *warbling* of a bird. I looked up, and saw a *linnet* perched on the rigging, and whistling with as much ardour as if on a bush in a green meadow. It is probable they are driven to sea in a gale of wind, or, perhaps a fog may conceal the land from them, and by taking a wrong direction, they may proceed to sea; still it is a matter not a little surprising that they should be able to continue on the wing so long as is necessary to fly several hundreds of miles, particularly when the usual shortness of their flight is considered. They continue sometimes with a vessel for several days, and are frequently caught by the sailors; but it is remarked that they seldom live, though every care is taken to give them proper food. When the vessel rolls much, they find it difficult to retain their footing on the rigging, and you see them forced, as it were, to resume their flight in search of a better resting-place: poor little creatures! they look for it in vain. You at length see them drop into the sea. It is surprising what hold such little incidents take of our sensibilities.

‘ *Gulf of St. Lawrence, May 1806.*

‘ WE are now in the gulf of St. Lawrence, which we entered a few days ago. The entrance through which we

passed is the principal one; it is 60 miles broad, and is formed by cape North, in the island of Cape Breton, on the south side, and by cape Raiy, in Newfoundland, on the north side. There is another communication with the ocean, through the straits of Belleisle, between Newfoundland and the Labrador shore, but it is seldom used, except by *running vessels* from Quebec, that are going to Scotland, or the north of England. The third communication with the ocean is by the *Gut of Canso*, through which, vessels coming from the West Indies, or the United States of America, generally enter the gulf. This passage, which is very narrow, separates Cape Breton from New Brunswick.

‘ We acquired possession of Cape Breton in 1763, and erected it into a separate government in 1784. There is in this island, which is about 100 miles in length by 60 in breadth, much arable land, which at present abounds with hard-wood and pine timber. This country is of great value to Britain, for several reasons. As it commands the gulf of St. Lawrence, it may be considered as the key of Canada. There are in its neighbourhood very valuable fisheries, which cannot well be carried on without a harbour in the island, and the harbour of Louisburgh is the principal one for that purpose.

‘ Great advantages are likely to accrue from the valuable coal-mines in Cape Breton. There is also abundance of iron. The working of the coal-mines, together with the fisheries, form the chief employment of the inhabitants. Communication with the interior of the island is rendered easy by means of a number of lakes and inlets from the sea, found in every direction.

‘ To the southward of our course lies Prince Edward’s island, near the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It is a fine island; the soil is rich, and fit for every sort of grain. It abounds with timber of a variety of kinds, fit for the ship-builder, carpenter, and cabinet-maker.

‘ We are now in sight of the island of *Anticosti*, which lies at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence; it is about 130 miles in length, and about 30 miles in breadth. This extensive tract of country is not inhabited: the length and severity of



the Labrador country. Some of the finest furs come from these posts, particularly bears and foxes.

' We have proceeded up the river a considerable way, but it still looks like a sea. To-day I witnessed a very extraordinary scene; a fierce battle, in consequence of a *whale* being attacked by a *thresher* and a *sword-fish*. One would think that the immense size and strength of the whale would put him entirely out of danger, but size and strength must often yield to ingenuity and stratagem; no animal seems exempt from a violent death, not even the whale. Our Canadian pilot informed me that such conflicts were very common in the river St. Lawrence. The *thresher* (the Canadians call it *un fleau*) is from 15 to 20 feet long; of the flat fish genus, resembling a *sole*, but rather longer in proportion; the back, like that of the sole, is black; and the belly white. He is assisted in his attack on the whale by the sword-fish. It would seem that pure antipathy and mischief are alone the causes of this combination; they have not the stimulus of hunger, as they do not eat the whale when dead. Fish are generally considered to be extremely stupid animals; but here you have a concerted plan, and an instance of ratiocination, approaching to that of the dog or fox.

' When the attack is to commence, the sword-fish gets under the whale, and darts up at him with immense force. The whale, feeling the stroke and attack of the sword-fish, flies to the top of the water, where the *thresher* attacks him. I saw the whale come up, raising his huge back high out of the water. The tail of the *thresher* was immediately seen brandished in the air, and most part of his body out of the water; flap after flap he struck the whale on the back as fast as I could with a stick, who, feeling the blow, darts down head foremost, raising his immense forked tail in the air, and striking with it on every side; apparently with a view of hitting the *thresher*, and if he did, instant death most probably would follow. The sword-fish again attacks him; the whale rises again, and is again attacked by the *thresher*; he again descends; but attempts in vain to elude the attacks of his enemies. I saw him several times raise his head out of the water, at the moment

the thresher's tail was brandishing in the air, and striking him. He seemed to attempt to catch it in his mouth.

' The conflict continued in view about an hour. Sometimes they remained under water for a few minutes, but the whale must come to the surface of the water to breathe, or blow, as it is called; and besides, the attacks from the sword-fish, it is to be presumed, were incessant, and would naturally make him rise to the surface. It is probable they did not leave the whale till they had killed him. I understand, from the Canadians, that whales have been found killed by the sword-fish, who at the same time has fallen a sacrifice to his own furious attack, not having been able to draw the sword from its *whale-belly scabbard*.

' It is impossible to conceive any thing more desperate than the conflict appeared to be. To see the immense animals in contact, part of both raised high out of the water at the same time; the black back and immense head of the whale, contrasted with the long white and black tail of the thresher, in constant action, literally *threshing* the whale most unmercifully: *every blow resounding like the noise of a cannon*: feeling the blows, and galled on all sides by creatures he might well despise, he flounces about, blowing and making a tremendous noise; dashing the water to a prodigious height, and occasioning a sort of local storm.

' One would imagine that *Job* alluded to such battles when he describes *the leviathan*:—"out of his nostrils goeth smoke; he maketh the deep to boil like a pot; he maketh a path to shine after him; one would think the deep to be hoary."

' I perceive my letter is of great length: how can it be otherwise, in talking of the largest river, the largest animals, amongst the largest mountains of the world? Every thing around me is on the great scale. Let us have a little respite, however. I dare say you think it is high time.

' *River St. Lawrence, off Cape Chat.*

' *38 Leagues from Anticosti, May, 1806.*

' WE have been *beating up* against a contrary wind since yesterday, and have, *in tacking*, had an opportunity of

approaching both sides of this immense river. The appearance of the country is very different indeed from any thing you can see in Europe. The whole, to the very edge of the water, is one continued forest. The trees, however, appearing scraggy and dwarfish, present a most desert and melancholy aspect, without the least appearance of the country being the residence of human beings.

‘ Probably it looks pretty much the same now that it did to *Jaques Cartier*, when, in the year 1535, he sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and discovered *Canada*. The river had its name from his having entered it on St. Lawrence's day. The etymology of the word *Canada*, or *why* the country received this name, are generally unknown. I have heard a definition, which is more whimsical, perhaps, than true. It is said that the Spaniards had visited the country before the French did; but finding it very barren, and without gold, the grand object of their pursuit, they frequently, on the eve of their departure, mentioned in the presence of the Indians, “*aca nada*,” signifying, *here is nothing*. When the French visited the country, the Indians, in hopes of getting rid of them, and supposing them Spaniards, repeated frequently *aca nada*, which the French, not understanding, thought, might be the name of the country; hence they called it *Canada*. You may take this definition till you find a better.

‘ To-day we have passed the isle of Bique, and we see some signs of an inhabited country. The face of the heavens appears quite darkened with smoke, arising from the burning of the woods, which is the method taken in this part of the world to clear and prepare the land for cultivation. We see the forest burning at a great distance, and in a variety of situations. One cannot help regretting this apparent waste of timber; but the fact is, there is yet as much timber to be found in situations from which it can be easily transported to the river, as the market requires; besides, the greater part of the timber we see burning is of an inferior quality, and would not be worth the expence of transportation.

‘ When the underwood is thick, which is generally the case where the trees are of an inferior size and quality, the blaze

of the burning forest is awful. It continues to burn for weeks together, and you see here and there, amongst the half consumed ordinary sized trees, the trunks of very large trees, scorched black to the very top. The fire lays waste every thing before it for many miles beyond what those who first kindled it, intended, or could cultivate; and you see a new forest grown up in many places, while the old charred trunks of lofty trees still remain nearly the same as when first burnt; for it is the quality of charcoal to preserve what it surrounds from corruption.

‘A few huts appear here and there on the shore. Their mutual wants and mutual defence induce the settlers to draw near each other. We have here the rudiments of civil society. The inhabitants of these huts are Canadians; they have few wants which their own industry and ingenuity cannot supply; they are their own architects, carpenters, shoemakers, and tailors; and except for their hatchets, and a few simple tools, they are very little dependant on foreign assistance.

‘We have received a visit from some Indians; they came off to us in a *birth canoe*, on purpose to dispose off some fish they had caught. We took them on board, and as they were the first Indians I had ever seen, they excited my curiosity not a little. Poor, miserable looking creatures they certainly were; feeble and diminutive in form, they gave us a very disadvantageous idea of their countrymen. It is hardly fair, however, to judge of a people from the appearance of a few fishermen; at the same time, we ought to recollect that the Indians are all fishermen and hunters, and that therefore those we saw are more likely to be a fair sample of the whole tribe, than the fishermen or hunters of a nation which employs the great majority of its people in the arts of civil society, are to be considered as a sample of the people of such nation.

‘We received from them all their fish; they would not take money in return, but seemed highly pleased when we gave them in exchange, a bottle of brandy, and some salted pork. They got into their feeble bark, and paddled off, singing for joy. Limited, indeed, are the wants of these poor creatures, when such a trifling circumstance could gladden their hearts.

‘ As we proceeded farther up the river, the country assumed a more favourable aspect; the number of inhabitants increased, and we began to observe marks of cultivation. We passed the island of Bique, where vessels bound for Quebec and Montreal usually take pilots. It is distant from Quebec about 150 miles, and from Montreal near 350.

‘ The magnitude of the river now strikes one more forcibly, for though it is about 20 miles broad, I found, on tasting some of the water at half ebb tide, that it was perfectly fresh. I really do believe that there is more fresh water thrown into the ocean from this river, than from all the rivers in Europe put together. I have seen many of the largest of them. A dozen Danubes, Rhines, Rhones, Taguses, and Thameses, would be nothing to 20 miles of fresh water in breadth, from 10 to 40 fathoms in depth.

‘ We anchored, during the night, at the foot of *the traverse*, a well known part of the St. Lawrence; when this morning we have a fine breeze, and we approach Quebec fast. We are now opposite the island of Orleans, one of the largest in the river, and one of the most beautiful. It is about 30 miles in length, by about 10 in breadth. Looking at this island one might fancy one's self in some part of Britain. The greatest part of it appears cultivated; the villages and cottages every where present themselves to the eye.

‘ Quebec just begins to open to our view in very fine style: the scenery on both sides of the river is charming. On the left we see *Point Levi*, with its romantic church and scattered cottages; on the right is the upper point of the island of Orleans: beyond it the main land opens to view, and you are struck with the magnificent *Falls of Montmorency*. A river, called the *Montmorency*, of very considerable magnitude (as large as the Thames at Richmond), is seen precipitating itself in a body over a perpendicular precipice of 246 feet. It is allowed to be one of the finest waterfalls in the world. The eye then runs along a cultivated country for about half a dozen miles, and the prospect is terminated by a ridge of mountains on the right, and by cape Diamond and the Plains of Abraham



on the left, where you see the city and battlements of Quebec commanding majestically the surrounding country.

‘The ship is alongside the wharf; and although she is as good a ship, and we have had as good a voyage as falls to the lot of most people, yet I do assure you, I very willingly step out of her,—into the Continent of America.

‘Quebec, July, 1806:

‘WHEN we reflect on the number of years this country has been in the possession of Europeans, we cannot help being surprized that it should still retain so much of its original rudeness: it is now about 260 years since it was taken possession of by the French. The infant colony seems to have been very much neglected by old France, who did not by any means watch over it with a motherly care. From the year 1535, when Quebec was first discovered, to the year 1664, a period of 129 years, the government and trade of Canada were in the possession of private merchants holding under patents from the king of France. In the year 1664, the king assumed the government; a governor was appointed; but the trade of the country was given exclusively to the company *des Indes Occidentales*. The English had by this time established colonies in New England, and at Boston, who did every thing in their power to weaken and annoy the French colony which they found interfered in their trade with the Indians. Indeed, the English attacked and took Quebec so far back as the year 1629; but it was restored to the French by the treaty of St. Germain in 1632. The French government, even after they took the colony under their own immediate care, seem to have paid more attention to the *fur trade*, to exploring the interior of the country, cultivating the friendship of the Indians, and spreading the *Roman catholic religion*, than to the improvement of the country in agriculture, and the promotion of the arts, and the domestic pursuits of civil society.

‘*Samuel de Champlain*, who founded Quebec in the year 1608, deserves immortal honours for the judiciousness of his choice. It ever has been considered, and probably ever will be considered, as the capital of the *Canadas*. It certainly is

the key of the river St. Lawrence, which contracts suddenly opposite to the city, being only about a mile in breadth; whereas the bason of Quebec, immediately below, is from four to five miles in breadth; and the river widens immediately above the city. The grand battery of Quebec is opposite to the narrowest part of the river, and is an extensive range of very heavy ordnance, which, if properly served, must destroy any vessels which might attempt to pass, or come near enough to injure the town.

‘ The river opposite to Quebec is about 100 feet in depth, and affords good anchorage: for a considerable way above Quebec it is navigable for ships of any size.

‘ Above the island of Orleans, the St. Lawrence expands, and a bason is formed by the junction of a river called the *St. Charles*, which takes its course through a plain, and is separated from the great river by a ridge of high land, about nine miles in length, extending from a place called *cape Rouge*, to *cape Diamond*. The general breadth of this ridge is from one to two miles. Cape Diamond is a bold promontory, advancing into the river St. Lawrence, of an elevation of 350 feet above the river, nearly perpendicular; and the bank the whole way to cape Rouge is nearly the same elevation, rising from the river almost perpendicular: the ridge slopes towards the north till it reaches the valley, through which the river St. Charles runs. This ridge of land has every appearance of having been an island, surrounded by the great river.

‘ On the north-east, or lower end of the peninsula, Quebec is situated; and the line of its fortifications runs from the river St. Charles, across, to the top of the bank which overlooks the St. Lawrence; the distance is about half a mile: and from the line of fortification to the point of cape Diamond the distance is about a quarter of a mile: within this space stands the city of Quebec. It consists of an Upper and Lower Town. The Upper Town is much elevated above the Lower Town, and separated from it by a line of steep rocks. Formerly the river St. Lawrence, at high water, came up close to these rocks; but as the tide rises and falls here about 15 feet, it gave an opportunity of taking from the river a considerable

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space wharfs were built at low water-mark, and even at some place beyond it, and the intermediate ground filled up to such a height that it remained dry at high water. Upon this situation streets were laid out, and houses built; they are of considerable breadth, and the houses are large and commodious; those next the river have attached to them very extensive warehouses, and the vessels come close to the wharfs to discharge their cargoes.

‘ The Lower Town is not included in the fortifications, but the passes to it are commanded by the batteries in the line of fortification, which surrounds the Upper Town; so that the approach by land to the Lower Town will hardly be attempted by an enemy.

‘ General Montgomery, in the winter of 1775, besieged Quebec with an American army, and when reinforced by general Arnold attacked the city by assault on the night of 31st December. They were repulsed:—the general and two of his aids-de-camp were killed. The blockade continued during the winter: but on the arrival of troops from England in the spring, the siege was raised, and the Americans driven out of the province.

‘ The communication from the Lower Town to the Upper Town is by a winding street; at the top of which is a fortified gate. On entering this gate is a large area, in which is situated the house (dignified with the title of a palace) in which the bishops of Quebec formerly resided; at present it is used for public offices, and accommodates the supreme council and house of assembly. Beyond the palace is the grand battery, which certainly commands the channel of the great river.

‘ Turning to the left soon after entering the gate is another area or square; on the side next the river you see the Chateau de St. Louis, in which the governor resides. Opposite to the chateau on the other side of the square is the English church, a very elegant building; and the court house, where elegance is not so conspicuous. On the north side of the square is a very handsome building, erected for, and used as, a tavern, hotel, and assembly room. From the area of the

market-place different streets diverge, leading to the various gates of the city.

‘ There are three nunneries in Quebec, the Hotel Dieu, the Ursulines, and the General Hospital. The nuns here are not so useless, however, as those in the south of Europe; they employ themselves in teaching young girls reading and needlework. Nowhere do the Roman Catholics and Protestants live on better terms than here. They go to each other’s marriages, baptisms, and burials without scruple: nay, they have even been known to make use of the same church for religious worship, one party using it in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon.

‘ It was very unaccountable that the French should resolve to come out of a strong fortification (where they might long have resisted the assailants) and put themselves on a footing with their enemies. Besides the troops in the city of Quebec, the French had 10,000 men encamped at Beauport, within a few miles of Quebec. If an arrangement had taken place with those troops, that they should attack Wolfe at the moment the garrison sallied forth, his little army must have been cut to pieces. To this error we owe Quebec. The French general Montcalm, as well as the brave Wolfe, fell in the engagement; very different however must have been their feelings in their last moments. The conduct of the Frenchman in rashly sacrificing his troops and the interests of his country could not bear reflection. Wolfe saw his troops triumphant; they had beaten the enemy: he died in the arms of victory.

‘ The upper town of Quebec being on a very elevated situation, enjoys fine air, and a commanding view of the surrounding country, which affords the most sublime scenery in nature. I have seen most of the fine views in Europe; and I can safely say, they do not surpass, perhaps they do not equal, that from the flagstaff of Quebec on cape Diamond.

‘ The majestic St. Lawrence under your feet, receiving the waters of the river St. Charles, and forming the bason of Quebec, from three to four miles across:—further on you see the river dividing itse f into two branches, forming the beautiful

island of Orleans:—on the opposite side of the great river, a finely wooded country, terminating at point Levi, conceals the course and bed of one of the branches of the river,—the island of Orleans, the falls of Montmorency, strike the observer; and the villages of Beauport, Charlebourg, and Lorette, appear at a distance, and render the woods in which they are embosomed more interesting. The eye follows the northern branch of the St. Lawrence till it is lost amongst the distant mountains. To the southward you look over a level country for upwards of 60 miles, till the view is bounded by mountains. This extensive tract is still in a great measure in a state of nature;—nothing to be seen but the stately forest in all its majesty.

‘ It is difficult to imagine a more happy blending of art and nature;—villages, country houses, cottages, corn fields—are combined with primeval woods, fine rivers, beautiful islands, magnificent waterfalls, towering hills, and lofty mountains.

‘ *Quebec, August, 1806.*

‘ THE uninterrupted navigable part of the St. Lawrence is of great extent,—near 500 miles, which is the distance between the gulf of St. Lawrence and Montreal, where, are found vessels of from 3 to 400 tons burden. In its course it receives a number of fine rivers, which open a communication with the country on both sides. The lake Champlain, 120 miles in length, communicates with the St. Lawrence by means of the river *Sorel* (or *Chambly*, as it is sometimes called), and is the natural channel for the produce of the fine country surrounding this lake.

‘ Although the ship navigation ends at Montreal, another species of navigation commences, suitable to the waters to be navigated, and to the commodities to be transported. Bateaux, and canoes, convey to Upper Canada, and the country round the lakes, and to the north-west territories, the European commodities they want; and with the aid of scows, floats, and rafts, carry down to Montreal and Quebec the surplus produce of these immense regions, as yet of trifling amount it is true, compared with the commerce of Europe; but when

one reflects on the variety of climate, of soil, and of productions, which these extensive countries display: and the facility given to the transportation of goods by means of so many fine rivers and large lakes; one cannot help concluding that it is destined at some future period to be the most commercial country on earth.

'The river St. Lawrence must ever be the grand outlet to the ocean for the productions of all that tract of country between the United States and Hudson's bay, including the lakes Erie, Ontario, Michigan, and lake Superior; and there can be no doubt that Quebec is the key of the river St. Lawrence.

'When we consider the many millions of acres which communicate with this river and surround the lakes, where, at present you have only the stately pine, the hardy oak, and many other tenants of the forest; and where in the course of time will be seen the golden harvest, the lowing herd, the bleating flock, and the sons and daughters of industry and innocence;—the heart expands with secret pleasure, and tastes in anticipation, the happiness in reserve for posterity.'

Mr. Gray next proceeds to consider the great importance of Canada to Britain, the means by which we lost the United States, and the errors we have already committed in framing the government of the former. He contends that if both Upper and Lower Canada had but one house of assembly, the English party would always have the majority, which, in consequence of the great number of French Canadians in Lower Canada, is not at present the case. The constitution given to Lower Canada he also conceives to be but ill adapted to the habits and education of the natives. There are, he asserts, many of the members of the house of assembly, who *can neither read nor write*; and the whole business is therefore managed by seven or eight members. If a council was formed of these few members, it would, he thinks, be more consonant to the feelings and prejudices of the Canadians, and to the state of the province both in a civil and military point of view.

In England it is naturally concluded that in a British colony such as Canada, a conquered country, those who govern

and who give law to it, would be Englishmen. From the above circumstance, however, such is not the case. The French language also is used in the house of assembly, public offices, and courts of justice. The Canadians *will not* speak English; and Englishmen are so impolitic and weak as to *indulge* them in speaking French. In civil cases the old French laws are followed, but in criminal ones the laws of England are used. This is likewise an improper arrangement, for the laws are administered by Englishmen, very little acquainted either with the laws or language of Canada, of course there is no uniformity of decision, and the people lose all proper notions of right wrong. To this error mainly is to be attributed the degeneracy of the Canadians, for nothing debases a people so soon, or so effectually as bad laws, or a bad administration of laws in themselves good; and the latter occurs more frequently than the former. In Quebec *civil* justice is really laughed at. Mr. Gray concludes, by observing that, this information may be of use to those who have *dealings* in this country.

‘ Quebec, September, 1806.

‘ SINCE I last had the pleasure of writing to you, I have visited not only the fall of *Chaudiere*, but also the fall of *Montmorency*, two of the greatest natural curiosities which this country has to boast of: Neither of them is equal to the far-famed falls of *Niagara*, in Upper Canada, where the St. Lawrence precipitates itself in a body over a rock about 160 feet of perpendicular height; but they are both possessed of beauties peculiar to themselves, which render them highly deserving the attention of the lovers of the sublime and beautiful.

‘ The river *Chaudiere* falls into the St. Lawrence, about five miles above Quebec, on the opposite side. When a visit to it is in contemplation, a boat must be procured, for which you must be indebted to some of your friends, as there are none for hire: and you must carry meat and drink with you, (if you intend to eat)---a thing never to be neglected when a jaunt into the country is proposed. A cockney steps into a postchaise when he makes an excursion from London,—drives

20 miles into the country to some favourite sport,—orders dinner at the inn,—takes his favourite amusement, and returns when he feels an inclination. In all this business, he is a very passive kind of animal. Now, *here*, if you wish to go into the country, you must literally be active;—you must study the tides, procure boats and men to manage them, carry your dinner and drink with you, act the part of cook frequently; all this, however, serves, I think, to make these little excursions the more agreeable.

‘ We went up the St. Lawrence with the tide and a strong breeze, and landed in the mouth of the Chaudiere. It is so full of rocks and rapids that you cannot sail up it; and the banks are so steep and full of wood that they admit of no path to the fall. It is situated about three miles from where the Chaudiere joins the St. Lawrence; and it is necessary to make a circuit of a few miles in order to get to it. Part of our way was easy enough, as there is a road cut through the wood; but the greater part is very difficult, as you are obliged to find your way through a wood where there is no road, nor any visible path to direct you,—at least that I could discern. However, some of the party had been there before; and were, besides, somewhat acquainted with *the art* of travelling in a wood.

‘ It is surprizing what new light experience throws on this way of travelling. An *Indian* or *Canadian voyageur*, will discern a path or tract where others have passed, and follow it for many days, where you and I never would have imagined a human being had passed before. Those accustomed to travelling in the woods acquire a dexterity in discovering footsteps, truly surprizing. The fallen leaves, where I could discover no vestige, shew, to an experienced traveller, infallible marks of it. They are frequently aided by the underwood in finding the route already taken;—a branch broken in a certain manner, or, the branches twisted, or put into unnatural situations, indicate that some one had passed that way. By their acuteness in these matters, the Indians follow either foes or friends through extensive forests with as much certainty as the fox-hound follows the fox. If they expect to be followed



by their friends, they leave certain unequivocal marks behind them. They break the underwood at every step in a particular manner, and notch the trees as they pass along.

‘ If an Indian or Canadian *voyageur* wishes to make a journey to any particular place, to which there is no known tract; —he goes into the woods without the smallest dread; he makes a straight course, and will, after many days journey, reach his destination, without a compass, through woods that perhaps never before had been trodden by the foot of man. They tell you, that by narrowly observing the trees, they discover certain marks which indicate to them the points of the compass, even though the sun should be obscured by thick weather. They never *lose their presence of mind*, as those who are not accustomed to travelling in the woods. For my part, had I been left alone, after penetrating into the *Claudiere* wood a few miles, I doubt much whether I ever could have found my way out again.

‘ It is very well known in this country (from a number of people having from time to time lost their way in the woods, but who accidentally found it again), that the mind undergoes a wonderful change when you find you have lost all traces of your way. A kind of delirium comes on—perhaps the effect of fear. The person is no longer capable of using his accustomed sagacity, and profiting from his own experience. Objects which might have pointed out to him his way, are passed by unnoticed; he often wanders in a circle while he supposes himself pursuing a straight line. Sometimes, after wandering a whole day, he finds himself within a short distance from his own house, when he thought himself many miles from it; and *vice versa*.

‘ A gentleman lately told me, that he went into the woods in Upper Canada with his gun, in the near neighbourhood of his own house. In pursuing his game he penetrated deeper into the wood than he had been accustomed to do, and finally lost himself. He did not know which way to go; he persevered however, in hopes of getting to some part of the country which he knew; he travelled the whole day without knowing where he was, and without the appearance of an inhabited

country. Overcome with fatigue of body and distraction of mind (for he had left a wife and family at home), he sat down in despair. After sitting some time, he thought he discerned a house through the trees at some distance;—he started up,—and made towards it. Conceive his astonishment, his joy—it was his own house: he thought himself at least 40 miles from it. In fact, he had been travelling all day in a circle, and often in places which he might have known, had his mind been tranquil, and possessing its usual powers of discernment; but these have fled, the moment he became alarmed at finding he did not know his way.

‘ Our party had no great difficulty in directing their course to the Chaudiere. Its noise at last announced its proximity. The Chaudiere would in England be considered as a river of considerable magnitude. Its banks at the fall, are highly picturesque; they are very lofty and very steep, yet covered with stately pines of a variety of fantastic shapes. Scrambling along a rock, you approach the brink of the precipice, 130 feet perpendicular, where the river throws itself into the abyss below, roaring and raging along, as if angry at being forced from its native channel, to be lost in the St. Lawrence.

‘ We were much gratified with the grandeur of the fall, and of the surrounding scenery. Looking up the river, the view is not extensive, but highly picturesque; the lofty banks are overhung with wood, and the grey rocks, which now and then shew themselves, add to the wildness of the scene. The water, when not swelled by rain, does not fill the channel, but is seen winding round the points of rocks, and forming into currents, which, according to the quantity of water at the time, separate or join near the head of the fall, and quickening their motion as they approach the brink, are dashed into the gulf below. The view down the river is of the same wild nature as that upwards; rocks and trees, and rolling rapid streams, all confounded together: the sunbeam illumines the rising spray, mixing radiant gems with the sombre hue of the forest. Nature, in this spot, seems just emerging from original chaos—so wild is the appearance and arrangement of every thing around you.

' After having fully gratified our curiosity, and remarked all the beauties of the place, seated on the Chaudiere rock, and moistened with the rising spray till we were dripping like so many river gods, we resolved to retrace our steps through the wood. We did so with less difficulty than on our approach, and regained our boat with appetites worthy of some excellent beef steaks, with which we had provided ourselves. We lighted a fire on the rocks,—cooked our dinner,—made up a table in our boat, and with one accord commenced the attack. Every thing was excellent, because every body was hungry, and disposed to be pleased:—noble ingredients in all feasts and parties, from the cottagers' potatoes and milk, up to ragouts and burgundy.

' After seeing the fall of Chaudiere, my curiosity was the more strongly excited to see the fall of Montmorency, more famous still than the Chaudiere, because it is seen at a distance by all who sail up the St. Lawrence.

' The river Montmorency falls into the St. Lawrence about nine miles below Quebec; and it may be said, almost literally, to *fall into* it, for the distance does not appear to be above 4 or 500 yards. The approach to it, both above and below, is very easy; you may drive a gig to within a few yards of it. The Montmorency is certainly one of the finest falls in the world: it is (as I have formerly mentioned) no less than 246 feet perpendicular height. Some give the preference to the fall of Chaudiere, because the surrounding scenery is more picturesque. For my own part, I am inclined to give the preference to the Montmorency. It is nearly as large a river as the Chaudiere, and from the great height of the fall in one undivided mass, it is more grand and striking. The banks of the river downwards soon terminate in the St. Lawrence, and are so perpendicular that trees cannot grow on them. They are, of course, not so beautiful as those of the Chaudiere; but the magnificence, the grandeur of the fall, so occupies the attention, so fills the mind, that you do not think of looking for trees or rocks; they would be lost in the grandeur of the principal object. This is not so much the case at the Chaudiere. If, turning your attention altogether from the fall of

Montmorency, you direct it up the river, the scenery is not to be surpassed any where. I have been several miles up the river, and must say I never saw scenery more picturesque.

Quebec, 1807.

‘ I HAVE visited the greatest part of Lower Canada from *Kamouraska*, 100 miles below Quebec, as high up as *Lacine*; near 200 miles above it, so that I have had an opportunity of making some remarks on the Canadians, and their country; and have, besides, had a fair specimen of Canadian travelling.

‘ Travelling in Canada is certainly not altogether so pleasant as travelling in England. The Canadian *calesh* is a very sorry vehicle, compared to the English postchaise; nor are the *auberges* quite so comfortable as English inns. A person who has had been accustomed to travel *only in England*, would say, that a Canadian calesh, with its two wheels and single horse, without springs, and without cushions, was not fit for a Christian to be put into: and as to the *auberges*, or inns, that they were such filthy places, that you might lodge in a hog-sty without your olfactory nerves being more offended.

‘ I certainly must say, that there is great room for improvement, both in the form of the calesh, and the comforts and accommodations of the inns. But I have seen worse. In order to reconcile to myself my situation, and extract as much happiness from the moment as it would admit of, I avoided comparisons with English inns and modes of travelling. I recalled to memory Spanish, Portuguese, and even French inns and conveyances: the balance was much in favour of Canada. I felt myself perfectly comfortable, and thanked my stars that it was no worse.

‘ It adds greatly to the comfort of travelling in Canada, that you are every where treated with the greatest politeness and attention. This, to me, counterbalances a thousand inconveniences. Often have I felt provoked on the continent of Europe, when, after a fatiguing journey,—wet and hungry, perhaps, into the bargain,—stopping at a filthy place, they called an inn, I have looked in vain for the least civility

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or assistance from the people of the house; frequently obliged to carry in my own luggage, and endeavour to find a place where it might be safe from the thief-like fellows about me—the landlord, perhaps, amongst them. How different is the case in Canada! A Canadian *aubergiste* (landlady) the moment you stop, receives you at the door with a degree of politeness and urbanity which is as unexpected as it is pleasing. If they have got any thing you want, it is given at once with a good grace. If they have not, they tell you so in such a tone and manner, as to shew that they are sorry for it.

‘ You see that it is their poverty that refuses you, and not their will. A man must be as savage as a Goth, and as surly as a city epicure over spoiled venison, who with such treatment, though his dinner should be indifferent, could leave the house in bad humour.

‘ The Canadians seem to have brought the old French politeness with them to this country, and to have handed it down to the present generation. One is more surprized to find here courtesy and urbanity, from the little likelihood that such plants would exist, far less flourish, in the wilds of Canada.

‘ From Quebec to Montreal the distance is about 180 miles. You may either hire a calesh to go the whole way, or take a calesh from post-house to post-house. If you proceed direct, they generally make 24 posts; and you get into Montreal on the morning of the third day, without travelling in the night time. The usual charge for posting is 15*d.* a league, which is much cheaper than posting in England. Indeed, it ought to be so, considering the nature of the vehicle, and your having only one horse; besides, hay and corn are much cheaper here than in England, and there is no post-horse duty.

‘ The road differs from all others I have seen, in this, that it may be said to be almost one *continued street*; one house succeeds another so quickly, that I believe I may safely say there is not a mile without one.’

This Mr. Gray informs us arises from the circumstance of both sides of the river, from its mouth to within about 30 miles above Montreal, having been divided by the French king into

a certain number of lordships, which were given to those who had influence enough to procure them: but they were bound to concede them in certain lots, to such of the inhabitants of the country as might apply for them. The lots ran along the course of the river, a certain number of yards in front, by so many in depth. However tracts of primeval woods are still preserved between the different grants, and causes the country still to retain a wooded wild appearance. The banks of the rivers which run into the St. Lawrence are also cultivated, and are in general distinguished for fertility and beauty.

‘ The Canadians are but *poor* farmers.—Indeed, they are generally so, in more senses of the word than one. The Canadian farmer is not sufficiently aware of the value of manures, and of artificial grasses: nor does he seem to reflect, that it is more advantageous to have a small farm of good land in high cultivation, than a large farm half laboured or neglected.—He ploughs the same field, and sows in it the same sort of grain, twenty times over; he does not think of a routine of crops, nor does he renovate the exhausted soil by the addition of manures; the only remedy he knows for land so exhausted as to yield little or no return, is, to let it lie fallow for some time.

‘ One of the principal causes of the poverty, not only of the Canadian farmer, but also of all ranks amongst them, is the existence of an only French law, by which the property of either a father or mother is, on the death of either, *equally* divided amongst their children. Nothing seems more consonant to the clearest principles of justice than such a law; yet it assuredly is prejudicial to society.

‘ *Quebec, 1807.*

‘ MONTREAL is situated on an island; but the island is so large in proportion to the water which surrounds it, that you are not sensible of its insularity. A branch of the river Ottawas, which falls into the St. Lawrence about Montreal, takes a northerly direction, and forms an island. It is about 30 miles in length, by 10 in breadth. The city is situated

near the upper end of it, on the south side of the island, at the distance of about 180 miles from Quebec.

• Montreal may be said to be a handsome town. Its streets are regular and airy; and contain many handsome and commodious houses. It is fully as large and as populous as Quebec, containing about 10,000 people, the great mass of whom are Canadians. Its suburbs, too, are extensive. It has suffered greatly from fire at different times, and the precautions taken to prevent the spreading of conflagration exceed even those of Quebec; for, in addition to the roofs being generally covered with tinned plates, the windows have outside shutters, covered with plate iron.

• The island of Montreal is wholly in a state of cultivation; and it is surrounded by a country generally cultivated. What adds much to its consequence is, its being situated near the *embouchure* of several rivers, which bring down from the countries through which they flow a great deal of very valuable produce.

• The river of the *Ottawais*, which forms the northern boundary of the island, opens a communication with an immense extent of country. It is through this river that the traders to the north-west territories proceed. They go in birch canoes many hundred miles up this river, till they meet with rivers which discharge in lake Huron, from thence they get into lake Superior, and so on to the Grand Portage, where they discharge the goods they have taken up, and are again loaded with the preceding year's investment. They do not return by the same course, but by way of Detroit, and through lakes Erie and Ontario. Montreal is at the head of the ship-navigation from the ocean, and the bateaux and canoe-navigation from and to Upper Canada must commence and terminate at *La Chine* near Montreal.

• The country in the neighbourhood of Montreal is very fine. About two miles from the town there is a very beautiful hill, commonly called *the Mountain*; it is about 700 feet in height from the level of the river. Between the Mountain and town of Montreal, there are a great many very fine gardens and orchards, abounding with a variety of fruit of the very

first quality, and no place can be better supplied with vegetables than Montreal.

‘The chief trade is in furs. The North-west company consists of a number of merchants associated for the purposes of trading with the Indians. They formed the association in the year 1784; and have carried on the trade with great spirit and success. Those who manage the concerns of the company reside in Montreal: they receive a compensation for their trouble, besides their share of the profits of the concern.— From Montreal they send up the country large quantities of goods, to be bartered with the Indians for furs. For the conveyance of these goods, and for bringing back the furs, they have employed, generally, about 50 canoes, and upwards of 1,000 people; such as canoe-men (styled *voyageurs*), guides, clerks, &c. The capital employed in this trade, in goods alone, is upwards of 100,000*l*.

‘The goods are made up in packages of about 80*lbs*. for the convenience of stowing, and of carrying across these places, where the loaded canoes cannot pass. In many places they meet with rapids and falls, which arrest their progress: in such cases, they unload the canoe, and carry both it and its cargo to the next *canoeable* water. Six men carry one of the largest canoes: its load weighs generally from four to five tons; consisting of a number of small packages, which they carry very expeditiously.

‘The canoes, when they take their departure from La Chine, are loaded to within about six inches of the *gunwale*, or edge of the canoe. Instead of oars, they use *paddles*, which they handle with great dexterity. They strike off, singing a song peculiar to themselves, called the *Voyageur Song*: one man takes the lead, and all the others join in a chorus. It is extremely pleasing to see people who are toiling hard, display such marks of good humour and contentment, although they know that for a space more than 2,000 miles their exertions must be unremitting, and their living very poor; for, in the little space allowed in the canoe for provisions, you find none of the luxuries, and a very scanty supply of the necessaries, of life. The song is of great use: they keep time with their



paddles to its measured cadence, and, by uniting their force, increase its effect considerably.

‘The Canadian is of a lively, gay temper; well calculated for the arduous task which he has to perform in his capacity of *voyageur*.

‘The character of the *voyageur* resembles very much that of the British sailor: he is equally rough in his manners and appearance—equally thoughtless and improvident: he endures the greatest fatigue without complaining, and obeys implicitly the orders of the person who has charge of the canoe (his *bourgeois*, as he is called), without ever pretending to question or doubt their propriety: he paddles and sings, and eats and sleeps, regardless of to-morrow. Like the jolly tars, he no sooner receives his wages than he commences a life of extravagance and debauchery. The sailor knows that money at sea can be of no use to him, and he hastens to rid himself of his gold. The *voyageur*, in like manner, knows that money is of no use in the interior of America; and he, too, hastens to get quit of his dollars. Although they act in different situations, yet their minds are operated on in the same way: hence arises a resemblance of character.

‘You probably expect that I should give you some account of the Indians. Doubtless I have seen hundreds of them; but those were such miserable-looking, disgusting creatures, that I do not undertake the task of describing them with any degree of pleasure.

‘Indians of different nations, and from different parts of America connected with Canada, come annually to Quebec, to Montreal, and to other military posts, to receive the presents which the government annually distributes among them. Those who come to Quebec encamp at a little distance from the town, on the banks of the St. Lawrence; and I took the earliest opportunity to go and see them, gratifying a curiosity so natural to Europeans.

‘Conceive to yourself a parcel of men, women, and children, huddled together under a *wigwam*, formed of pieces of wood, seven or eight feet in length, the ends fixed in the ground, and meeting at the top, form a kind of sloping frame, which

is covered with the bark of the birch-tree, to keep out the inclemencies of the weather—a very poor covering indeed. They are *half* naked, *wholly* covered with dirt, and oily paints, and swarming with vermin; diminutive, and weakly in their persons and appearance; and having a physiognomy, in which you look in vain for traces of intelligence. I do not mean to say that they are without the reasoning faculty, but they certainly appear exclusively stupid. I understand that their numbers decrease every year,—if they were wholly extinct, I do not think that human nature would be a great sufferer by it.

‘ Amongst the nations in the interior, I am informed there are found individuals who shew great powers of ratiocination; possess many virtues; and who want nothing but education to be equal to Europeans. Whether the generality of them ought to be placed on that footing or not, appears problematical. To form a just estimate of their genius and mental powers, more facts are wanting; a few instances of individual pre-eminence are not enough.

‘ *Quebec, December, 1807.*

‘ THE population of Canada at the time it came into the possession of the British in 1759-60, amounted to 75,600 souls, as appears from general Murray’s report to the British government, immediately after the conquest. At that time the extensive country now called *Upper Canada* was not inhabited by any Europeans. At present the two Canadas contain at least 300,000 inhabitants; of these, *Lower Canada* contains about two-thirds. The descendants of the Old Canadians constitute at least nine-tenths of the population of Lower Canada.

‘ In Upper Canada, the population amounts to about one hundred thousand. These are all British, at least they speak English, and are governed entirely by the laws of England, both in civil and criminal matters; and in questions relative to real property, as well as in questions relative to personal property.

‘ From the preceding statement of the population, it is evident that the increase in Lower Canada for these 50 years has

been very great; it has in fact nearly tripled. In Upper Canada the increase has been very rapid, as several years elapsed after the conquest before any part of Upper Canada was settled or cultivated. Thirty years ago, Upper Canada was nearly a continued forest;—that a population of 100,000 should in that space of time accumulate, is a proof that the country and climate are propitious.

‘The Canadas owe much of their increase of population to emigrations from the United States of America, and from Europe. These emigrations, to a greater or less extent, take place every year. The emigrants generally prefer settling in Upper, rather than in Lower Canada, as well those from the United States, as those from Europe. There are many reasons for the preference given to Upper Canada. The soil and climate are better; and lands are cheaper, and more easily procured: the tenures are better understood, and better liked than the French tenures in Lower Canada. The great mass of the people speak English, and have English habits, neither of which are to be found in Lower Canada. In case of a dispute with your neighbour, the *cause* is tried in an English court of justice, and in a language you understand; which is not the case in Lower Canada. In short, these causes will continue to draw to Upper Canada a great augmentation to the natural increase of the population and wealth—whilst the *Canadian French population* will only increase in the ordinary ratio.

‘Canada is well deserving the pains and cost necessary to preserve it. She consumes our manufactures to a considerable amount; she gives employment annually to about 200 sail of merchantmen, and about 1,400 seamen; she furnishes Newfoundland with supplies of flour, bread, &c.—and she supplies our West India islands with a considerable quantity of lumber, staves, punchcon-packs, hoops, horses, and salt-fish of a variety of kinds. She supplies Great Britain with wheat occasionally; and, what is likely to be of great importance, the forest of Canada will be found equal to supplying the dock-yards with masts and yards for the largest men of war in the navy, and, indeed, for vessels of all sorts, to almost any

amount; besides a great abundance of oak, and other ship-timber of a variety of species. Our coopers, too, may be supplied with staves to any amount, and of as good quality as usually come from Hamburgh, Stettin, and Dantzic.

‘ *Québec*, 1808.

‘ THE genial influence of a May sun has broken the icy fetters with which Canada has been so long bound up. The winter is now past—we begin to see *the face of the earth*, which we have looked for, in vain, these six months. You cannot conceive what pleasure arises from discovering a piece of ground which the snow has deserted—the eye rests upon it with delight; our pleasureable sensations resemble those we enjoy, when, after a long absence, we meet a dear friend.

‘ A Canadian winter is truly a subject of curiosity to the natives of Britain, or of any of the southern countries of Europe. It presents a view of nature perfectly new, and a variety of phenomena so highly interesting, that they cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one at all conversant in natural philosophy.

‘ In Canada there cannot well be said to be more than two seasons of the year, summer and winter. The earth hath scarcely laid aside her mantle of snow, when you begin to feel the force of summer heat; and although the weather in September is mild and pleasant, it partakes more of the summer than of the autumn of temperate climates. The season of vegetation seems kindly prolonged, till surprized in a manner at once by the return of winter, without much of what may be called autumn weather.

‘ Frost is felt in October, but the sun still retains enough of power to make the weather, during the day, tolerably warm. During the month of November the frost becomes daily more severe, and snow begins to fall.

‘ There is something very awful and terrific in a Canadian snow storm. A heavy fall of snow is generally accompanied by a violent gale of wind, which driving along the snow with immense velocity, and forming a thousand eddies and turnings, according to the inequalities of the surface, and resistance con-

sequent thereon, you are able to form an idea of the velocity of the wind—it becomes, as it were, visible. The most severe snow storms they experience in Canada, come from the north-east, the frozen regions of Hudson's bay and Labrador.

‘ The snow soon covers the ground to the depth of several feet, and wheel carriages can no longer be used: the wheels would sink so deep, that it would be impossible to advance a step. In place, therefore, of wheel carriages, a sort of sledge is used, which in Canada is called a *cariole*. It passes over the snow without sinking deep. It is placed on what they call *runners*, which resemble in form the iron in a pair of skais, and rise up in front in the manner, and for the same purposes. The *cariole* is generally from 9 to 12 inches above the snow. Some, called *high runners*, are about 18 inches. The body of the *cariole* varies in shape, according to the fancy of the owner. It is sometimes like the body of a phaeton, sometimes like a chair or gig, sometimes like a *vis-a-vis*, and sometimes like a family coach or chariot. The *cariole*, in short, is the name for all sorts of vehicles used in winter, from a market cart, up to a state coach.

‘ The generality of them are light, open carriages, drawn by one horse. The snow, after being trodden on for some time, becomes compact enough to bear the horse, and gives very little resistance to the *cariole*. Some people are extremely fond of driving out in *carioles*; for my own part, I think it is a very unpleasant conveyance, from the constant succession of inequalities formed in the snow *by* the *carioles*. These inequalities the Canadians calls *cahots* (from the French word *cahoter*, to *jolt*), and they certainly are very well named, for you are jolted as if you crossed a field with very deep furrows and high narrow ridges.

‘ When the navigation of the St. Lawrence becomes impracticable, little business is done by the merchants, who then appropriate a considerable part of their time to amusements. It is necessary to do something to give a little variety to the sameness of a six months' winter. They have parties of pleasure in town, and parties of pleasure in the country, in which

you have dancing, music, and the social enjoyments of conviviality.

‘ People are less liable to suffer from cold in Canada than they are in England, notwithstanding the greater severity of the weather. Many reasons are assigned for this fact. The Canadians take care not to expose themselves to the external air without being warmly clothed; particular attention is paid to keeping the feet, the hands, and the head warm.

‘ An Englishman can with difficulty form an idea of the cold of Canada, or of its effects, till he feels and sees them. The coldest weather is generally during the month of January. The thermometer fell last January to 60 degrees below the freezing point, and it continued at that temperature for several days. The medium temperature in December and January is about 22 degrees below freezing.

‘ About the beginning of December all the small rivers are frozen so completely, and covered with snow, that bridges for passing them are no longer necessary, and very little attention is paid to keeping in the summer roads. Where they are hollow, or where there are fences, the roads are so completely filled up with snow, that they are on a level with the fields on each side.

‘ The country people who first form the winter roads on the snow, direct their *carioles* by the nearest course where the snow is most level; and they go as straight a line as possible, to the place to which they are destined. They put up branches of trees on each side of the new track, as a direction to others who wish to go that way. These they call *des balises*, or beacons. When they can conveniently follow the course or bed of a river it is generally done, because the surface is evener than over the fields, and there is less snow on them, as they do not freeze till after a considerable quantity of snow has fallen on the fields.

‘ Even the great river St. Lawrence is arrested in its course. It freezes completely over, a few leagues above Quebec, and serves occasionally as a road to Montreal. It seldom freezes over, opposite to Quebec, or in the bason. As the river nar-

rows here, the current is increased, and the tide sets up and down with such force, that it generally keeps the floating masses of ice in motion. When the river freezes over, opposite to Quebec, it is called, in the language of the country, *a pont*, because it answers the purpose of a bridge to the people who live below Quebec, and who then bring up provisions, and fire-wood in great quantities.

‘ A variety of circumstances must combine to form *a pont* ; when many very large masses of ice happen to come in contact, and fill the whole space between one side of the river and the other, they become stationary. If this happens at neap-tides, and in calm weather, the frost fixes the whole, and it becomes a solid mass before the rising tides derange it ; when it has stood a few days, it generally acquires strength enough to resist every impulse it may receive, till the warmth of the April sun affects it.

‘ All these circumstances so seldom happen at the same time, that it is about 10 years since the river *took* opposite to Quebec. This year, however, I have had the pleasure of seeing it in that state, and it certainly is an interesting and curious sight. For the distance of eight miles, you see an immense sheet of ice, as smooth as a mirror. Thousands of people crowd upon it every day, and booths are erected for their entertainment. In one quarter you see numbers of people enjoying the amusement of skating ; in another, you see carioles driving in different directions ; for the ice is so strong, that horses go on it with the greatest safety. Sometimes you see cariole races : they go over the ice with great swiftness. In short, when the *pont*, *takes* (as they term it), it occasions a kind of jubilee in Quebec.

‘ In one point of view, it is a subject of real rejoicing to the city ; it is accompanied with substantial advantages. Provisions of all kinds, and firewood, a no less article in this country, fall in price, from an increase in quantity, as the *pont* enables the people in the country below Quebec, to bring their surplus stock to market, in *their carioles*, without the expense and risk of passing the river in *canoes*. These canoes are not such as have been before described, used in the north-west

trade. They are one solid piece of wood, the trunk of a large tree scooped out, and formed in the outside something like a boat; some of them are very large, carrying easily 15 or 20 people.

‘ The passing of the St. Lawrence in canoes, in the middle of winter, is a very extraordinary operation. The time of high water is chosen, when the large masses of ice are almost stationary. The canoe is launched into the water, where there is an opening: the people are provided with ropes, boat-hooks, and paddles. When they come to a sheet of ice, they jump out of the canoe upon it; draw the canoe up after them; push it to the other side of the sheet of ice; launch it into the water; paddle till they come to another sheet of ice; again haul up the canoe, cross the ice, and again launch—and so on till they reach the other side. You see 20 to 30 canoes crossing in this way at the same time; and you cannot help trembling for them, when you see two immense masses of ice coming together, and they between, apparently in the greatest danger of being crushed to pieces; but the people extricate themselves with great dexterity.

‘ Custom has taught them to avoid the danger which seems to threaten them with destruction: they dexterously jump upon the first piece of ice with which they come in contact, and haul the canoe after them. I have never, myself, been under any necessity to pass the river in this way; and I must own that it seemed fraught with so much danger, that I never from mere curiosity was induced to attempt it. One might, by the aid of the people, escape drowning, if one even did fall into the water; but I conceive that a *ducking* in the river St. Lawrence, in the month of January, and remaining half an hour or more in wet clothes, would be likely to put a period to one's existence as effectually as drowning.

‘ *Quebec*, 1808.

‘ To see the Canadian winter in all its majesty, and to feel it in all its rigour, it is necessary to take a journey into the different parts of the country. This I have done. I have made a tour as high up as Montreal, and gone into the pro-



vince of Vermont, in the United States. Lake Champlain, 120 miles in length, was frozen over: we crossed it on the ice.

‘Having provided myself with a good horse and cariole, and laid in a stock of provisions and liquors, and, moreover, having taken the necessary precautions to guard against the severity of the climate, I left Quebec in one of the coldest mornings I had ever experienced. The wind blew fresh from the north-west; the sun shone bright, and glistened on the dry pellucid snow, which the wind raised into the air, whirling it about, and dashing or darting on my face the minute crystals, like a shower of needle points, occasioning a smarting sensation, which made me feel more keenly the severity of the cold. Whoever has travelled in Canada in the winter season, will be at no loss to recognize the kind of morning I describe.

‘What a strange figure a Canadian winter traveller is, wrapped up in his various vestments! In addition to the usual number of coats and waiscoats, I had a very large double cloak, a large fur cap, and fur tippet: and, what added greatly to my comfort and defence against the cold wind, I had a very large muff, in which I was often obliged to bury my face when the wind blew keen; for you will recollect, that as the cariole is an open carriage, it affords no defence from the cold. With all the clothing and coverings you can put on, still you can with difficulty keep yourself warm.

‘You can take a great deal of exercise in winter, without being fatigued, and can walk with ease and agility under a load of waiscoats and coats, under which you would sink in summer. When a person proceeds to take off all his coverings, it puts one in mind of the grave-digger in Hamlet, to whom modern actors have given many more waistcoats than even a Canadian grave-digger in *winter* would require.

‘The winter travelling in Canada is sometimes very expeditious. It is surprizing with what speed a good Canadian horse will travel, drawing a cariole over the ice. There have been instances of a single horse having drawn a cariole, with two people in it, no less than 90 miles in 12 hours; which is more than mail-coach rate, with all their changes. When this happens, the roads must be very smooth and hard, which

is generally the case when a severe frost has succeeded a thaw.

‘ In the winter time the Canadian horse, like all the other quadrupeds of the country, acquires an increased-quantity of fur to protect him from the cold; and the Canadians never use the currying comb. When the horses have been heated by fast driving, in a cold day, they appear to have a sort of icicle at every hair, and really make a very grotesque appearance; and you frequently see icicles two or three inches in length, hanging at their noses.

‘ The country people pass their time in winter very idly. Their only care seems to be to keep themselves warm; and their principal occupation is cutting and bringing home firewood. They make a journey to Quebec or Montreal occasionally, to dispose of any surplus provisions they may have, and procure some of the comforts of life; such as replenishing their rum bottle, and renewing their stock of snuff, pipes, and tobacco.

‘ To travel from Canada to the United States, is, in England, considered to be a most arduous and perilous undertaking. In truth it is not without its dangers and difficulties, particularly in winter; yet, with all the inconveniences attending it, the journey is performed very frequently. The Americans are constantly coming into Canada, particularly to Montreal. They bring provisions, and various sorts of dry goods, generally in *sleighs*, which resemble the Canadian *carioles*, except that they are placed on *high runners*, and are larger and more commodious than the cariole. The high runners give them one great advantage, which is, that they do not form in the roads those inequalities the Canadians call *cahots*, which jolt you so much, and are one of the principal drawbacks to winter travelling in Canada.

‘ I procured one of the *Yankie sleighs*, as they are usually termed, and left Montreal in a very cold, hazy morning. Our first stage was from Montreal cross the St. Lawrence to Laprairie, a distance of about nine miles.

‘ After leaving Laprairie, we very soon got into a primeval forest, through which a road has been cut as far as the Ame-

rican boundary line; and it is continued onwards to lake Champlain. Travelling on this lake, is, at all times, really dangerous; and I would not advise any one to attempt it, if it can be avoided; which may generally be done by lengthening the route.

It is very common, for sleigh, horses, and men, to fall through the ice, where the water is some hundred feet deep; and you have no warning of your danger till the horses drop in, pulling the sleigh after them; luckily the weak places are of no great extent; you extricate yourself from the sleigh as quickly as possibly, and you find the ice generally strong enough to support *you*, though it would not bear the weight of the horses. You instantly lend your aid in pulling out the horses, and in endeavouring to save them, which is done in a manner perfectly unique, and which will require the greatest stretch of your faith in my veracity, to believe---*the horses are strangled, to save their lives.*

When the horses fall through the ice (there are almost always two in an American sleigh), the struggles and exertions they make, serve only to injure and sink them; for, that they should get out of themselves, is, from the nature of the thing, perfectly impossible. When horses go on the lake, they always have, round their necks, a rope with a running noose. I observed that our horses had each of them such a rope; and on inquiry, found out for what purpose it was intended. The moment the ice breaks, and the horses sink into the water, the driver, and those in the sleigh, get out, and catching hold of the ropes, pull them with all their force, which, in a few seconds, strangles the horses; and no sooner does this happen, than they rise in the water, float on one side, are drawn out on strong ice, the noose of the rope is loosened, and respiration recommences; in a few minutes the horses are on their feet, as much alive as ever. This operation has been known to be performed two or three times a day, on the same horses; for, when the spring advances, the weak places of the lake become very numerous; and the people, whose business leads them often on it, frequently meet with accidents. They tell

you that horses which are often on the lake, *get so accustomed to being hanged, that they think nothing at all of it.*

‘ Pray tell me, do you not think that this is one of those *stories* that *travellers* imagine they may tell with impunity, *having a license?*——Seriously, you are wrong. Though this manner of saving horses, and getting them out of the water, appears extraordinary, yet, I assure you, the thing is very common, and known to every one who has been accustomed to travel on the lakes and rivers of this country, during winter. The attempt however does not always succeed. It sometimes happens, that both sleigh and horses go to the bottom; and the men too, if they cannot extricate themselves in time. There was an instance of it on lake Champlain, a few days before I crossed it.

‘ The range of the thermometer in very extensive. The heat in summer runs into as great an extreme, as the cold in winter. The range, during the last 12 months, has been no less than 120 degrees; and, what is not a little surprizing, it has reached 60 degrees precisely, on each side of the freezing point (32). In summer the thermometer rose to 92, and in winter it fell to 28 below zero. I have been told, that the cold has been known in this country to freeze mercury, the thermometer having fallen below 40 under zero.

‘ The severity of the cold has its advantages as well as disadvantages. The quantity of snow with which the ground is covered, renders it necessary for the farmer to *house* all his cattle and sheep, and to put his hay, straw, and corn under cover. So soon as the ground is covered, and the frost completely *set in*, the cattle and sheep, which are destined for winter use, are killed; and also poultry of all kinds, before they have lost any of the fat they had acquired during the summer and autumn. No salt is necessary to preserve them: they only require to be exposed to the frost for a short time, and they become as hard as ice. When in this state, the poultry, and indeed the beef and mutton too, are packed in casks or boxes amongst snow, and at the end of four or five months, are still perfectly sound and good. I have to-day (10th May) eat of a fowl which has been killed upwards of

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four months; and I really think it could not easily be distinguished from a fowl killed but a few days. Frozen meat is thawed by keeping it in cold water about 12 hours—warm water would render it useless.

‘ Good beef and mutton are sold at from 3*d.* to 4*d.* per *lb.*; good fat fowls at 20*d.* to 2*s.* per couple; turkeys 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* each; geese and ducks in proportion: so that the expense of housekeeping in these articles, is not great in winter. In summer, as meat is supplied into the towns by the town butchers alone, the price advances considerably. The great heat of summer renders it impossible to bring meat from a considerable distance.

‘ It is a fortunate thing for the people in the town of Canada that provisions are cheaper in winter than in summer; for, the winter subjects them to a heavy expence for *firewood*, which is, as you may well believe, a *sine qua non* in this climate.

‘ The effects of frost in this country are with difficulty guarded against, and are really in themselves very curious. I made an experiment, which, to most people, will appear very surprizing. I BURNT my hand with a COLD IRON. This may seem incredible; but a little explanation will convince you of the truth of what I have asserted.

‘ In one of those very cold mornings we had in the month of January, when the thermometer had fallen near 60 degrees below the freezing point, I put my hand to a piece of *iron* that had been exposed to the frost in the open air all night. At first, I felt the sensation arising from extreme cold; in a few seconds I felt the sensation of heat; and it soon became so strong, and so painful, that I was as glad to quit my hold, as if it had been a hot iron. Indeed, I found that I had kept it too long, because the part that had been in contact, blistered, in the same manner it would have done had it been a hot iron, and it was cured in the same way. No surgeon in England, had he been called in, could have suspected that it was not the effect of coming in contact with a *hot* iron. In truth, *heat* was the *cause* of the wound; and you will readily allow that I am correct, when I have explained to you a few circumstances.

‘ Burning by a hot iron is produced by the heat, or what is technically called, *caloric*, passing in such quantity, and with such rapidity, *into* the part in contact with the iron, that the continuity and arrangement of the part is destroyed. Burning with a *cold iron* arises from the heat passing in such quantity, and with such rapidity, *out of* the part of the body in contact with the cold iron, as to produce the same effect. Heat in both cases is the cause; and its going *into* the body *from* the iron, or *into* the iron *from* the body, does not alter the nature of the effect.

‘ There is another effect very frequently produced by cold in this country, which bears no analogy (as in the preceding example) to any thing produced by external heat; and a dreadful effect it is—I mean *frost bitten*.

‘ When the weather is very cold, particularly when accompanied by a smart wind, instances of people being *frost bitten*, frequently occur. Not a season passes, without some of the sentinels being frost bitten on their posts. Sometimes, their hands and face, sometimes, their feet, are affected; and a mortification of the part generally follows, if the proper remedy is not applied in time. The remedy will seldom be applied, if you are attacked in the dark, which is often the case with those who travel at night, as well as with sentinels. Their *own* feelings do not inform them of the presence of the enemy; and they are not likely, in the dark, to have him discovered by other people. He insidiously makes a breach; and if he can keep his ground but for a short time, it is in vain afterwards to think of dislodging him. In the towns, during the day, there is less danger, because you will be stopped by the first person who observes the symptoms. This is readily and easily done, as the part frost bitten becomes white, while the rest of the face is very red.

‘ In so critical a moment, people do not stand on any ceremony, as you may suppose. They know you are not conscious of your situation; and they also know, that before they could convince you that you are frost bitten, and on the point of losing your nose perhaps, it might actually be too late to

apply the remedy; they instantly take a handful of snow, and either rub the part themselves, or make you do it.

‘It certainly is enough to startle a stranger, to see a person, perfectly unknown to you, come running up, with a handful of snow, calling out, “*Your nose, sir,—your nose,—you are frost bitten;*” and, without further ceremony, either themselves rubbing it without mercy, or making you do so.

‘When this is done in due time, the tone of the part, the circulation of the blood, is restored; and, instead of losing a nose, you get off with the loss of the skin perhaps. An acquaintance of mine, who has not been long in the country, was stopped in the street the other morning.—“*Your nose, sir,*” was the salute, “it is frost bitten;—rub it with snow instantly, or you will lose it.” The advice came from a quarter that commanded instant attention. Snow was immediately applied, and the bad effects prevented.

‘In giving you the striking features of the Canadian winter, I ought not to omit, that during the most severe cold in January, a great and very sudden change takes place almost every year, and continues for a day or two. From a most severe frost, when the thermometer shewed 60 degrees below the freezing point, it suddenly became so warm, that the thermometer shewed three degrees above freezing. In short, the weather this winter changed in a few hours from nearly the greatest degree of cold that ever was known here, to a complete thaw.

‘It is a law of nature, that when fluids become solid, heat is given out to the atmosphere. On this principle, when water becomes ice, heat must be given out; and an accumulation of this heat may produce the thaw experienced in Canada, in the middle of winter.

‘Such a great and sudden change is productive of very unpleasant sensations. The soves, and winter clothing, are quite oppressive; and yet, it is dangerous to attempt to dispense with either, for you, *every hour*, look for a return of the cold weather. Fortunately, it does not in general continue many days; sometimes, however, it has been known to last 10 or 14 days; and, when this is the case, it is of very serious

injury to the country in a variety of ways. It is extremely prejudicial to the health of the people. The streets are so inundated with water from the melting of the snow, that you cannot walk out; and the roads become so soft, and the rivers so full of water, that you cannot use a cariole, or travel, indeed, in any mode. But, what is a much more serious evil than all these things, the provisions destined to serve through the winter, become thawed, and are either destroyed altogether, or greatly destroyed.

‘ During the thaw, a very extraordinary effect is produced, sometimes, on the trees. The Canadians call it a *ver-glas*. The tree, from the trunk to the point of the smallest branch, becomes incrusted with pure ice. There may be a small degree of frost during the night, which will freeze the moisture that covered the trees during the day; and it is probable that the external parts of the trees themselves, being cooled down below the freezing point, by the extreme cold of the previous weather, freeze the vapour, the moment it comes in contact with them; in the same way that the glass of a window in winter becomes incrusted with ice by the freezing of the moisture in the air of a room. The branches become at last so loaded with ice, that they can with difficulty support the weight of it; and if there happens to come on a storm of wind, which was the case lately, the branches infallibly break off, and the destruction amongst trees of all sorts is immense. I see every day the effects of the last *ver-glas*. Branches of trees, from six to twelve inches in diameter, are seen every where hanging from the trees, completely broken down.

‘ I am told, that there can be nothing more curious or beautiful than one of those ice-incrusted trees when the sun shines upon it. Indeed, one can easily conceive that it must have the appearance of fairy work, or enchantment.

‘ The Canadians keep their houses very hot; and they themselves, while excessively warm, go immediately into the cold air, without seeming to feel any inconvenience from it; which would induce one to believe that the sudden transition from a hot room into the cold air, if the person be properly clothed, were not so dangerous as is generally imagined. This



is further illustrated by ladies and gentlemen going into the cold night air, out of a warm ball-room, without suffering any inconvenience from it.

‘I am disposed to join in the opinion of those who think that the living in a warm room, so far from weakening and making you delicate, as it is termed, and rendering you unfit to bear cold, is the best preservative against the bad effects of cold, when you may be under the necessity of exposing yourself to it.

‘In Canada, the walls of the houses are usually plastered on the outside, to preserve the stone from moisture, and the consequent destructive effects of the frost. They find it, however, a very difficult matter to get plaster to adhere: particularly if exposed to the easterly wind, which, in one winter, destroys almost any plaster they can use. A composition has lately been tried, which promises to answer better. About a couple of pounds of Muscovado sugar are mixed with a bushel of lime; and it makes a very hard and durable mixture, for *rough casting*. In places most exposed to the easterly wind, it has remained hard and fast, after a fair trial.

‘Before I close this letter, let me mention to you the assistance the Canadians receive from their *dogs*, which they employ for a variety of domestic purposes. I formerly mentioned to you the speed and the hard work to which the Canadian horse was frequently put; but he is not the only beast of *burden* here, or, I should rather say, of *draught*. The Canadians make much use of dogs for drawing light weights. You frequently see a single dog draw a small cart, or sledge, loaded with more than 200*lbs.* weight of different articles. In the winter, in addition to this weight, you see the man who drives, standing on the sledge, and dragged along with great speed, if there is a gentle declivity. The weight they are made to draw, is really incredible. Nor are they very large dogs, or of any particular species: you see them of all sorts and sizes, with carts or sledges, in proportion to their strength. The butchers employ them for transporting meat to their customers in different parts of the town: they use small carts in summer, and sledges in winter; the dogs are fitted with a complete set

of harness, and two or three of them are sometimes yoked to the same cart or sleigh. People employ them too, in bringing water from the river; in dragging small carriages with children; and, in short, in all domestic purposes where a moderate weight is to be transported. They certainly might be used in Britain with great advantage, in many cases: because a boy can attend them, and make *them draw* a great deal more than *he can carry*.

‘ *Quebec, 1808.*

‘ No part of the Canadian winter is more interesting than the conclusion of it, when the snow begins to disappear, and the ice in the rivers to break up, which is the case in the end of April.

‘ At this time the St. Lawrence presents one of the most extraordinary scenes in nature. You cannot form an adequate idea of it, without being a spectator. From bank to bank, it is quite choaked up with immense masses and sheets of ice; some of them from 4 to 500 yards in diameter. The tide forces them on one another, breaks them into smaller pieces, and raises them in shelving and fantastic forms, considerably above the surface. The mass of moving ice fills the whole bason, and is seen as far up the river as your eye can reach—a distance altogether of 12 to 15 miles.

‘ While the river was in this state, we were astonished to see a vessel from England come round point Levi, into the bason. The arrival of the *first* vessel from England is hailed as a joyful circumstance. You cannot imagine what a crowd of pleasureable ideas fill the mind on this occasion. All classes and descriptions of people are interested in it. The merchant, the tradesman, and the labourer, have an immediate prospect of beginning their operations, of putting a period to a state of idleness, and of supplying the wants of their families, which, necessarily, will often be felt, after being six months with little or no employment. The military men have a more immediate prospect of communicating with their friends at home, and of having more frequent intelligence of what is going on in Europe. In short, a thousand agreeable associations are formed

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in the mind, which may be more easily conceived than described.

‘ The vessel arrived on the 28th of April, which is about a fortnight sooner than usual. Indeed, for these last 40 years, I am well informed, there have been only two vessels that have arrived so soon. The river being still full of ice, it was curious, and at the same time terrific, to see the vessel, with all sails set, surrounded by, and fixed amongst, these immense pieces of ice, moving backwards and forwards with the tide, whichever way it led. Anchors and cables were of no use; the only object,—the only chance of safety, was to take advantage of some occasional opening amongst the sheets of ice, by which she might be forced out of the stream. An opportunity occurred; it was immediately seized, the wind being strong and favourable; and she was brought to the quay, and safely moored.

‘ People went off to her assistance immediately on her appearing, and they had much difficulty in reaching her; but they did so at last, with the assistance of canoes, which they paddled when an opening occurred, and hauled over the ice when necessary. It was an extraordinary sight to see people jump off the sheets of ice, into the main-chains of the vessel.

‘ One might have thought, that these immense masses of ice coming against the sides of the vessel, would have stove them in; she received no injury however. In fact, the ice at this season has been so acted upon by the warmth of the weather, that its hardness is greatly lessened. It seems to preserve much of its thickness; but it has become perforated, honey-combed, and full of water, so that the concussion on the vessel was reduced to almost nothing. Ice of the same apparent magnitude, in the month of January, would have squeezed the vessel to pieces.

‘ Could the husbandman, the labourer, and all those whose trade or profession in Canada lead them to work in the open air, follow their occupations all the year round, it certainly would be of great advantage to the country, and to the people. At present, a great proportion of the people are obliged to live 12 months on 6 months work, which implies their receiving

double wages. This is certainly the case; wages are very high; 4, 5, to 6s. a day are given, according to the kind of work, and merit of the workman. The idleness of their winter life has other bad effects. It generates habits prejudicial to exertion; so that, in summer even, they do not perform so much work as men who are in habits of industry all the year round. At the same time I must say, that the lower classes in this country dress as well, and appear to live as comfortably, as the same classes of people do in any country in Europe.

'Canada is a desirable country for emigrants, particularly the south-west parts of it, where the climate is moderate, as is the case in Upper Canada. In fact, population increases fast both in Upper and Lower Canada, as you may well be convinced of, since, in the course of little more than 40 years, the increase has been from 75,000 to 300,000, which is nearly doubling every 20 years.

'There exists amongst the old Canadians a strong prejudice against the Americans, they are jealous of their increasing numbers in Canada; they hate them most cordially: indeed, that is not surprizing, for they have, from the first establishment of the colony, been almost constantly in a state of warfare. *Les sacra Bostonois*, is the usual epithet for all Americans, from whatever part of the country they may come. It is not the old Canadians alone who have imbibed prejudices against the Americans; the British seem to have caught the infection, for which, indeed, they are a good deal predisposed from their early prepossessions at home. This prejudice will cease, or give way, gradually, as they know each other better. The Americans are, I should suppose, just as fit materials to make good subjects of, as any other people. All mankind require good laws over their heads, and that justice should be strictly and impartially administered; wherever this happens, you will have quiet and good subjects, *in course of time*, of whatever country they may have originally been.'

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TRAVELS  
THROUGH THE  
UNITED STATES  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA.

By MR. ISAAC WELD.

THE design of Mr. Weld, in crossing the Atlantic, was avowedly to ascertain the veracity of such descriptions as exhibited the condition of the United States of America in the most brilliant colours to the natives of Great Britain; and to convince himself by personal observation, whether those territories would yield a secure and pleasant asylum from the effects of a war, that seemed ready to overwhelm his native country, Ireland, with the most dreadful calamities.

How far his expectations were answered, and what discoveries resulted from his undertaking, will be seen in the following pages; which, however short they may fall of the beauties of the *original*, will, at least, present our readers with the *leading subjects* of that valuable work.

After a tedious and unpleasant voyage of 59 days from Ireland, our author's fatigued and drooping spirits were revived, by the appearance of a profusion of trees, that embellished the American coast, at a distance, resembling a succession of little islands, but on a near approach, presenting to the spectator the interesting scenery of a magnificent forest.

Sailing between the capes Henlopen and May, which defend the mouth of the bay of Delaware, he experienced the

most exquisite pleasure in his progress to Philadelphia, from the sweet combination of nature's matchless charms, while the rich golden tints of autumn, suffused over the foliage of the oaks and poplars, formed an enchanting contrast to the dark verdure of the lofty pines; and to the glassy surface of the river, reflecting in softened colours the beauties of the adjacent shore, and silently wafting to their destined ports a variety of vessels, that glided along with the unruffled stream. Approaching Philadelphia, the shores became more elevated, that on the right hand side being thickly covered with wood, and the opposite one, which has been greatly cleared, exhibiting a charming cultivation, occasionally spotted with towns and villages, and frequently interspersed with the habitations of rustic industry.

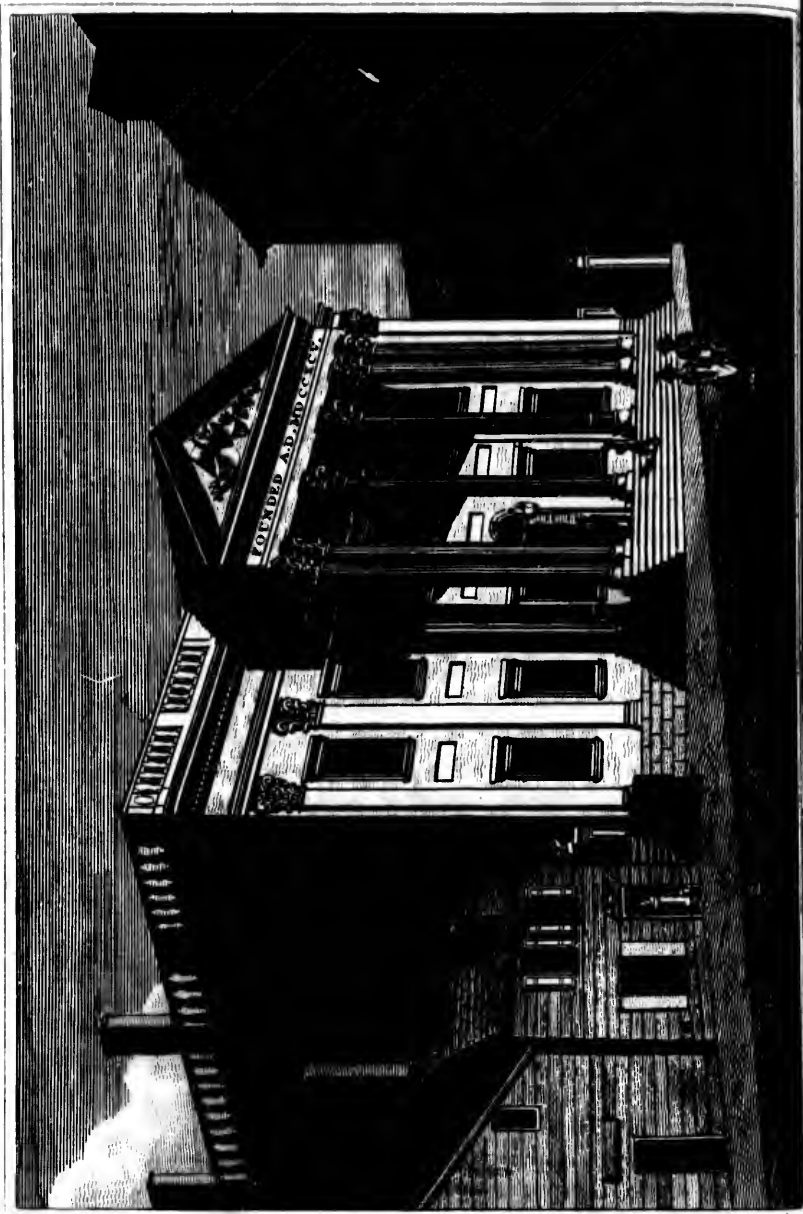
On weathering a point of land that is completely covered with trees, the city of Philadelphia suddenly bursts upon the view, and at this distance, computed at three miles, its appearance is worthy of admiration; but, on a near approach, little else is visible from the river but a crowded assemblage of storehouses, constructed of timber, and chiefly erected upon platforms or quays, of a rectangular form, that project a considerable way into the water. Behind these quays runs Water-street, a place ill calculated to impress foreigners with any favourable opinion of the city. Its width is only 10 yards; the air is much confined by a high bank on the side farthest from the river; and such intolerable effluvias frequently arise from the polluted pavement and waste houses, that a stranger can hardly bear the idea of walking through it. It is indeed surprizing, that the inhabitants should permit such an accumulation of nuisances in this street, as all the other parts of the town are remarkably neat and clean, and more especially, as they experienced such direful effects from their inattention, in the year 1793, when the yellow fever broke out and raged with malignant fury.

The city of Philadelphia was originally designed to stand exclusively on the level summit of the elevation behind Water-street, and a piece of ground was allotted for that purpose, which, extending from the river Schuylkil to the Delaware,

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formed an oblong square, of two miles long and one mile broad. Some considerable deviations, however, have been made from this plan, as a great number of persons have been induced by the conveniency of the situation, to build their houses at the bottom of the bank, and though the city was indeed begun on the side next to the Delaware, it has not been carried on towards the Schuylkil, as was first intended; this, however, may be easily accounted for, by contemplating the great dissimilarity between the two rivers.

The generality of the houses, within the boundaries of the city, are constructed of brick. Many of those, which have been recently built, are airy, light, and convenient; but the old parts of the town are exactly the reverse. There are, indeed, but few houses in Philadelphia, whose dimensions or architecture are particularly worthy of attention. The largest and most remarkable one, is erected in Chesnut-street, but as it is at present in an unfinished state, though 50,000 guineas have been lavished upon it, it is described as a heavy mass of brick and pale-blue marble, equally destitute of elegance and simplicity.

Exclusive of the new bank of the United States and the Presbyterian church, the public edifices are heavy piles of brick and blue marble, by no means congenial to a refined taste. The church, situated in High-street, is embellished with a beautiful portico, supported by six Corinthian pillars; but the view of this building is greatly obstructed by the market-place, which stands immediately opposite, in the centre of the street. The other buildings, most admired by strangers, are the state-house; the house of the president; the bettering house; the hospital; and the prison.

The state-house, situated in Chesnut-street, and appropriated to the use of the legislative bodies, excites the admiration of the spectator, whose memory reverts to the small space of time that passed between the building of the first cabin in Philadelphia, and the erection of this edifice. Attached are the city and congress halls, in the former of which, the courts of justice are held, including the supreme court of the United States and that of Pennsylvania. The latter is used for the

transaction of business by the congress. It consists of two rooms, the lowermost, about 60 feet long, and void of any decoration, is occupied by the representatives of the lower house; and the higher story, called the senate chamber, is fitted up in a style of superior elegance.

The original plan of the building, denominated the president's house, is said to have been drawn by a private gentleman, in the vicinity of the city; but a committee, assembled for considering the plan, and directing the work, reversed the position of the stories, placing the lowermost at top, by which means the decorative pilasters seem to be suspended in the air. It was also contrived that the windows of the grand apartments should open towards the back part of the adjacent houses, instead of facing an extensive area, in front of the edifice, as was first designed. At the time of Mr. Weld's researches the building was incomplete, and as the seat of government is removed to the city of Washington, it will in all probability be applied to some other purpose than the residence of a president.

The bettering house, erected at some distance from the houses of the city, is a large, brick edifice, embellished with extensive gardens. At this place the hapless sons and daughters of indigence are supplied with comfortable food and lodging, by the overseers; and many aged persons, who have experienced the inconstancy of fortune, find an asylum within these walls, from the severity of the winter. During their temporary residence they are permitted to walk out whenever they please; and, providing their behaviour is consistent with decorum, they experience but little restraint. This admirable institution is maintained by an assessment on the inhabitants of the city.

The hospital is described as one of the most excellent in the universe, on account of its airiness, excellent accommodations for invalids, and the surprizing neatness that reigns in every part of the building. It is not yet completed, but one wing and a portion of the centre were sufficiently attractive, to claim our author's admiration, and the other parts are in great forwardness. This building is two stories high, and underneath

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are several cells for the reception of lunatics. The institution is expressly designed for the alleviation of human misery, whether in mind or body; and though it is prudently decreed that no person shall be admitted whose diseases are contagious, yet the attending physician is authorized to attend such patients, and to supply them with requisite medicines, without demanding any remuneration. The situation of this hospital is within the boundaries of the city, though upwards of a quarter of a mile distant from any other habitation. In the year 1793, the sum of 10,000*l.* was granted, by the legislature, for the purpose of enlarging it, and adding a foundling and lying-in hospital. The same year, its productive stock was computed at 17,065*l.* currency; and we add with pleasure, the annual contributions are extremely liberal.

The prison is a stone building of great extent, containing a series of solitary cells, that are all vaulted, to prevent the communication of a sudden fire, and supplied with large yards, surrounded by high walls.

According to the penal laws, recently enacted at Pennsylvania, no persons are to be deprived of their existence, but such as have ensanguined their hands with the blood of their fellow creature. All other crimes are punished, according to their magnitude, by solitary confinement, for a certain number of years. This excellent mode of chastising the guilty is not only designed for an expiation of past enormities, and an example of terror to the unprincipled part of mankind, but likewise for the reformation of the unhappy culprit, who, on his first delivery to the jailor, is obliged to wash, and, after being furnished with clean and decent clothing, is thrown into a cell, about three yards long and four feet wide, where he is secluded from the sight of every human creature, except the man appointed to administer to his necessities; and even he is forbidden to exchange any conversation, unless upon some case of emergency. If a prisoner proves refractory, or if he has forfeited his liberty through some atrocious act of wickedness, he is then secured in a cell, where the sweet light of heaven is perpetually withheld from his view. This is the most severe punishment that can be inflicted, as he is then left to his own

heart-wounding reflections, immured in gloom and solitude, and vainly endeavouring to shun the horrors of a clamorous and polluted conscience: a situation well calculated to reduce the most obdurate criminal to penitence and humiliation.

Twelve citizens, elected annually for that philanthropic purpose, are called the inspectors of the jail, who cheerfully undertake the troublesome task, without the most distant view of lucrative emolument, and who visit every quarter of the prison twice a week. A just opinion is thus formed of the state of the prisoners, and the treatment of each individual is regulated accordingly. The prisoners are compelled to bathe twice a week, requisite conveniences being procured, and likewise to change their linen. Such as are confined in the solitary cells have no other allowance than bread and water; but those who are employed in any kind of labour have an allowance of broth, puddings, &c. besides a small portion of meat, that is distributed twice every week. Their only beverage is water, as no person is allowed to carry any other liquor to them on any occasion. This diet is found to be the best adapted to the use of the criminals, as it at once enables them to perform their appointed work, and preserves a humility of mind congenial to their situation. The prisoners usually work at their accustomed trade, if it can be carried on in a jail. A separate ward is set apart for tailors, shoe-makers, carpenters, &c. and the yards are occupied by smiths, stone-cutters, and nailors. The strictest decency and good order are maintained by the overseers, who prohibit all laughing, singing, and useless conversation, under the dreaded penalty of *solitary* imprisonment. The females are kept separate from the men, and have such employments given them as are deemed the most suitable to their sex and abilities. Divine service is performed regularly every Sunday, when every culprit is obliged to attend; and they likewise receive much benefit from the salutary instructions of the chaplain, who frequently converses with them upon subjects of the greatest importance. The weekly visitors likewise contribute their warmest exertions to those of the minister, and the prisoner, when liberated, re-enters the theatre of the world with expanded ideas, a humble spirit,

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and habits of sobriety: and, on his emancipation from a place which may be more aptly termed a penitentiary-house than a jail, the benevolent men, who have snatched him from impending ruin, and, by a well-timed philanthropy, wrought an important change on his callous heart, now exert themselves to find him an immediate employment. For such persons as are sick, there are proper accommodations and excellent advice, and the strictest attention is incessantly paid to the health of the prisoners.

Our author observes, that prisons are established in every county in Pennsylvania, but there are none at present that will bear a comparison with that of Philadelphia, whither offenders are frequently sent from other parts of the state, on account of its superior excellence; and which is so admirably conducted, that, instead of proving a burden, as is generally the case, it produces a considerable addition, annually, to the revenue.

The streets of Philadelphia intersect each other, at right angles, according to the original design of the founder; the principal one is about 100 feet wide, and the others vary from 15 to 80. They are all paved in the middle with pebble stones, and a foot-way of red brick is constructed on each side, for the accommodation of passengers.

Beyond the boundary of the oblong square the houses are said to be in the liberties, as the corporation has no jurisdiction over that part of the town. The streets are here destitute of that uniformity which constitutes the chief architectural beauty of the city.

The population, including native citizens, English, Irish, Scotch, French, and Germans, is computed at 50,000 individuals. The generality of the inhabitants are engaged in some sort of business; and even those who have retired to enjoy the fruits of their industry, are continually watching for an advantageous purchase of lands, which, in America, may be justly denominated an article of trade.

The women, while blest with youth, are extremely pretty; but, in the course of a few years, their complexions suffer a material change, their teeth exhibit signs of a speedy decay,

and they hardly retain the least vestige of their recently admired beauty.

The places of public amusement are two theatres and an amphitheatre. The old playhouse, which is an indifferent, wooden structure, is but rarely used; but the new one, constructed of brick, and handsomely fitted up, is rather too small for the customary audience. The performers are usually procured from Great Britain and Ireland, whose exertions, if not absolutely worthy of applause, are at least equal to those of the strolling companies in England. Equestrian and other exercises are exhibited at the amphitheatre; balls are given every fortnight, during the winter, and public concerts are held occasionally.

Philadelphia is apparently a favourite residence of the Quakers, who do not, however, form above one fourth of the inhabitants. Five places of public worship are appropriated to the use of this sect; six to the Seceders and Presbyterians; three to the English Episcopalians; four to the Roman Catholics; two to the German Lutherans; and one to the Moravians, Baptists, Swedish Lutherans, Methodists, Universal Baptists, and Jews, respectively. Every citizen is dressed neatly on a Sunday, and the lower class of people are peculiarly distinguished on that day, by their clean and becoming apparel.

The Philadelphian carriages consist of coaches, chaises, chariots, light waggons, and cochees. That of the last description seems peculiar to America. Its shape resembles that of a coach, but the body is somewhat longer; the front also is left open down to the bottom, and the seat of the driver is placed beneath the roof. Small props, placed at each corner, afford a sufficient support to the roof; and, on each side are curtains, above the pannels, to form an occasional defence against the inclemency of the weather. The passengers sit with their faces towards the horses, and are accommodated with a leather curtain, which they draw at their own pleasure, between themselves and the driver. The construction of the light waggons is exactly similar, and the only difference be-

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tween the two vehicles is, that the former is furnished with doors, and is finished in a superior style, with varnished panels, &c. whilst passengers are obliged to scramble into the latter over the seat of the waggoner. Stage coaches are universally of this description.

On the arrival of a stranger at one of the taverns in Philadelphia, he is invariably conducted to a room set apart for the meals of the company that may happen to be in the house, and it is but seldom an individual can obtain the favour of breakfasting or dining in a private apartment. It is also a rarity to procure a single bedded room, unless at a private boarding house, of which there are a great variety. Those who travel in the country, however, must submit to still greater inconveniences, as the landlord's family will there inevitably form a part of the company, and the rooms are crammed with beds in such a manner, that it is scarcely possible to walk between them. Mr. Weld humourously observes, on this subject, that, happening to ask a country landlord in America what accommodations he had for travellers, he was shortly answered, that he need not give himself any trouble on that score, as the consequential host could exhibit *eleven* beds in *one* room.

Quitting Philadelphia, on the 16th of November, 1795, our author commenced his journey to Baltimore, in the public stage waggon, the only mode of conveyance to a person who has not got horses of his own, or who will not pay an exorbitant price for a private carriage.

The country, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, is rich with cultivation, and agreeably spotted with little country houses; but, as almost every tree has been cut down for fuel, or for the purpose of extending agriculture, it has rather a naked appearance, rendered still more remarkable by the inclosures, which are all of common posts and rails; as the peasants have an idea that *hedges* tend to impoverish the ground.

Crossing the Schuylkil, by means of a floating bridge, in the neighbourhood of the city, Mr. Weld had a beautiful view of the river, which is about 250 yards broad, and on its ele-

vated banks are some public gardens, a house of entertainment, and a charming villa, laid out in the English style.

Proceeding through a sylvan and fertile country, reach the town of Chester, containing about 60 houses, and honoured by the sitting of the *first* colonial assembly. From the vicinage is a magnificent view of the Delaware river.

The next object worthy of attention is Brandywine river, where 13 mills are erected almost close together. Among these, some are for grinding corn, some for sawing stone, and others for timber. The water tumbles with equal force and rapidity over a rocky bed, a little above the bridge; and, by means of a curious machinery, cargoes are received from large vessels that approach close to the mills, and are redelivered with surprizing expedition.

The capital of the state of Delaware, known by the name of Wilmington, seems to approximate in formation to the city of Philadelphia; the houses are chiefly built of brick, and are said to amount to 600. There is, however, no object in this town worthy of particular description, and the circumjacent country is by no means pleasant.

Twenty-one miles from hence is a dirty, straggling place, called Elkton, the first town in Maryland, consisting of 90 indifferent habitations, erected without any regard to uniformity. In this neighbourhood are some log houses, answering the following description: the sides are composed of rough logs of trees, placed horizontally upon each other, in such a manner, that the ends of the logs rest alternately in notches on those of the adjoining side. The interstices are filled up with clay, and the roof is formed of boards and small pieces of wood, called shingles. Though rather unpleasant to the eye, these buildings are extremely warm and durable, and are usually erected on a new settlement, as being much cheaper than any other, in a country that abounds with wood. The other residences of the peasants are either constructed of stone or brick, or of wooden frames, sheathed with boards on the outside.

A luxuriant produce of wheat and Indian corn is observed in this vicinage, where the soil was apparently well adapted

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to such a purpose; but the finest view of American cultivation is seen from the road, which generally passes over sterile and elevated tracts of ground, called ridges. The reason assigned by the people of Maryland for chusing such roads is, they are more durable than on the deep soil, in the level parts of the country: a circumstance of great importance to those who never attempt to keep their roads in repair.

A few miles distant from Elkton, is Charleston, containing about 20 fishermen's houses. The adjacent country is rather mountainous, and in some parts the traveller proceeds for five miles together through an uninterrupted succession of woods. The scenery is consequently interesting, and from the summit of the hills are seen the Chcsapeak bay and the Susquehannah river, while in the intervening dales, the waters of some little rivulet fall, in an enchanting cascade, over the ledges of the rock, and murmur responsive to the harmony of birds, who daily present their grateful tribute, in mellifluous songs, to their benevolent Creator.

At the distance of every 10 or 12 miles is a tavern, constructed of wood, with a long porch in the front, where a traveller may be accommodated with provisions, at the appointed hours; but, if he happens to call before the time set apart for breakfast, dinner, or supper, he will find it impossible to procure a separate meal, and must of necessity wait till the other guests, who may happen to be in the house, assemble together. The breakfast is commonly plentiful, consisting of coffee, tea, cold salt meat, fried fish, and different sorts of bread.

Iron ore, admirably adapted for casting, is found in great quantity in this part of Maryland, and in the vicinity of Charleston, there is a small foundery, where cannon are bored by water.

On the way to Baltimore, crossed the Susquehannah at a ferry, and had a charming view of that magnificent river, and the picturesque scenery of its elevated and sylvan banks. Havre de Grace, a small town, containing about 40 houses, stands near the ferry, and a few vessels are built annually in the neighbourhood.

Proceeding over an execrable road, reach Baltimore, the largest town in Maryland, and the chief place of trade in North America, exclusive of New York and Philadelphia. Most of the streets intersect each other at right angles, like those of Philadelphia; they are not, however, all paved, so that in wet weather they are extremely unpleasant, and scarcely passable; the main street is nearly 27 yards wide, the others vary from 13 to 20. The harbour is on the southern side of the town, and is commonly distinguished by the appellation of the *bason*. It is capable of containing 2,000 vessels, and affords 9 feet water. Quays and store-houses are erected on its banks to a great extent; but as it is impossible to quit the bason without the assistance of a particular wind, the greatest part of the shipping that visits Baltimore, stops at a harbour called Fell's Point, formed by a neck of land, at a small distance from the entrance of the bason. Wharfs have been constructed at this point, and the situation has been deemed so favourable to a commercial people, that several regular streets, comprizing 700 habitations, have been built there already, and a large manufacture established for the accommodation of the inhabitants. These buildings are upwards of a mile distant from Baltimore, and are commonly spoken of in the vicinity as separate places.

Many of the private houses, on the skirts of Baltimore, are constructed of timber; but towards the centre of the town they are chiefly of brick. Exclusive of the new streets, they are inconvenient, small, and heavy, and the public edifices possess no architectural beauties. There are 10 places appropriated to divine worship, among which the Presbyterian church is the most handsome building in the town; it is built of brick, and ornamented with a portico, supported by six stone pillars.

Here are no less than three incorporated banks, whence so many notes are issued as almost to annihilate the circulation of money. Small notes are usually preferred to silver, and gold is so extremely scarce, that Mr. Weld hardly ever saw any during the two months he spent in Maryland.

The generality of the inhabitants, including Irish, English, Scotch, and French, are a plain, industrious people, sociable

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among themselves, and hospitable to strangers. They are mostly employed in trade, and their favourite amusements consist of private balls, card parties, public assemblies, and occasional theatrical performances. Baltimore has suffered severely from the effects of the yellow fever, and generally proves unhealthy at the commencement of autumn, when persons, whose circumstances will permit, retire to the country, where are several charming seats in the most delightful situation.

Leaving Baltimore, proceed over a poor country, partly consisting of a gravel soil, mixed with yellow clay, and partly of sand, diversified with patches of black earth, called bottoms, where the roads are so exceedingly bad, that a carriage will sometimes sink so deep, as to defy the utmost exertions of the strongest horse to draw it forwards; and in some parts, that would be otherwise totally impassible, causeways, constructed of trees, are thrown across the road; but these frequently break asunder, and constantly expose a traveller to the most imminent danger. The bridges built across the creeks are equally perilous, being formed of a few loose boards, that totter while a carriage passes over them. Such is the high road to the federal city of Washington.

The federal city, laid out in the year 1792, and expressly designed for the seat of government, and the metropolis of the United States, is situated on a neck of land, near the main branch of the Patowmac river. The ground, already marked out for the city, is 14 miles in circumference, a scale well adapted to the metropolis of a country, whose length is 1,200 miles, and which is 1,000 miles broad. The streets run east, west, north, and south; but a variety of avenues and hollow squares serve to obviate the monotony, that must otherwise ensue, from their crossing each other at right angles. The principal streets are near 100 feet wide, and the avenues 160. The appellation given to each is the name of a state; and the hollow squares are designed for the erection of statues, or national monuments, which in future times may be erected to the illustrious characters, who may have immortalized their names by their gallant actions, laborious studies, or important

discoveries. An equestrian statue of general Washington is to be erected on a small eminence, to the west of the capitol.

From the capitol, now erecting in the central and most elevated part of the city, is a delightful view of all the buildings, and of the adjacent country. Here are to be apartments for the accommodation of the congress, and all the principal public offices, together with the courts of judicature. The plan of this place is large and magnificent, and the expence attendant on its erection is computed at 225,000*l*.

The president's house is situated upon an acclivity, at the distance of one mile and a half from the capitol. It commands a most charming prospect of the Patowmac, and of the fertile country on the opposite shore. Between the house and the river are 100 acres of land, expressly designed for pleasure-grounds, and an extensive park is to run, in an easterly direction, from the Patowmac to the capitol. This park, or mall, is to be embellished on each side with a certain number of elegant houses, for the accommodation of foreigners. The eastern branch will be occupied by a marine hospital, and several other parts are designed for the erection of churches, colleges, theatres, &c.

The only public buildings that are yet begun are, the capitol, a large hotel, and the president's house, the latter of which is constructed of free stone, and is two stories high. The exterior of this edifice is nearly completed, and may already be pronounced the finest piece of architecture in America. The hotel is an extensive brick building, situated between the capitol and the house of the president; but our author seems to entertain a very slender opinion of its beauty. It was roofed in at the period of his visit (1796) and the capitol was just beginning to emerge from the foundation.

The private houses, built chiefly on speculation, and most of them remaining empty, are all plain buildings. The finest assemblage of them is at a place, on the main river, called Green Leaf's point. This spot is highly estimated by many persons, as being the best adapted for trade, but others give the preference to the shore of the eastern branch, on account of the depth of the water, and the superiority of the harbour.

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The houses are indeed greatly scattered, according to the inclinations of the various proprietors, some of whom chuse to reside near the capitol, some in the neighbourhood of the president's house, and others at the west end of the city, in the vicinage of George Town, expecting from each of these situations to derive some considerable advantage. If the buildings already erected were seen in one place, the spectator would acknowledge their appearance respectable; but, exclusive of the streets and avenues, the whole place is almost covered with trees, so that one citizen is sometimes obliged to walk for a couple of miles, through the gloom of a forest, to see another. In the spring of 1796, the population, including artificers, was computed at 5,000 individuals, and a great number of strangers are constantly induced to visit a city that affords such ample scope for speculation.

Continuing the route seven miles down the river, enter Alexandria, a neat, well-built town, where the houses are chiefly constructed of brick. The streets are well paved, extremely commodious, and cross each other at right angles. It is described by our author as one of the neatest towns among the United States.

Nine miles lower is the seat of general Washington, known by the name of Mount Vernon. It is situated on a part of the Patowmac, that rises abruptly to the height of 200 feet from the surface of the river, and forms a bay on the opposite side, which extends up the country to a considerable distance. The Maryland shore, seen across the water, presents a beautiful woodland prospect, charmingly diversified with sylvan hills, and several cultivated tracts, elegantly crowned with a variety of productions, and dotted with country houses. The general's house, constructed of wood, but cut and painted in such a manner as to resemble stone, stands about 180 feet from the edge of the mount. The front is embellished with a large handsome portico, supported by eight pillars, and the back part, which faces the river, is uniform. The centre of the building is used as a dwelling-house, and communicates with the wings on each side. Behind the wings are the cabins

for the slaves, and the different offices appertaining the house and the farm.

A fine lawn, embellished with trees, and a gravel walk, separated on either side from the garden and farm-yard, by hedges, occupies the whole breadth of the building. The appearance of the garden is exactly similar to that of a nursery, and the ground at the back of the house is laid out in a lawn, from whence a beautiful park, well supplied with deer, descends with the declivity of the mount to the brink of the river.

Having experienced the most hospitable reception at this delightful spot, our traveller devoted a few weeks to curiosity, at Washington and George Town, and about the middle of December returned to Baltimore, where he was detained some time by the badness of the roads, which precluded the public stages from travelling. At length, however, this difficulty was obviated by a severe frost, and he embraced the opportunity of proceeding to Philadelphia.

On the subsequent morning to that of his departure, he breakfasted at a tavern, with some American travellers, who fortified themselves against the cold by a hearty draught of *egg nog*, a composition of new milk, rum, eggs, and sugar, bet up together, and by putting on their ordinary apparel, great coats and wrappers, trowsers and woollen socks, and mittens and silk handkerchiefs; Mr. Weld, and a young gentleman from the West Indies were highly diverted with this ludicrous masquerade, at the same time experiencing no particular annoyance from the severity of the weather, though in their customary dress. The party alluded to were, however, by no means singular in their precautions, as every individual seen upon the road was muffled up in a similar manner, and had a silk handkerchief tied about his head in such a manner as to secure his mouth and ears from any admission of the bleak air.

Arriving about noon at the Susquehannah, they found the river so completely frozen, that no one knew how he should be able to reach the opposite shore. At the ferry-house they

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were told that the ice was too weak in some parts to admit of their walking across, and that its thickness was so great near the land, as to require much time and labour before it could be broken. A great number of travellers, however, being extremely desirous to cross the river, and being unanimously unwilling to stop at the ferry-house till the next morning, the latter expedient was adopted, and seven negroes were desired to cut a passage across the river. Three of these men accordingly began to break the ice around the boat, with massy clubs, and the others endeavoured to push it forwards, by means of large poles, headed with iron. So laborious was the work of the former, that they were obliged to request their comrades to relieve them almost every 10 minutes; and after toiling about half an hour, they were completely covered with a pellicle of ice, formed from the water that was repeatedly dashed around them in the course of their exertions. At the expiration of two hours, the clubs were broken to pieces, and the negroes totally exhausted, without having effected their purpose, every exertion to extricate the boat proved ineffectual. The travellers were 12 in number, with four horses, and their situation was now peculiarly distressing; at length, however, Mr. Weld, having a pair of pistols about him, fired a few signals, when a small flat-bottomed boat was sent to conduct them to the opposite shore. The other boat was then rocked about in the ice, and pulled forcibly by the boat-hooks of the auxiliaries, who at last succeeded in obtaining a passage, and, at the expiration of about three hours, our author and his companions landed at a tavern, where the people had prepared for their reception, and where they resolved to enjoy the benefit of a good dinner, and a cheerful fire, without proceeding any farther till the next day.

On the second day after this unpleasant passage, our author arrived at Philadelphia, then rendered extremely lively by the session of the congress and state assembly, together with that of the supreme federal court. The city was literally crowded with strangers. The places of amusement were all open, and universal felicity seemed to reign among the inhabitants. On general Washington's birth-day, this gaiety was still augment

ed, and exclusive of the Quakers, every person of note went to pay their congratulatory respects to their president. The audience, which continued from 11 o'clock in the morning till three o'clock in the afternoon, was attended by the society of the cincinnati, the clergy, military officers, and foreign ministers, the latter of whom exhibited the utmost splendour in their equipages and apparel. The gentlemen were entertained with cake and wines, in two large parlours, the windows of which were crowded on the outside with spectators, and the drawing-room was appropriated to the reception of the ladies, who paid their respects of congratulation to Mrs. Washington. Towards evening the company united, when a splendid ball and supper terminated the festivities of the day.

The frost having totally disappeared, and the weather proving favourable for travelling, Mr. Weld quitted Philadelphia, on horseback, and, after a journey of two days, arrived at Lancaster, which he describes as the largest inland town in North America. It contains nearly 900 houses, chiefly constructed of brick and stone, besides a court-house, a prison, and six churches, one of which is respectively allotted, for the use of the Moravians, German Lutherans, English Episcopalians, German Calvinists, and Roman Catholics. The streets are regularly built, and intersect each other at right angles.

The road from Philadelphia to this town has been recently repaired, and a company is established for keeping it in proper order, by levying tolls upon it, which are to be lessened whenever they yield an interest of more than 15 per cent on the stock originally ventured on the undertaking. This is the first turnpike road that has ever been made in Pensylvania, and it is by no means an object of satisfaction to the people, who would prefer the inconveniency of the most execrable roads, to parting with the small sum required as the toll.

The state of Pensylvania may be described as a right-lined, squared figure, whose greatest extent is from east to west. From the north-east to the south-west it is crossed by several detached ranges of mountains, whose breadth may be computed at 100 miles. The intermediate vallies, and the angles at the extremities of these eminences, possess a rich, fertile

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soil. Towards the northern part of the state, the population is at present very small; but, in the opposite direction, it is considerable, from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. The south-east corner, situated between the river Delaware and the mountains, is the best settled. The turnpike road, already mentioned, leads through this part, and the country, on either side, presents a lively and picturesque scene of mingled woods and hills, and tracts of cultivation.

Between Philadelphia and Lancaster it is a rare object to see two habitations stand together, except at a middle station, called Downing's Town. The land, however, is prettily dotted with farm-houses, built of stone, and frequently embosomed in a peach or apple orchard. About 200 acres are usually attached to each farm.

Quitting Lancaster, our author crossed the Susquehannah, at the small village of Columbia, where its breadth is rather more than a quarter of a mile, and its surface diversified with a variety of rocks and islands, over which the water precipitates itself with a prodigious noise. The banks, on either side, are bold and sylvan, and the islands, being clothed with small trees, produce a fine effect on the wild and romantic scenery. He then proceeded to York, a similar town to that of Lancaster, chiefly inhabited by Germans, and containing six churches and 500 houses.

The period of his arrival happening to be that of the general quarter sessions, our traveller found it no easy task to procure a lodging: at last, however, he was admitted at a house, principally occupied by lawyers, where, in one single apartment, he beheld an assemblage of persons, probably the most grotesque in nature. In one corner of the room was a lawyer conversing with his clients, in another some person was shaving, while a third was noting his brief, and a fourth powdering his own hair, while a table stood in the centre, between a row of weeping females and an assemblage of clamorous old men.

In the country parts of Pennsylvania, the judges are no other than plain farmers, whose appearance is well adapted to excite the risibility of a stranger on his entering one of their courts: but our author candidly acknowledges, that however *ludicrous*

they may *appear*, their decisions are always guided by justice, and administered with impartiality; nor is there a place in the world where the indigent objects of oppression will be sooner vindicated. An accused person has also the power of removing any proceedings to the supreme court, which holds an acknowledged jurisdiction over every part of the state.

The soil, in the vicinage of York, consists of brown, rich earth, which continues as far as Frederic, in Maryland, in a parallel to the Blue mountains. It then becomes tinged with red, and preserves that colour all the way to North Carolina, along the eastern side of the mountains.

Hanover, Woodsburg, and Petersburg, three small towns, are passed in the journey from York to Frederic, but they possess nothing sufficiently remarkable to merit a description.

Frederic is a flourishing town, containing five churches and 700 houses, and is noted for a brisk, inland trade. The magazine of arms, &c. for the state of Maryland, is erected at this place, on account of its secure and central situation.

From hence our author proceeded to Montgomery Court-house, a distance of 30 miles, and then turned off, through the woods, in order to view the great falls of the Patowmac. From the Maryland shore the prospect was extremely grand, but not so interesting as from that of Virginia. He therefore crossed over, by means of a ferry, and landed at the distance of three miles from the falls. A wild, romantic part, here formed the margin of the river, and several clusters of islands, feathered with trees, rendered the scenery highly picturesque. The descent of the adjacent water was not perpendicular, but rushed over a ledge of rocks in different falls, with tremendous impetuosity. The river then winds rapidly along, at the base of a rocky eminence, about 60 feet high, which, standing nearly opposite the cataract, is the best point of observation for a stranger.

Proceeding down the Patowmac, cross it again, at George Town, and, passing the federal city, proceed along the Maryland shore to two small towns, which derive their names from the creeks of Piscatoway and Port Tobacco. In the vicinage of the former the Virginian shore is seen to high advantage.

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Between Port Tobacco and Hoe's Ferry the country is sandy, flat, and dreary, exhibiting nothing, for miles together, but spacious plains, overrun with a species of coarse grass, called yellow sedge, and occasionally diversified with dark groves of pine and cedar trees. The state of this country was, however, once superior to what it is at present, as the remains of several good habitations are occasionally discovered: but, as the land is now worn out by the culture of tobacco, they are now deserted and left to drop into ruins.

The ferry house was one of these old buildings, probably occupied, in former times, by some wealthy planter, who would have cheerfully accommodated a weary traveller with suitable refreshments; but, at the period of Mr. Weld's travels, it was a picture of extreme penury and wretchedness. After waiting two hours and a half for his breakfast, his servant came to inform him, that the house afforded nothing more than what he had now brought; viz. a pint of milk, a couple of eggs, and a small slice of bread, little better than dough. After entering the ferry-boat house, the landlord of this curious *tavern* observed, that there was a large oyster-bed in the river, where our traveller might easily procure an abundance, if he chose to stop with them. The singularity of obtaining oysters in fresh water was sufficient to delay the passage, and nearly a bushel was immediately taken on board. When cooked, they are exceedingly good, but very disagreeable if eaten raw. The Patowmac, with all the other rivers in Virginia, abounds with a variety of fish, that constitute a principal part of the food of such persons as reside near the shore.

Having prevailed on the boatmen to carry him ten miles down the river, by which means he escaped a variety of creeks that would otherwise have impeded his progress, our author landed on a part of the country that appeared one entire wilderness, as the thick foliage of pine and cedar trees scarcely permitted to see above a hundred yards before him; and the loose, white sand, bore no traces of a road or foot path. Proceeding, however, directly up the country, he at last reached an old, brick mansion, where he enquired of some slaves for

a tavern, but received for answer, that there were no such accommodations in that part; that no part of their master's family was at home; but, if he rode a little farther, he might be accommodated at some gentlemen's houses. The traveller accordingly proceeded, for about six miles, when the evening began to advance pretty fast, and he felt the necessity of making application for a night's lodging. While musing upon his situation, and on what plan it would be best to adopt, he was overtaken by a lively old negro, on horseback, who, having heard the nature of his wants, urged him warmly to proceed another mile, to the house of his master, who, he said, would be extremely happy to afford him any assistance. The result, however, proved that the negro had entertained an erroneous opinion of his master's hospitality, as Mr. Weld received for answer, when he explained his situation and requested the favour of a night's lodging, that there was a *good* tavern about two miles distant. He accordingly proceeded thither, after apologizing for the liberty he had taken, and, though it proved to be a most wretched hovel, it afforded a temporary accommodation, and was, in every sense, to be preferred to the residence of a man so utterly void of generosity.

Next day, arrived at Stratford, a part of Virginia, called the Northern Neck, on account of its situation between the rivers Rappahannock and Patowmac. A disparity exists in this and the lower parts of Virginia between the inhabitants, that is totally unknown in every other American settlement. Instead of the lands being divided equally, a few individuals raise fortunes from extensive estates, while the majority of the people can scarcely be said to live in a state of mediocrity. There is likewise another material difference between them, which is still more striking than the gifts or disadvantages of fortune; for those alone, who have abundant possessions, are blest with a good education. There is not, however, so great a disparity now as formerly; and, in all probability, it will be finally done away, as many of the states have been recently divided, owing to the removal of the proprietors, and to the laws of Virginia, which forbid any one son to inherit his father's landed property to the injury of his brothers.

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Nearly every article that can be wanted by the planters is made or produced upon the principal estates. The slaves are well instructed in the business of smiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, turners, tanners, weavers, &c. The soil is also well adapted to the growth of cotton, from which a particular sort of nankeen is made by the negroes.

There are some houses, in the Northern Neck, that are constructed of brick and stone, in the style of old manor houses in England; but the generality, both here and in the other parts of Virginia, are built of timber, which the inhabitants suppose the healthiest, because the interior never appears damp in wet weather. A sort of porch, or pent-house, is to be seen in front of every habitation, extending the whole length of the house, and sometimes running completely round. They afford an agreeable shelter from the fervour of an ardent sun, and the hall, or saloon, which is commonly furnished with sofas, &c. in manner of a parlour, is also a charming apartment, during the summer, on account of the draught of air that breathes through it without restraint.

In the lower parts of Virginia, the complexions of the common people are extremely sallow, in consequence of the violent heat that oppresses them in the summer season, and the bilious complaints that afflict them at the commencement of winter. The females are remarkably ordinary, and receive an addition to their natural ugliness by a kind of bonnet, composed of a caul, fitted close to the back part of the head, and a front stiffened with cane, that projects two feet from the face. This curious article of dress is intended to shield them from the violent effects of the sun.

Having spent a considerable time at the houses of several gentlemen on the Northern Neck, our author crossed the Rappahannock river to Hobb's Hole, a small town, containing about 100 houses.

Proceeding from hence through Urbana, another inconsiderable town, the aspect of the country is very indifferent; a level sandy road runs for miles together through the woods, which chiefly consist of cedars, pines, and black oaks, and the habitations of the peasants are of the most wretched construc-

tion. In this part of the country were observed, several vestiges of the conflagrations that frequently happen in the woods towards the spring of the year, and which generally happen through the carelessness of the people who clear the lands, by burning brush-wood. Mr. Weld was one day an eye-witness to one of these accidents, that occurred during his residence at the Northern Neck. The day having been serenely pleasant, and well adapted to such a purpose, the brush-wood had been set on fire in several places. The afternoon, however, proved excessively hot, and about five o'clock a tremendous whirlwind arose that, in many places unroofed the sheds, levelled the fences with the ground, and carried along a cloud of dust mingled with dried leaves, and fragments of decayed wood. Our author and some gentlemen who were standing on an eminence, immediately exerted themselves to reach some place of shelter, but the whirlwind overtook them with such terrific force, as almost to preclude the possibility of respiration. In about three minutes the whirlwind passed over, when they beheld a vast column of fire rising majestically above the summit of the forest, and threatening the adjacent plantation with destruction. A heavy storm of rain, however, accompanied with thunder and lightning, immediately ensued, which at once cleared the air, and gradually extinguished the spreading flames.

Proceeding over a country less sandy than that in the vicinity of the Rappahannock, and producing an abundance of large pines, from which the inhabitants extract a great quantity of turpentine; reach the town of Gloucester, situate upon York river, and containing about a dozen houses. Remains of a few redoubts, thrown up in the time of the war, are also still to be seen at this place.

On the opposite shore stands the town of York, containing an Episcopalian church, a prison, and about 70 private houses, which still bear evident marks of the siege. There is one habitation, in particular, on the skirts of the town, that is considerably shattered. It appears to have been the habitation of a Mr. Neilson, who, notwithstanding its dangerous position, was affording too good a mark to the enemy, resolved to conti-

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nue in it to the last extremity, and actually remained there in spite of the heavy cannonade, till a negro servant, whose fidelity was equal to his master's courage, was killed by his side. The roof and walls are perforated in several places, yet, notwithstanding its debilitated condition, it is still inhabited, and the townsmen would, on no account, permit the holes occasioned by the cannon balls, in this and other buildings, to be stopped up on the outside. The greatest part of the town is erected on the elevated banks of the river, a few storehouses and straggling huts only, standing at the bottom. Here is shown a cave, formed in the bank, and hung with green baize for the reception of an officer's lady, who could not bear the idea of remaining in the town during the bombardment, and whose extreme terror cut the thread of her existence shortly after her removal to this place of safety. The river is about a mile and a half wide, between this town and Gloucester, and affords a depth of 27 feet water.

Twelve miles to the westward of York is the town of Williamsburgh, situated in the middle of a plain, and at the distance of one mile and a half from any navigable stream. In the principal street is the college of William and Mary, a heavy, tasteless building. There are professorships for medicine, law, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, and modern languages. The president is the bishop of Virginia, who has apartments within the college. Several of the students, (boys under 12 years of age), dined at the table, at the time of our author's visit. Some of them were destitute of coats, and others had neither shoes nor stockings. Their behaviour was also analagous to their appearance, as they constantly rose during dinner to help themselves at the side-board. Some oyster soup, and two dishes of salt meat, formed the whole repast.

The churches, appropriated to the use of Episcopalians, occupies the centre of the main street, and is surrounded with a variety of neat houses, sprinkled over an extensive green, that reminds an Englishman of one of his native villages. There is also a hospital for lunatics, and a large brick edifice, called the capitol, or state-house: this, however, is sadly dilu-

pidated, and most of the adjoining houses are uninhabited. The population is computed at 1,200 souls, and the society in this town is deemed more genteel and extensive than in any other place in America, of the same size.

A flat, uninteresting country prevails from hence to Hampton, a small town, containing about 30 houses, and one church, near the mouth of James river. The annual exports, consisting of corn and lumber, are estimated at 42,000 dollars, and a few boats are built annually for the service. The town, however, is a disagreeable place, and when the tide is out, it is rendered almost insupportable, by the shocking effluvia that arises from the muddy shore.

Crossing a ferry of six leagues, arrive at Norfolk, the greatest commercial town in Virginia. It is situated near the mouth of the eastern bank of Elizabeth river, and contains two churches, and about 500 houses, meanly built, and chiefly consisting of timber. The losses sustained by the inhabitants in 1776, when Norfolk was reduced to ashes, by command of lord Dunmore, the regal governor of Virginia, are said to have amounted to 300,000*l*.

The streets, in the vicinity of the harbour, are extremely narrow, and void of regularity; and though their width is tolerable in other parts of the town, they are all unpaved, and extremely dirty. Our author observes, that the stench which arises from some of them, in the summer season, is really shocking.

Anxious to obtain a sight of the Dismal Swamp, that commences at the distance of nine miles from Norfolk, Mr. Weld quitted the town, in order to satisfy his curiosity, and soon arrived at this extensive tract, which he found completely covered with a variety of trees, including red and white oaks, cypress, pines, and juniper trees, all of which attain to an enormous size, and are so entirely surrounded with brushwood, that in many parts the swamp is actually impervious. It likewise produces an abundance of cane reeds, and a long, rich species of grass, that seems admirably adapted to pasturage, as cattle browse upon it with great avidity, and soon become extremely fat. Towards the interior, this swamp abounds

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with herds of wild cattle, that, in all probability, were lost by some former proprietors, who turned them in to feed. Deer, wolves, and bears, are likewise seen occasionally, and the peasants in the neighbourhood affirm, that it is partially inhabited by wild men, whom they suppose to have strayed hither while children.

The nature of the soil varies greatly in different parts, as the surface is, in some places, sufficiently firm to bear the weight of a horse; in others it is so miry, that if a man attempted to cross it, he would infallibly expose himself to the danger of being swallowed up; and elsewhere it is entirely overflowed. The water of the canal, that forms a connection between Norfolk and Albemarle sound, gushes in without intermission, from the sides, at the depth of one yard from the surface, and in its colour is exactly similar to brandy; a circumstance supposed to result from the proximity of the juniper trees. It is, however, perfectly clear and palatable, and is deemed particularly wholesome by the people who reside in the neighbourhood. The more southern parts of the swamp, when properly cleared, afford an abundant crop of rice, and the other parts, that are entirely covered with trees, form a valuable species of property to the inhabitants of Norfolk, who have a constant demand for staves, shingles, &c. for exportation.

The country between the Swamp and Richmond, a distance of 140 miles, is a sandy level, covered with a profusion of pine trees, for miles together. The accommodation at the country taverns is exceedingly bad, as it is but seldom a passenger can procure any other refreshment than Indian corn bread, fat salt pork, and rancid fish; and even for this wretched fare he is often obliged to wait a couple of hours.

At the head of the navigable part of the Appamatox river stands Petersburg, the only town of importance between Norfolk and Richmond, to the south of James river. It contains about 300 houses, indifferently built, and chiefly inhabited by foreigners. Some excellent flour mills are erected at the upper end of the town, and a flourishing trade is carried

on in tobacco, 2,400 hogshheads of this article being annually inspected at the different warehouses.

The Virginian capital, known by the name of Richmond, is situate on the northern side of James river, a little below the falls. Though the number of houses does not exceed 700, they occupy a length of one mile and a half of ground. The upper town, seated on an eminence that commands a charming prospect of the falls, and of the country on the opposite shore, is extremely pleasant; and the lower part of the town enjoys the advantage of proximity to the shipping. The best edifices, however, are in the upper town, among which is the state-house, or capitol, a building seen to advantage from the other side of the river, but which loses all its beauty on a near inspection. The exterior and even the columns are constructed of brick, partially white-washed, and the interior is equally tasteless. The principal apartment, designed for representatives, is also used to supply the want of a church. The circular vestibule is extremely dark. It is, however, to be embellished with a statue of general Washington; and the edifice is altogether so highly esteemed by the inhabitants, that a stranger must not attempt to make any remarks to the prejudice of its elegance.

The width of the river, immediately opposite to Richmond, is 1,200 feet, over which are thrown two bridges, separated by a central island. The bridge leading to the island, from the southern shore, is sustained by 15 large boats, that are kept stationary by chains and anchors. The other, leading from the island to the town, is built upon piers, but as it is destitute of railing, and the boards that cover it are loose, it is exceedingly dangerous to venture over it on horseback.

The rapids extend about six miles beyond the city, in the course of which distance there is a descent of near 27 yards. The river winds in this part with large rocks, where the water rushes along with surprizing impetuosity. On the northern side of the falls is a canal, extending to the Blue mountains.

The population of Richmond is estimated at 4,000 individuals, 2,000 of these, however, are slaves. The trade is

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chiefly in the hands of foreigners, as the natives are too indolent, and too partial to their amusements, to derive any essential benefit from it. Gambling is the favourite diversion of the people, and is constantly practised without the smallest degree of secrecy. On our author's alighting at a tavern, the landlord immediately asked what game was most congenial to his inclinations, as he could conduct him, according to his wish, either to a faro, hazard, or billiard table. These apartments are always crowded with gamesters, and the doors are only shut to exclude the lowest order of the people, who, however, contrive to find a similar amusement at some petty house of accommodation. The taverns being thus infested is a disagreeable circumstance to a traveller, who is blest with a different bent of inclination, as every room is considered common, and the place where a stranger wishes to seclude himself from the eye of public observation, is always the most frequented.

After staying at Richmond somewhat more than a week, Mr. Weld resumed his journey, and, taking a north-westerly direction, proceeded towards the Green mountains. The country, in the vicinage of Richmond, less flat and sandy than the southern side of James's river, now wore a most delightful aspect, as the genial month of May had arrayed the trees in their new garb; perfumed the woods with the fragrance of innumerable shrubs and flowers; and taught the feathered choristers the most mellifluous notes that ever warbled through the foliage of the woods, or waked the slumbering echo. The most melodious of these enchanting sounds issued from the throat of the mocking-bird, or Virginian nightingale, a bird resembling the thrush, in size and colour, but of a more delicate formation. It imitates the song of every other bird, but with such superior strength and sweetness, that its prototype usually flies away, as if dissatisfied with its own exertions, and conscious of being excelled.

The American birds, most remarkable for their plumage, are the red bird and the blue bird. The size of the former is between that of a sky-lark and a thrush; its plumage is a bright vermilion, and its head is embellished with a little tuft. The other is about the size of a linnæus; its name is expressive

of its colour, and, when flying, it is seen to great advantage. A few humming-birds are occasionally seen in the summer season, but their colours are less brilliant than those of the same species towards the south. Among the other birds are doves and quails, the latter of which afford excellent diversion to American sportsmen, and, in their habits, resemble European partridges, except that they alight upon the branches of trees. The same resemblance between other birds and those of England induced the first English settlers to call them by the names of larks, pheasants, jays, robins, &c. though in reality they are essentially different.

To the southward, and in the lower parts of Virginia, are many large birds, which, when seen in the air, resemble eagles. There is a law in Carolina to prohibit the killing of these *turkey buzzards*, as they contribute to the health of the inhabitants by devouring putrid carcasses and other nuisances.

The American frogs are chiefly remarkable for their noise, some of them croaking so loudly, that a stranger is led to imagine the sound proceeds from a calf, while others may be actually said to whistle. The former species, by which our author confesses he has been often deceived, are denominated *bull frogs*; they are usually found in pairs, where there is good water; their bodies are from four to seven inches long, and their legs proportionate.

About 60 miles from Richmond, at the confluence of the Fluvanna and Rivanna rivers, stands a flourishing little town, called Columbia. It contains a warehouse for the inspection of tobacco, and about 40 private houses. On a neck of land, just opposite, is the arsenal of the state, where are usually kept 30 tons of gunpowder, and 12,000 stand of arms. The low lands in the vicinage, bordering upon the river, are accounted very valuable.

From hence to the Green Springs, a distance of 20 miles, the road leads through a deep and lonely forest of pines. Here our traveller was bewildered, at the approach of night, but, discovering a light through the trees, he sent his servant forward to discover whence it proceeded. The poor fellow readily undertook the task, but was overwhelmed with consterna-

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tion on finding it move swiftly from him, then returning, and then immediately retreating to the woods. Mr. Weld himself was for some time unable to account for this singular appearance, till at length he discovered it to be occasioned by an insect, called the fire-fly, which has the power of emitting a spark from the tail, that exactly resembles fire. After a light summer shower, these flies frequent the woods in great numbers, when the air is seen to sparkle in every quarter.

After a fruitless search of several hours, our author reached a plantation, about 11 o'clock, where he received some information relative to the road, and then proceeded to the Green Springs, where he had much difficulty to obtain a lodging, on account of the lateness of the hour. At length, however, after repeatedly relating his adventures from the last stage, he was permitted to enter the house; but now a fresh difficulty arose concerning his horses, as the landlord was very unwilling to take them under his protection. The stable door, however, was ultimately unlocked, and the animals supplied with some corn, when our traveller finding it impossible to procure even a slice of bread for his supper, retired to a chamber, where the mouldering ceiling, dilapidated walls, and two wretched beds, overrun with bugs, exhibited a dreary scene after the heat and fatigues of the day. Tired nature, however, demanded repose, and, notwithstanding the dreadful annoyance of the vermin, he enjoyed a refreshing sleep on one of the beds till the next morning.

Besides the tavern and the cabins appointed for the slave there is, in the vicinity of the springs, a large farm-house, where such persons as resort hither for the benefit of the water, may procure accommodation. These habitations are situated in the midst of a cleared spot of land, embosomed in a deep wood, on the margin of which are the springs, defended from the falling leaves by a light covering of boards. The waters are impregnated with iron, and are chiefly drank by the inhabitants of the low country, whose constitutions are affected by the intense heat of the summer.

Having procured some breakfast at this little place, Mr. Weld proceeded up the South-west mountains, which are of a

moderate height, an easy ascent, and run parallel to the Blue range. The soil here consists of a deep clayey earth, admirably suited to the culture of clover and small grain. The population of the circumjacent country is far more considerable than in the parts near Richmond, and many persons are so partial to the situation, that they distinguish it by the name of *the garden of the United States*. All the lower Virginian productions are raised here with facility, though the heat is more temperate. During the summer, the air possesses a peculiar freshness and elasticity, and the winters are generally so mild, that the inhabitants deem it a strange object when snow lies upon the earth for three successive days. The appearance of the peasantry, especially that of the females, forms a striking contrast with the natives of the low country; as, instead of the sickly, wan, and unwholesome countenances there met with, the eyes of the mountaineer are illumined with the fire of vivacity, and her cheeks painted with the bright vermeil of health. A group of such beings, elegantly formed by the plastic hand of nature, and dressed with the most simple, yet becoming negligence, must indisputably afford a charming spectacle to a stranger, who witnesses their guiltless sports, while they cheerfully ease the bending sprays of their delicious fruits, that wave toward them with an enamoured zephyr, as craving their acceptance.

The lower order of the people of this neighbourhood are described, as possessing a more amiable disposition, a greater share of personal content, a warmer spirit of hospitality, than are found in persons of a similar class in any other part of America. It must indeed be acknowledged, that the luxuriant produce of nature, which fertilizes their land, and yields an abundant supply to all their actual wants, has rendered them indolent, and too much addicted to dissipation. As they have a great profusion of peaches, brandy is made at a small expence, and as almost every house is furnished with a still, inebriation is very prevalent, a vice from which, we can however add, with pleasure, the blooming nymphs are happily exempt.

These mountains are pleasantly spotted with the estates of several gentlemen, with one of whom our author resided at

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the period of his visit. The house is described as standing upon the summit of a small mountain, two miles distant from Milton, and three from Charlottesville. It is at present unfinished, but when completed, it will most probably rival the grandest private habitation in the United States. A spacious apartment, designed to extend the whole breadth of the house, is to be appropriated to the purposes of a museum and library; the windows are to command an entire prospect of the adjacent aviary and green-house. A large octagonal room is erected in the centre, reaching from the front to the back of the edifice; large, folding, glass doors, opening at each end, under an elegant piazza. The prospect of the country is highly interesting, including on one side the Blue range of mountains, occupying an extent of 40 miles; and on the other, the tops of the trees, that crown the woodland heaths, and a multiplicity of vapours rising from the marshes, that give an incessant variety to the scene. The mountain, on which the house is situated, is elegantly shaded on one side by majestic woods, and diversified with a variety of artificial sylvan walks. On the southern side is a fine garden, and an extensive vineyard, where the delicious clusters ripen quickly, and court the hand of the admiring spectator.

Between the South-west mountains and the Blue range, the country is blest with a fertile soil, and a pretty numerous population. The air is also salubrious, and the appearance of the inhabitants evinces its beneficial effects. Several mines of copper and iron have been discovered in these parts, but the working of them is not at present carried on with any degree of spirit.

Having traversed the South-west mountains, our author arrived at the town of Lynchburgh, situated on the southern side of the Fluvannah river, and containing 100 houses, besides a warehouse for the inspection of tobacco. The buildings have all been erected within 15 years, and the trade is apparently increasing with rapidity.

Proceeding hence towards the Blue mountains, arrive at New London, a small town, provided with a magazine and an armory. In the latter were seen, a heap of muskets, compriz-

ing about 5,000, and a quantity of leathern accoutrements, dropping to decay, for want of proper attention.

The country between this town and the Blue mountains is very hilly, and but thinly inhabited. Such persons, however, as have fixed their residence here, are remarkably tall and robust, and have so high an opinion of their own bodily strength, that they hold the people of the low country in the greatest contempt.

The mountains that compose the Blue range, are various in their nature and appearance, some of them being exceedingly rough and stony, and others possessing a rich fertile soil. They are, however, all feathered with trees from the base to the summit. It is only in certain parts that a traveller can cross this range, and in several places the ascent is very steep and perilous: but on the southern side, near the peak of Otter, there is a regular gradation of hills, that, rising imperceptibly, leads a stranger to the summit before he has any conception of such a progress.

After traversing the Blue range, and passing a few inconsiderable settlements, arrive at Fincastle, an increasing little town, founded in the year 1790. It is situated in Bottetourt county, about 15 miles to the south of Fluvanna river, and notwithstanding it has been so recently begun, it already contains 60 houses. The adjacent lands are likewise greatly improved, and bear nearly as high a value as those in Pennsylvania. The majority of the inhabitants are Germans, who have extended their settlements from Pennsylvania to the most southern quarter of Virginia.

Bottetourt county is completely encircled with an amphitheatre of mountains, and is likewise crossed in different directions by mountainous ranges, which render the climate peculiarly healthy and agreeable; *i.e.*, when the heat is most intense, which is usually about 10 o'clock in the morning, a fine breeze springs up from these eminences, and renders the remainder of the day serene and pleasant. Persons resident in this part are never afflicted with either fevers or agues, but on the contrary, those who remove from the low country hither, soon experience the benefit of the air, and are effectually cured of

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their disorders. Several medicinal springs are found in the western parts of the country, which are much frequented towards the close of the summer, by people who are as anxious to elude the insupportable heat of the low lands, as to drink the waters.

The sweet springs, situated near the base of the Alleghany mountains, are so greatly celebrated, that 200 persons, with their horses and attendants, have been known to resort thither in one season. At the period of our author's visit, the accommodations were extremely bad, but a number of gentlemen having purchased the ground, some commodious houses are to be erected in the vicinity of the springs, for the reception of annual visitors. Jackson's mountains, situated between the Alleghany and the Blue mountains, are also noted for their springs, one of which is warm, a second perfectly hot, a third remarkably cold, and a fourth sulphureous. Silver dipped into the latter is almost instantly turned black, and the leaves that occasionally fall into it, from the neighbouring trees, become thickly encrusted with sulphur. The medicinal virtues of these springs are at present but little known, but at some future period they will, in all probability, be clearly ascertained.

Crossing the Fluvanna, enter the county of Rockbridge, which receives its name from a natural bridge of rock, that extends across a cleft in a mountain, which has been completely torn asunder by some great convulsion of nature. The length of this chasm is about two miles, and its depth, in several places, is upwards of 100 yards. The arch is composed of several stones, so firmly united together, that they resemble an entire mass. It is supposed that this curious bridge was drawn across, at the time of the mountain's disruption, by being loosened from its bed of earth on one side, and adhering obstinately to the other. Nor is it indeed more wonderful that the arch should have been thus forcibly drawn over the fissure, than the eminence should have remained disunited, from top to bottom, at this one spot, and that a passage should have been subsequently forced through it by water.

Proceeding through a deep wood, and ascending a hill, the traveller, who finds himself near the summit, and observes a sudden discontinuance of the trees on one side, is induced to make a momentary pause; but when, in the space of a few moments, he finds himself on the edge of a terrific precipice, he is perfectly astounded, and is scarcely able to believe that the surrounding scenery is not the illusion of a disordered imagination. He now discovers himself to be on the top of a bridge, whence he may look down on one side, over a protecting parapet of rock, into the tremendous abyss. The opposite side, however, has no such natural defence, but a gradual slope descends from the road that traverses the bridge, to the very edge of the cleft, which is described as a perilous station. This declivity is feathered with pines and cedars, as was formerly the case with the other side, but the trees which grew within reach, have been successively cut down by vandals on the rock, who were desirous of seeing them fall to the bottom. The road already mentioned runs across the bridge, nearly in the centre, and is constantly frequented by waggons. A few yards distant is a narrow, serpentine path, that leads through a varied scene of trees and rocks, to the bottom of the bridge, from whence the stupendous arch is seen to advantage, and actually seems to touch the skies. The height of the bridge is 219 feet, the thickness of the arch 40, the width at the top 90, and the space between the abutments at the bottom 50 feet. The abutments on either side consist of a solid mass of limestone, and appear, together with the arch, to have been formed by the labours of art. A rivulet, murmuring over a rocky bed, at the base of the fissure, is no trivial embellishment to the scene; and indeed it is impossible for any person, of taste or sentiment, to survey the magnificent *whole*, without the enthusiasm of admiration; and the more critically it is examined, the more interesting and beautiful does it appear.

Another fine and advantageous prospect of the rock bridge may be had from an eminence about 50 feet lower than the top of the chasm, as from this station the spectator at once

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beholds the arch in all its majesty, and forms a proper idea of its grandeur, from casting his eyes occasionally downwards to the profound gulf that lies beneath.

Another curiosity of nature, equally worthy of attention, is a large cavern, in the heart of a mountain, whose height is 200 feet, and which is so exceedingly steep, on one side, that a person might easily throw a pebble from the summit into the stream that laves its base. The declivity, on the opposite side, is, however, pretty gradual; and on this side is the path that leads to the cave, excepting for the last 60 feet, when it turns suddenly along the steep part, that is completely covered with trees and rugged rocks from the top to the bottom. About two thirds of the way up the eminence is the mouth of the cave, guarded by a large, pendent stone, well calculated to inspire the curious spectator with awe, as he stoops beneath it, to enter the excavation.

Mr. Weld having procured a guide and proper lights, entered the first apartment, which he found to be 15 feet broad and 25 feet high. The floor, ascending towards the right, is very moist, on account of the water that drips incessantly from the roof. On entering the room, it was observed that Fahrenheit's thermometer fell six degrees. Proceeding along a passage that leads to the left, on the side opposite to the entrance, a sort of antichamber was discovered, and beyond it an apartment, denominated the sound-room, as the sound of the human voice, or a musical instrument, is there reverberated in a peculiar manner. This room is beautifully adorned on the sides with stalactites, and is vaulted at the top. Returning through the antichamber, and proceeding a short time in a serpentine direction, they entered a long passage, which descends rapidly, and terminates in a clear, shallow pool. About two thirds of the way down this passage is a large aperture in the wall, which admits a descent into another room, whose bottom is above three yards lower than that of the passage. This is the finest and most spacious apartment in the cave, being nearly 30 feet broad, 60 feet long, and 50 feet high. The pendent petrifications, formed by the incessant dripping of water from the roof, are extremely beautiful, and

represent an exhibition of the finest drapery. The noise of a blow with a stick is reverberated in a deep, hollow sound, through all the adjacent vaults. In some parts of this curious room the petrifications have risen from the ground, and form an exquisite colonnade, some of the pillars nearly touching the roof. The floor slopes gradually from one end to the other, and, like the afore-mentioned passage, terminates at a pool of water. On quitting this cavern, known in the neighbourhood by the name of *Maddison's Cave*, the faces, hands, and raiment of our author and his conductor were completely covered with soot, which has pervaded every part of the cavern, from the frequent introduction of pine torches, the smoke of which is remarkably thick and heavy.

The tract of country situated behind the Blue mountains possesses a fertile soil, and is charmingly diversified with hill and dale. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the natural herbage is less valuable here than in Bottetourt county; but when clover is sown, it flourishes in the most luxuriant manner, and the golden harvest that usually adorns the low lands, on the brink of the Shenandoah river, is not inferior to the finest that remunerates the husbandman in the best of the United States. The population, to the westward of the mountains, is increasing rapidly, and the land is cleared so effectually, in some places, that the inhabitants begin to know the value of timber. In other parts, however, the hills retain their natural embellishments, and a rich assemblage of woodlands, enlivened with tracts of cultivation, and watered by the numerous branches of the Shenandoah, present a succession of elegant landscapes to the traveller who proceeds from Bottetourt to the Patowmac.

The approach to that part of the Patowmac, which passes through the Blue ridge, is beautifully romantic, as the spectator, after ascending a succession of acclivities, perceives the break in the mountains, while a winding road conducts him down a steep declivity, where the branches of the trees unite and form an enchanting avenue. On one hand are seen stupendous piles of rocks, that seem to frown on the adventurous passenger; and on the other is a tremendous precipice, where

the thickness of the foliage obscures the water that roars along the rugged bottom. Towards the end of the hill are a few houses, and, from the adjoining fields, the passage of the Patowmac, through the range, is seen to great advantage.

The Blue mountains, on either side of the Patowmac, are formed exclusively of large rocks, deposited in beds of soft, rich earth, the latter of which is frequently washed away. A striking proof of this fact came within the observation of our author, who being anxious to obtain a complete view of the magnificent scenery, ventured to ascend the steep part of the mountain, after a violent rain. As there was no foot-path, and many projecting rocks impeded his progress, he had not walked more than 50 yards, when a large stone, on which he had placed his foot, suddenly gave way, and brought down so many others with a terrific noise, that he expected every moment he should be literally dashed to pieces. After sliding down about 20 feet, he fortunately stopped his descent by catching hold of the branch of a tree, but the loosened pieces of rock still continued to roll down the mountain, and he was greatly alarmed by the idea, that some one, larger than the rest, might force away the tree to which he clung for safety. The contemplation of this peril and the approach of night induced him at length to relinquish his hold, and, notwithstanding the extreme danger of passing over the fallen stones, he luckily got to the bottom, without any farther injury than a few slight bruises.

Crossing the Patowmac, Mr. Weld proceeded to Frederic, in Maryland, and thence to Baltimore, over a country that possesses a moderate share of cultivation, but greatly inferior to that on the western side of the Blue mountains. The plantations are, however, extensive, and the proprietors give themselves but little trouble concerning the management of their lands, but leave it almost entirely to the care of their stewards and overseers. The implements of husbandry and clothing for the slaves are manufactured on every principal estate, as we have already observed, is the case in Virginia. The generality of the houses, are constructed of timber, painted with Spanish brown, and commonly ornamented with a large porch.

Copper and iron are said to abound in these parts. For the former there are no works of any importance at present, but for the latter there are some tolerably extensive. The iron is very malleable, and the utensils that are made of it will admit of being thrown about without the least danger of breaking. The forges are extensively worked by the negroes, who seem admirably adapted to such an employment, not only on account of their complexion, but because of their partiality to fire, even in such seasons as would render it utterly insupportable to a European.

From Baltimore our traveller returned to Philadelphia, and from thence he proceeded to New York, which is thus described.

At the southern extremity of an island, formed by a connecting creek, between the East and Hudson's river, stands the city of New York, the streets of which are narrow, incommensurable, and extremely dirty. The buildings extend completely from one river to the other, but the East river is most frequented by vessels, and the greatest number of dwelling and storehouses are erected on its banks, as the navigation is not so soon impeded there during the winter, as in Hudson's river. The streets in the vicinity of the latter are, however, more airy, but the *most* pleasant part of New York is in the southern part of the island, near the conflux of the rivers. Here is a delightful walk, commanding an excellent view of the roads, Jersey shore, and Long and Staten islands. It is much resorted to by company in a summer evening, as the fresh breeze from the sea renders it extremely healthy, and the variety of vessels, sailing to or from the port, renders the scene highly picturesque and beautiful. The walk was formerly occupied by a battery, consisting of two tiers of guns, but it has been cut down since the declaration of American independence. A handsome street, called the Broadway, runs from hence in a northerly direction through the city, intersected at right angles by some other streets, that open to the North river, and present the spectator with an agreeable prospect. If the streets on the other side had been laid out in such a manner as to have opened to the East river, the effect

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would have been strikingly beautiful; and such a mode of construction would indisputably have contributed to the health of the inhabitants. There are no public edifices worthy of particular notice, though there are no less than 22 places appropriated to the celebration of divine service. The private houses in the Broadway, and in several other parts of the city, are well-built and commodious. The present theatre is of timber, and much too small for the town, but a new one is erecting on a magnificent scale. The people of New York are highly distinguished amidst the surrounding states, for their urbanity, cheerfulness, and hospitality. Their favourite amusements consist of theatrical exhibitions, balls, and card parties.

From New York our author set out on an excursion to Canada, the principal features of which have been delineated in the preceding article. After this he returned southward to New York, which he pronounces the most agreeable place in the United States.

TRAVELS  
THROUGH THE  
UNITED STATES  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA,  
IN THE YEARS 1807 & 1808.

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*By JOHN LAMBERT.*

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WE have selected Mr. Lambert's travels as conveying the most modern information of the present state of this growing empire, in language pleasing and correct. It is to be lamented, that we in Old England should be so imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of our younger brother, in whose prosperity we are naturally interested from a singular combination of motives. And, it is also to be regretted, that the generality of travellers from the States appear so embued with prejudice, as to render their writings not only useless, but even mischievous.

On the 10th of November, 1807, Mr. Lambert left Montreal, and proceeded to St. Jchn's, where he, and three American gentlemen, engaged a small sloop to take them to Skenesborough.

'The sloop in which we were embarked,' says our author, was a wretched vessel. It had formerly been a regular trader, but being worn out was laid up for sale at Burlington. It was afterwards bought by four men for 100 dollars, upon condition that, if it was seized by the officers and condemned

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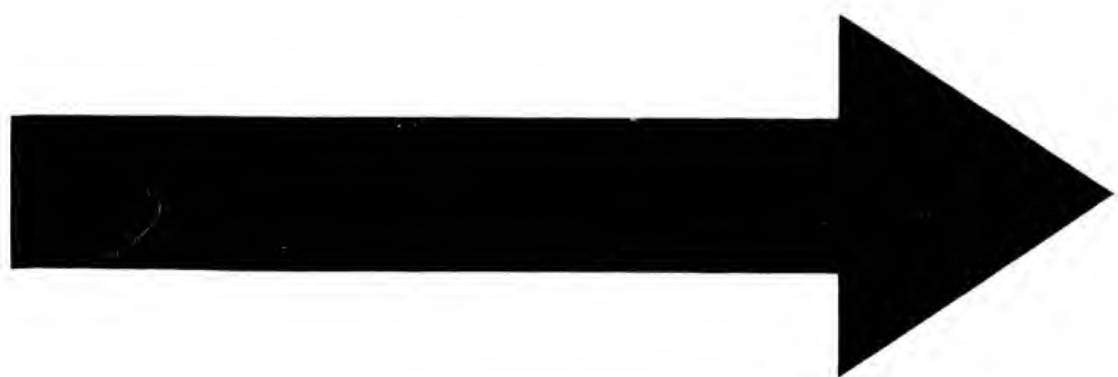
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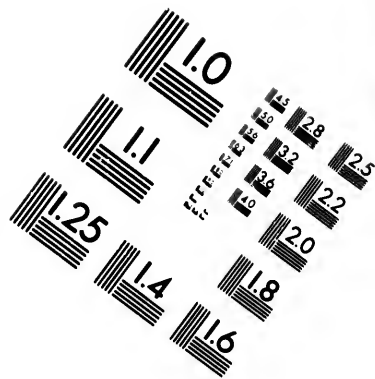
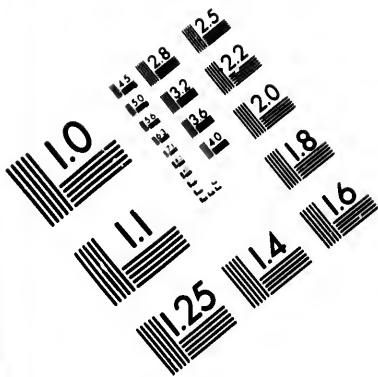


as unfit for service, the money was to be returned. Two of the purchasers agreed to navigate her to St. John's with a cargo of butter and cheese, intending to return to Burlington with another freight. This was agreed to, and the vessel came in on the Sunday; but instead of returning back to Burlington, she was engaged by our party to go to Skenesborough. The offer was tempting; and with several barrels of potash and butter which they took on board for that place, the voyage was likely to turn out very advantageous, particularly if the vessel was seized on her arrival, as they expected; for then the purchasers would give them their 100 dollars again, and have all the freight and cargo money as clear profit. The man who commanded the vessel was called Robert; and the other who acted in the capacity of mate and foremastman was named David. Neither of them knew much of the navigation of the lake, even between Burlington and St. John's, and both were perfectly ignorant of it from Burlington to Skenesborough, which is upwards of 80 miles further.

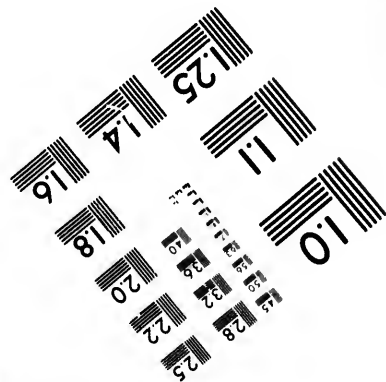
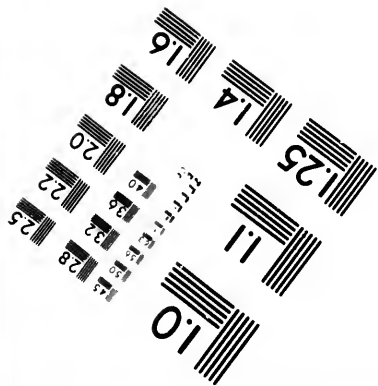
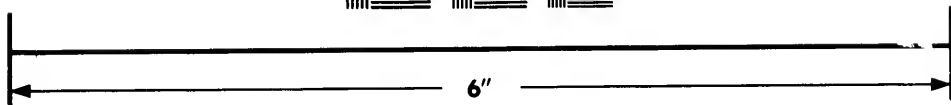
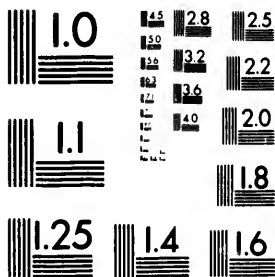
Our prospects, it must be owned, were rather gloomy. We had to cross a lake above 150 miles in length, and in some parts 20 miles in breadth, in the very worst season of the year, when snow storms happen almost every day, and render the navigation of the lake even more dangerous than the ocean; added to which, we were in a crazy leaky vessel, without a boat to go ashore in, or a spare rope in case of accident. The sails were in rags, the pumps choked up and broken; and we were obliged to bale out the water from under the cabin every two hours with a tin kettle. To increase our difficulties we had two ignorant men to pilot us, who were as little acquainted with the management of a vessel as they were with the navigation of the lake.

Fortunately for us the weather was fine; and instead of ruminating upon the dangers we were likely to encounter, we amused ourselves by laughing at the unskilfulness of the captain and his mate, particularly the latter, whose fears lest the vessel should be upset at every puff of wind afforded us much diversion. He continually kept fast hold of the peak hallyards, and at every little breeze instantly lowered the peak, exclaim-





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ing, "*What an awful wind! It blows nation stout!*" The singularity of his expressions and his fears made us laugh very heartily; and as he was rather a humourous fellow, he took our jokes in good part.

From St. John's to the entrance of the lake there are scarcely any settlements. Both shores are lined with woods, consisting chiefly of pines which grow to a great height. A few straggling log-huts are seen at intervals, but otherwise it is completely in a state of nature. The weather, though clear and dry, was extremely cold and frosty; and we had nothing to make a fire in, but an old broken pitch-pot which could barely hold the wood. Our dinner consisted of some cold boiled beef and tongue, which we brought with us from St. John's; and there being some potatoes on board, we boiled them in a large iron tea-kettle. We appropriated it to that use, as it was not wanted to boil water for tea; having none of the requisites for that meal on board. About five in the afternoon we passed Windnill point, and entered the lake. We kept as close as possible to the shore, the captain being obliged to report his vessel at the custom-house on Cumberland head. There being little wind, the sloop glided smoothly through the water; and as the evening closed in, the moon favoured us with her borrowed light, and enabled our unskilful mariners to avoid the craggy rocks which in many places line the shore. Some of us now wrapped ourselves up in buffalo robes, or great coats, and lay down in the cabin, more as a shelter from the cold frosty air than to procure repose. One or two remained upon deck; for there were not births enough for the whole of the party, having two Americans on board, whom we were to put ashore near the custom-house.

About midnight the vessel arrived off Cumberland head, upon the hearing of which we all went upon deck. Being unwilling to cast anchor for the short time we had to stay at this place, we were obliged to run the vessel upon some rocks near the shore; and not having a boat, we hailed a tavern at some distance in which we perceived a light. Nearly an hour elapsed before we could make any person hear. At length a man came down to the water-side; and being told what we

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wanted, he soon after came along-side the sloop in a canoe half-full of water. The tin kettle was immediately handed down to him; but his canoe was so very leaky that the water came in as fast as he baled it out. The man, therefore, finding his exertions useless, desired the captain to get in, and never mind the water. Robert immediately complied, and was immediately followed by one of the passengers, a Mr. Lyman, who wished to get something warm to drink at the tavern; as it then froze very hard, and our fire had gone out. At the moment I was almost inclined to accompany him ashore; but not admiring the idea of sitting nearly knee deep in water, I remained on board: and it was fortunate for me that I did; for Mr. Lyman and the captain had scarcely seated themselves on the gunnel of the canoe when it upset, and all three were completely ducked. On board we were at first alarmed, as they appeared to be out of their depth, and were looking about for a rope to throw overboard, when we saw them upon their feet making towards the beach, nearly up to their necks in water. The man who had brought off the canoe ran home as fast as possible; while Mr. Lyman and the captain, having dragged the canoe ashore, made the best of their way to the tavern.

When we found they were safe, we could hardly refrain from laughing at the adventure, and the disappointment of the boatman, who little expected that a ducking in the lake at midnight, in frosty weather, would be his only reward. Our tin kettle was lost; for though by the light of the moon we were enabled to see it, we could not fish it up again. Necessity, therefore, obliged us to resort to our last utensil on board, the tea-kettle, for baling out the water, which seemed to gain very fast upon us, and was nearly up to the cabin floor. About 10 minutes after Mr. Lyman came on board in the canoe with his clothes *frozen* upon him. The people at the tavern had refused both him and Robert admittance; and though they mentioned the accident they had met with, yet they were inhumanely ordered away, and not allowed even to dry themselves. Robert was then obliged to go to the custom-house, drenched to the skin; and when he afterwards came on board

his clothes had become *a solid mass of ice!* We had plenty of brandy on board, and with that they contrived to throw off the effects of the cold; so that fortunately neither of them received any injury.

'We were nearly two hours before we could get the vessel off the rocks. At length having succeeded, we coasted along the shore till four o'clock in the morning, when we arrived in a small bay in the township of Shelburne, about 60 miles from St. John's, situate in the widest part of the lake. Here we went ashore to the first farm-house, at a little distance from the bay. The door was only on the latch, and we entered; but the people were not yet up. Having awakened the master of the house, and told him our situation, he said we were welcome, and that he would get up immediately. In the mean time we collected some wood, and putting it upon the live embers in the fire-place soon made a large fire. This was a most comfortable relief after the cold night we had passed on board our miserable sloop. We found that a considerable quantity of snow had fallen in that part of the lake, though we had not met with any during the passage.

'The master of the house with two of his sons were soon up, and having put the kettle on the fire made preparations for breakfast. About six o'clock his wife and daughters, two pretty little girls, came into the kitchen where we were assembled, and in the course of an hour we had the pleasure of sitting down to a *substantial American breakfast*, consisting of *eggs, fried pork, beef-steaks, apple-tarts, pickles, cheese, cyder, tea, and toast dipped in melted butter and milk.* We were surprized at seeing such a variety of eatables, as it was not a tavern; but the farmer was a man of property, and carried on the farming business to a considerable extent. He shewed us a great number of cheeses of his own making; and for churning butter he had a kind of half barrel, with a place for one of his young boys to sit astride as on horseback. This machine moving up and down answered the double purpose of a churn for making butter, and a rocking-horse for the children.

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‘ Lake Champlain is beautifully diversified with islands, some of which are of great extent and well settled: The isle of La Motte lies at the entrance of the Richlieu river, near the tongue of land which forms Missisqui bay to the eastward. But the most extensive is Grande Isle, which is 24 miles in length. In the centre of it is a small isthmus, over which the ferry-boats are dragged when crossing the lake: but for this narrow piece of land Grande Isle would be divided into two islands. The Americans have changed the French name to North Hero, and another island of considerable size below it is called the South Hero. The smaller isles which are scattered in various parts of the lake add much to the beauty of the scenery; particularly a cluster of islands called the Brothers, situated at the south end of the lake, a few miles from Burlington. I was informed that in this part the lake had no bottom, at least none had yet been found, though soundings have been attempted with above 200 fathom of line. This beautiful piece of water was originally called Corlaer’s lake, but received its present name from the celebrated M. de Champlain, founder of the colony of New France or Canada, of which he was governor. Along the shore of the lake are to be seen numerous houses; many of them handsome, and all far superior to those of Canada, with well cultivated farms prettily varied by clumps of trees that have been purposely left in clearing the land. The west side belongs to the state of New York, and the east to the state of Vermont. The shores are in many places bold and elevated; in others gently rising from the water’s edge towards the base of lofty mountains, which are very numerous in both states, but particularly in Vermont, which may be almost reckoned the Switzerland of the United States. Some of the mountains are said to be nearly 4,000 feet above the level of the sea.’

Next day they passed Ticonderoga, and after a difficult and dangerous passage up Wood Creek river reached Skenesborough, or, as it is now called by the Americans, *Whitehall*. This place is situate in a wild romantic country as yet but little cultivated or improved. It contains very few houses; but



its principal resources are derived from the falls in its vicinity, upon which are built some saw and flour-mills; and from the commerce carried on between the state of New York and Canada, it being the port or harbour for most of the vessels employed in that trade, and in transporting goods to the different settlements along the lake. It is only within the last 20 years that much progress has been made in settling the lands in this part of the country. During the American war they formed almost one continued wood, containing merely a few wretched roads or intricate paths. It was here that general Burgoyne and his army were delayed so many weeks in opening the roads through the woods to fort Edward, which occasioned many of those difficulties that afterwards led to the capture of that fine army.

At this place our travellers hired a waggon to carry them to Troy, for which place they set out about four o'clock in the afternoon. 'The road,' says Mr. Lambert, 'lay through a newly-settled country, which presented on both sides a dreary aspect; though it was perhaps owing as much to the season of the year as the nature of the country. The woods in many places had been cleared by burning the bark off the trees, and numbers of them yet remained standing, though vegetation was destroyed. The other parts of the farms were covered with the stumps of trees, and inclosed by worm fences, which gave to these settlements a very rough appearance. They were however numerous, and contained several good houses.

'About seven o'clock we arrived at Granville, a small town containing a church and several neat houses. We put up for the night at a very good tavern, where we were supplied with an excellent supper composed of as great a variety as we met with for breakfast at Shelburne, and which is customary at all the taverns throughout the northern states. One large room up stairs contained above a dozen beds, so that we each had a separate one; a thing not always to be met with at every tavern in the States. But the practice of putting two or three in a bed is now little exercised, except at very indifferent taverns, and they are chiefly confined to the back parts of the country. Within the last 20 years the States have been so

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much improved, that good inns are established in almost every town and village along the principal roads, and the accommodations of many of them are equal to those of England. Travellers are not, therefore, liable to have a strange man step into their bed, as was the case formerly. During the whole of my tour through the States I never had occasion to *bundle*, though I have been sometimes asked if I wished to have a *single* bed.

‘ We breakfasted at six the next morning, and hired another waggon for eight dollars, there not being room enough in the other without sitting extremely crowded. Mr. Leavens, the master of the tavern, was to drive us; and having divided our baggage equally between the two waggons, we procured double chairs, which are made for the purpose, and placed them in the fore part of the waggon. They contained two persons, and the driver sat in front. Being thus more comfortably accommodated than on the preceding evening, we began our journey in good spirits. It was well that we were provided with large buffalo robes and great coats, for the morning was excessively cold, and the snow fell in abundance.

‘ I had not opportunity so late in the year to see the country to advantage, but I perceived that it improved the further we proceeded on our journey. It is agreeably diversified with hill and dale, small woods, clumps of trees, corn-fields, pastures, and meadow land. The soil is said to be fertile, and it appeared in general to be well cleared from the stumps of trees, which abounded in the plantations through which we had passed the preceding day. Many very handsome houses and churches are built near the road side, all of wood; but constructed very neatly with clap-boards and shingles, which cover the heavy timbers. Many of the houses are built in the style of English country dwellings of the modern taste; some of them two or three stories high, painted white, and ornamented with green venetian shades. The churches are uncommonly neat, painted white, and kept in excellent order. They have good spires, and some of them bells.

‘ We passed through Hebron, and some other small villages, and arrived at Salem to dinner. This little town consists of

one street of handsome houses, many of them red brick, but the greater part of wood. They are built with considerable taste, and are ornamented much like the other buildings I have mentioned. Some of them are shops and inns; but the majority appear to be private houses belonging to gentlemen of property in this part of the country. It is quite a new town, and apparently in a state of progressive improvement.

'After dinner we proceeded on our journey. Mr. Leavens's horses being but indifferent, he took the lead with his waggon, in which were Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Welch. Mr. Storrow, Mr. Lyman, and myself, followed in the next waggon. Our driver had an excellent pair of horses, which would have knocked up those of Leavens's had they taken the lead as they did in the morning. The roads being covered with snow also obliged us to slacken our pace. This travelling was by no means to our taste, and we should possibly have lost our good humour, had not the arch whimsicality of our driver, who was called *Captain White*, furnished us with abundant matter of mirth. He entertained us with many humorous stories, and had always something smart to say to every waggoner or person that passed us. He spoke to several people of consequence in the country with the greatest freedom. To one, it was, "*Why, major, you look as if you couldn't help it this cold day.*" To another, "*Nation bad road, general.*" To a third, who was a judge, "*Awful weather, master, and sure enough your nose looks blue upon't.*" They all seemed to know him, and took his jokes in good part; for it afterwards turned out, that our waggoner was himself *a captain in the army!* He was very severe upon his brothers of the whip, whom he declared to be the greatest *rogues* in the state of New York, and assured us, that we might consider ourselves very lucky in having fallen into his hands, as *he was the only honest one* among them, save and except his friend Master Leavens, who was as worthy a fellow as himself.

'We arrived at a tavern about eight miles from Salem, just as it was dark. Here we halted for a few hours to refresh ourselves and the horses. About 11 o'clock we proceeded on our route to Troy. As we travelled during the night, it is

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impossible for me to describe the appearance of this part of the country; and the moon did not condescend to enliven us with her pale beams. But our driver informed us that it was in a better state of cultivation and improvement than that through which we had passed. There are several turnpikes along this road, by which means it is kept in good repair. They are common throughout the northern and middle states, and have tended greatly to improve the country; for as soon as a good road is opened through the woods, communicating between the greater towns, the country which was a trackless forest becomes settled, and in a few years the borders of the road are lined with habitations. The expenses are defrayed by shares subscribed by a certain number of persons, who form themselves into a company under an act of the legislature. It is a speculation that few have failed in, for the traffic on the road soon increases the value of the capital. It would be well if Canada was to imitate the example of her neighbours in this respect.

This night we passed through Cambridge, Hosick, Pittstown, and Schatcoke, all small neat towns. The further we went to the southward the less snow we found on the ground, and by the time we arrived at Lansingburgh, it entirely disappeared. We reached this town about four o'clock in the morning; but it was yet so dark, that I could only discern that it consisted of one long street of large brick houses, many of them apparently handsome buildings. Troy is situated but a few miles from Lansingburgh, and we arrived there about five o'clock. We put up at a large inn; and as we were now done with our waggon-drivers we paid them the 20 dollars, according to our agreement, and parted mutually satisfied. We had no cause to complain of either of them, and the rough humour of *Captain White* had afforded us much mirth.

Troy is a well built town, consisting chiefly of one street of handsome red brick houses, upwards of a mile and a half in length. There are two or three short streets which branch off from the main one; but it is in the latter that all the principal stores, warehouses, and shops are situated. It also contains several excellent inns and taverns. The houses, which

are all new, are lofty, and built with much taste and simplicity, though convenience and accommodation seem to have guided the architect more than ornament. The deep red brick, well pointed, gives the buildings an air of neatness and cleanliness seldom to be met with in old towns: but I cannot say that I admire it so much as the yellow brick in England. The town is built on the east shore of the Hudson or North river close to the beach, and above six miles above Albany, which is situated on the opposite shore. Troy has been erected within the last 20 years, and is now a place of considerable importance. The trade which it has opened with the new settlements to the northward, through the states of New York and Vermont as far as Canada, is very extensive; and in another 20 years it promises to rival the old established city of Albany. Its prosperity is indeed already looked upon with an eye of jealousy by the people of the latter place.

‘ After breakfast we crossed the Hudson in a ferry-boat, and got into a stage which was going to Albany. It was similar to the one in which I had travelled from La Prairie to St. John’s, and is in general use throughout the States. It is in the form of a large coach, with open sides and front, and flat roof supported by eight pillars. The pannels do not come up higher than the hip, and in wet or cold weather leather curtains are let down on each side; the buttons and straps are however frequently broken off, so that the wind and rain often find a ready admittance. This kind of carriage, notwithstanding its defects, is far superior to the Canadian calesh for long journeys, as the latter affords not the least shelter. It is always drawn by four horses, which in well settled parts of the United States are as good as the generality of English stage horses. The Americans have not yet introduced the English stage with glass windows, probably on account of the hot weather which prevails there much more than in England, and the indifferent roads which are yet in existence in many parts of the Union, particularly to the southward, and in the back settlements.

‘ We rode along the border of the Hudson, which is prettily adorned with several small islands. It is sufficiently deep

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to admit sloops up to Troy, and flat-bottomed boats much higher. The surrounding country is well settled, and presents to the eye the pleasing prospect of rich cultivated lands, woods, towns, villages, and scattered habitations. We arrived at Albany about noon, and put up at the Tontine coffee-house kept by Gregory. We now learnt that the river was frozen over several miles below Albany, and that the steam-boat in which we intended to have taken our passage to New York was laid up for the winter. The accommodations of which include 52 births besides sofas, and are said to be equal, if not superior, to any vessel that sails on the river. They are necessarily extensive, as all the space unoccupied by the machinery is fitted up in a convenient and elegant manner. Her route between Albany and New York is a distance of 160 miles, which she performs regularly twice a week, sometimes in the short period of 32 hours, exclusive of detention by taking in and landing passengers. She carries from 100 to 120 people. The fare from New York to Albany is seven dollars.

The city of Albany has of late years rapidly increased in size, wealth, and population. A number of handsome dwelling-houses and public buildings have been erected, and the old heavy Dutch houses with the gable end towards the street are considerably diminished. One of the principal streets has a great resemblance to the Hay-market in London, being nearly the same width, and situated on an ascent. Albany contains about 6,000 inhabitants, and ranks next to the city of New York in that state. The trade which is carried on in this city with the new settlements to the northward and westward is very considerable, and is daily increasing. We had excellent accommodations at Gregory's, which is equal to many of our hotels in London. It is the custom in all the American taverns, from the highest to the lowest, to have a sort of *table d'hote*, or public table, at which the inmates of the house and travellers dine at a certain hour. It is also frequented by many single gentlemen belonging to the town. At Gregory's, upwards of 30 sat down to dinner, though there were not more than a dozen resided in the house. A

stranger is thus soon introduced to an acquaintance with the people, and if he is travelling alone, he will find at these tables some relief from the *ennui* of his situation. At the better sort of American taverns or hotels, very excellent dinners are provided, consisting of almost every thing in season. The hour is from two to three o'clock, and there are three meals a day. They breakfast at eight o'clock upon rump steaks, fish, eggs, and a variety of cakes, with tea or coffee. The last meal is at seven in the evening, and consists of as substantial fare as the breakfast, with the addition of cold fowl, ham, &c. The price of boarding at these houses is from a dollar and a half to two dollars per day. Brandy, hollands, and other spirits, are allowed at dinner; but every other liquor is paid for extra. English breakfasts and teas, generally speaking, are meagre repasts compared with those of America; and as far as I had an opportunity of observing, the people live, with respect to eating, in a much more luxuriant manner than we do, particularly in the great towns and their neighbourhoods. But their meals, I think, are composed of too great a variety, and of too many things, to be conducive to health; and I have little doubt but that many of their diseases are engendered by gross diet, and the use of animal food at every meal. Many private families live nearly in the same style as at these houses, and have as great variety upon their tables. Formerly, pies, puddings, and cyder, used to grace the breakfast table; but they are now discarded from the genteeler houses, and are found only at the small taverns and farm-houses in the country.

Having hired a stage to take us to Hudson, about 80 miles below, on the east side of the river, we left Albany the following morning, and crossed over to the opposite shore in the ferry-boat. At the top of a hill, which rises gradually from the water side, we had a beautiful view of the city and its environs. Several gentlemen's seats appeared to great advantage, and the plantations, gardens, meadow lands, and orchards, interspersed among a number of handsome buildings, had a very picturesque effect. I only regretted that I was deprived of the pleasure of viewing such a pleasing scene at a

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more congenial season of the year. The day was however remarkably fine, which made some amends for the sombre tint of nature. The country through which we travelled this day was fruitful, well cultivated, and adorned with several neat farms and villages. In the evening we arrived at Hudson. The town is of modern construction, and like Troy consists of one very long street. The houses are of wood or brick; many of them built with taste, and all spacious and commodious. Shops and warehouses are numerous, and there are several large inns; from which I conceived that a considerable trade was carried on between this town and the interior. It has every appearance of a thriving settlement; and its situation is elevated and advantageous for commerce. There are several large brick warehouses near the wharfs for the reception of goods; and a great many small vessels sail continually between this town and New York. Ship-building is carried on here, and a vessel of 3 or 400 tons was just ready for launching. Several other vessels of that size were also in the harbour.

The next morning, Sunday 22d November, we embarked on board the *Experiment*, a fine new sloop of 130 tons, built expressly for carrying passengers between Hudson and New York. The whole vessel was handsomely fitted up. It had two private cabins abaft, containing several bed-places for ladies. In the midship was a large general room upwards of 60 feet long, and 20 feet wide, containing a double tier of bed-places on each side for gentlemen, with printed cotton curtains drawn before them. At the head of this cabin or room there was a bar, like that of a coffee-house, where the company was supplied with wine, bottled porter, ale, segars, and such articles as were not included in the passage-money. Between the bar and the fore-castle was a very complete kitchen fitted up with a good fire-place, copper boilers, and every convenience for cooking. The fore-castle was appropriated to the use of the sailors. The passage-money was five dollars, for which the passengers were provided during the voyage with three meals a-day, including spirits; all other liquors were to be separately paid for.



‘About nine o’clock in the morning we left the wharf; which was crowded with people to see the vessel depart. The day was remarkably fine; the wind favoured us, and we had every prospect of an agreeable voyage. The month of November was but ill adapted to view the country to advantage; for the gay verdure of the fields and forests was now supplanted by the brown gloomy hue of winter. Yet the scenes that presented themselves along the shores of the Hudson were in some places of that grand romantic description, and in others so beautifully picturesque, that they could not fail to interest the spectator at any season of the year. This river affords some of the noblest landscapes and scenery that are to be found in any part of North America. Nature and art have both contributed to render its shores at once sublime and beautiful.’

The river in many places is intersected with numerous islands. In others it is diversified with handsome windings. Sometimes its waters are contracted between stupendous rocks that frown aloft in sullen majesty. At other times they are expanded to a great extent between a fine open country, covered with rich farms, plantations, orchards, and gardens, and studded with neat and handsome dwelling-houses. The cultivated parts are intersected with small woods, coppices, and clumps of trees, which add much to the diversity of the scenery, and form a pleasing contrast to lawns, meadows, and corn-fields. In several places along shore are elegant mansions and country seats belonging to the principal persons in the state of New York.

‘About ten o’clock at night we arrived at New York; it was very dark, and as we sailed by the town, lighted lamps and windows sparkled everywhere, amidst the houses, in the streets, and along the water-side. The wharfs were crowded with shipping, whose tall masts mingled with the buildings, and together with the spires and cupolas of the churches, gave the city an appearance of magnificence, which the gloomy obscurity of the night served to increase.

‘After so long an absence from London, I could not help experiencing a degree of satisfaction at once more treading the

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pavement of a large and populous city. Neither Montreal nor Quebec had the least resemblance to that which I had left : but New York seemed to present an exact epitome of it ; and at the distance of 3,000 miles, I now pleased myself with the idea of finding the manners, customs, and institutions of my own country reflected on this portion of the new world.

‘New York is the first city in the United States for wealth, commerce, and population ; as it also is the finest and most agreeable for its situation and buildings. It has neither the narrow and confined irregularity of Boston, nor the monotonous regularity of Philadelphia, but a happy medium between both. When the intended improvements are completed, it will be a very elegant and commodious town.

‘The Broadway and Bowery Road are the two finest avenues in the city, and nearly of the same width as Oxford-street in London. The first commences from the Grand Battery, situate at the extreme point of the town, and divides it into two unequal parts. It is upwards of two miles in length, though the pavement does not extend more than a mile and a quarter: the remainder of the road consists of straggling houses, which are the commencement of new streets already planned out. The Bowery Road commences from Chatham-street, which branches off from the Broadway to the right, by the side of the Park. After it proceeds about a mile and a half it joins the Broadway, and terminates the plan which is intended to be carried into effect for the enlargement of the city. Much of the intermediate space between these large streets, and from thence to the Hudson and East rivers, is yet unbuilt upon, or consists only of unfinished streets and detached buildings.

‘The houses in the Broadway are lofty and well built. They are constructed in the English style, and differ but little from those of London at the west end of the town ; except that they are universally built with *red* brick. In the vicinity of the Battery, and for some distance up the Broadway, they are all private houses, and occupied by the principal merchants and gentry of New York ; after which the Broadway is lined with large commodious shops of every description, well stocked with European and India goods, and exhibiting as splendid

and varied a show in their windows as can be met with in London. There are several extensive book stores, print-shops, music-shops, jewellers, and silversmiths; hatters, linen-drapers, milliners, pastry-cooks, coach-makers, hotels, and coffee-houses. The street is well paved, and the foot-paths are chiefly bricked. In Robinson-street the pavement before one of the houses, and the steps of the door, are composed entirely of *marble*.

‘ The city hotel is the most extensive building of that description in New York; and nearly resembles, in size and style of architecture, the *London tavern* in Bishopsgate-street. The ground-floor of the hotel at New York is, however, converted into shops, which have a very handsome appearance in the Broadway. Mechanic hall is another large hotel at the corner of Robinson-street, in the Broadway. It was erected by the society of mechanics and tradesmen, who associated themselves for charitable purposes, under an act of the legislature in 1792. There are three churches in the Broadway: one of them called Grace church, is a plain brick building, recently erected: the other two are St. Paul’s and Trinity; both handsome structures, built with an intermixture of white and brown stone. The adjoining churchyards, which occupy a large space of ground, railed in from the street, and crowded with tomb-stones, are far from being agreeable spectacles in such a populous city. At the commencement of the Broadway, near the battery, stands the old Government-house, now converted into offices for the customs. Before it is a small lawn railed in, and in the centre is a small pedestal, upon which formerly stood a leaden statue of George III. In the revolutionary war it was pulled down by the populace, and made into bullets.

‘ The city hall, where the courts of justice are held, is situated in Wall-street, leading from the coffee-house slip by the water side in the Broadway. It is an old heavy building, and very inadequate to the present population and wealth of New York. A court-house on a larger scale, and more worthy of the improved state of the city, is now building at the end of the park, between the Broadway and Chatham-street, in a style of magnificence unequalled in many of the larger cities

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of Europe. The exterior consists wholly of fine marble, ornamented in a very neat and elegant style of architecture; and the whole is to be surmounted by a beautiful dome, which, when finished, will form a noble ornament to that part of the town, in which are situated the theatre, Mechanic hall, and some of the best private houses in New York. The park, though not remarkable for its size, is, however, of service, by displaying the surrounding buildings to greater advantage; and is also a relief to the confined appearance of the streets in general. It consists of about four acres planted with elms, planes, willows, and catalpas; and the surrounding foot-path is encompassed by rows of poplars: the whole is enclosed by a wooden paling. Neither the park nor the battery is very much resorted to by the fashionable citizens of New York, as they have become too common. The genteel lounge is in the Broadway, from eleven to three o'clock, during which time it is as much crowded as the Bond-street of London: and the carriages, though not so numerous, are driven to and fro with as much velocity. The foot paths are planted with poplars, and afford an agreeable shade from the sun in summer.

The theatre is a large commodious building, capable of holding 1,200 persons. The scenes, dresses, and decorations, are elegant, and appropriate to the performances, which consist of all the new pieces that come out on the London boards, and several of Shakespear's best plays.

'New York has its Vauxhall and Ranelagh; but they are poor imitations of those near London. They are, however, pleasant places of recreation for the inhabitants. The Vauxhall garden is situated in the Bowery Road about two miles from the city hall. It is a neat plantation, with gravel walks adorned with shrubs, trees, busts, and statues. In the centre is a large equestrian statue of general Washington. Light musical pieces, interludes, &c. are performed in a small theatre situate in one corner of the gardens: the audience sit in what are called the pit and boxes, in the open air. The orchestra is built among the trees, and a large apparatus is constructed for the display of fire-works. The theatrical corps of New York is chiefly engaged at Vauxhall during summer.

The Ranelagh is a large hotel and garden, generally known by the name of mount Pitt, situated by the water side, and commanding some extensive and beautiful views of the city and its environs.

‘ A great portion of the city, between the Broadway and the East river is very irregularly built; being the oldest part of the town, and of course less capable of those improvements which distinguish the most recent buildings. Nevertheless, it is the chief seat of business, and contains several spacious streets crowded with shops, stores, and warehouses of every description. The water side is lined with shipping which lie along the wharfs, or in the small docks called slips, of which there are upwards of twelve towards the East river, besides numerous piers. The wharfs are large and commodious, and the warehouses, which are nearly all new buildings, are lofty and substantial. The merchants, ship-brokers, &c. have their offices in front on the ground floor of these warehouses. These ranges of buildings and wharfs extend from the Grand Battery, on both sides the town, up the Hudson and East rivers, and encompass the houses with shipping, whose forest of masts gives a stranger a lively idea of the immense trade which this city carries on with every part of the globe. New York appears to him the Tyre of the new world.

‘ New York contains 33 places of public worship, viz. nine episcopal churches, three Dutch churches, one French church, one Calvinist, one German Lutheran, one English Lutheran, three Baptist meetings, three Methodist meetings, one Moravian, six Presbyterian, one Independent, two Quakers’, and one Jews’ synagogue.

‘ Besides the public buildings which I have mentioned, there are numerous banks, insurance companies, commercial and charitable institutions, literary establishments, &c. The new state prison is an establishment worthy of imitation in England. By the law of New York, treason, murder, and the procuring, aiding, and abetting any kind of murder, are the only crimes punishable by death. The mode of execution is the same as in England. All other offences are punished by imprisonment for a certain period in the state prison. If a convict on enter-

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ing the prison is unacquainted with any trade, he has the choice of learning one most agreeable to him.

‘Of late years a board of health has been established at New York, under an act of the legislature, and a variety of regulations are enjoined, for the purpose of preventing the introduction of malignant fevers.

‘There are five banks, and nine insurance companies: one of the latter is a branch of the Phoenix company in London. There is a chamber of commerce in New York, which has for its object the promotion and regulation of mercantile concerns; and is also a charitable institution for the support of the widows and children of its members.

‘The amount of tonnage belonging to the port of New York in 1806 was 183,671 tons. And the number of vessels in the harbour on the 25th of December, 1807, when the embargo took place, was 537. The moneys collected in New York for the national treasury, on the imports and tonnage, have for several years amounted to one-fourth of the public revenue. In 1806 the sum collected was 6,500,000 dollars, which after deducting the drawbacks left a nett revenue of 4,500,000 dollars; which was paid into the treasury of the United States as the proceeds of one year.

‘Every day, except Sunday, is a market-day in New York. Meat is cut up and sold by the joint or in pieces, by the licensed butchers only, their agents, or servants. The sale of unwholesome and stale articles of provisions; of blown and stuffed meat, and of measly pork, is expressly forbidden. Butter must be sold by the pound, and not by the roll or tub.

‘The price of several commodities before the embargo was as follows, in sterling money: beef  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb.; mutton  $5d.$ ; veal  $7d.$ ; butter  $10d.$ ; bread, the loaf of  $2\frac{1}{2}lbs.$   $7d.$ ; cheese  $7d.$ ; turkeys  $7s.$  each; chickens  $20d.$  per couple; oysters  $7d.$  per dozen; flour  $27s.$  per barrel of 196 lbs.; brandy  $4s. 6d.$  per gallon; coffee  $1s. 6d.$  per lb.; green tea  $5s.$ ; best hyson  $10s.$ ; coals  $70s.$  per chaldron; wood  $20s.$  per cord; a coat  $7l. 10s.$ ; waistcoat and pantaloons  $4l. 10s.$ ; hat  $54s.$ ; pair of boots  $54s.$ ; washing  $3s. 6d.$  per dozen pieces. Price of lodging at genteel

boarding-houses, from one guinea and a half to three guineas per week.

‘The manufactures of America are yet in an infant state; but in New York there are several excellent cabinet-makers, coach-makers, &c. who not only supply the country with household furniture and carriages, but also export very largely to the West Indies, and to foreign possessions on the continent of America.

‘There are 31 benevolent institutions in New York. The names of them are as follow: Tanmany society, Free school, Provident society, Mutual Benefit society, Benevolent society, Albion Benevolent society, Ladies’ society for the relief of poor widows with small children, Fire Department, New York Manufacturing society, society of Merchants and Tradesmen, the Dispensary, Lying-in hospital, Sailor’s Snug Harbour, Marine society, Manumission society, Kine-pock institution, City hospital, Alms house, House-carpenter’s society, Bellvue hospital, Marine hospital at Staten island, Humane society, Masonic society containing 13 lodges, German society, society of Unitas Fratrum, First Protestant Episcopal Charity school, St. George’s society, St. Patrick’s society, St. Andrew’s society, the New England society, the Cincinnati. Most of these institutions are mere benefit societies, resembling those which are so numerous in England.

‘There are upwards of 20 news-papers published in New York, nearly half of which are daily papers; besides several weekly and monthly magazines or essays. The new works that appear in America, or rather original productions, are very few; but every English work of celebrity is immediately reprinted in the States, and vended for a fourth of the original price. The booksellers and printers of New York are numerous, and in general men of property.

‘A public library is established at New York, which consists of about 10,000 volumes, many of them rare and valuable books. The building which contains them is situated in Nassau-street, and the trustees are incorporated by an act of the legislature. There are also three or four public reading-rooms, and circulating libraries, which are supported by some

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of the principal booksellers, from the annual subscriptions of the inhabitants. There is a museum of natural curiosities in New York, but it contains nothing worthy of particular notice.

‘The higher and middling classes of the Americans, who reside chiefly in the large towns or their neighbourhood, live, generally speaking, in a more luxurious manner than the same description of people in England. Not that their tables are more sumptuously furnished on particular occasions than ours; but that their ordinary meals consist of a greater variety of articles, many of which from too frequent use may, perhaps, become pernicious to the constitution. The constant use of segars by the young men, even from an early age, may also tend to impair the constitution, and create a stimulus beyond that which nature requires, or is capable of supporting. Their dread of the yellow fever has induced a more frequent use of tobacco of late years; but it is now grown into a habit that will not be easily abandoned. The other classes of the community, who reside in the interior and back parts of the country, are often obliged to live upon salt provisions the greatest part of the year, and sometimes on very scanty fare; besides which, they generally dwell in miserable log huts, incapable of defending them effectually from the severity of the weather. Those who have the means of living better are great eaters of animal food, which is introduced at every meal; together with a variety of hot cakes, and a profusion of butter: all which may more or less tend to the introduction of bilious disorders, and perhaps lay the foundation of those diseases which prove fatal in hot climates. The effects of a luxurious or meagre diet are equally injurious to the constitution, and, together with the sudden and violent changes of the climate, may create a series of nervous complaints, consumption, and debility, which in the states bordering on the Atlantic carry off at least one third of the inhabitants in the prime of life.’

The last time the yellow fever appeared in New York was in 1805; but its ravages were not great. Upwards of 26,000 people removed to places of safety, which was a prudent measure, and from the salutary regulations which have since been



adopted, it is hoped that it will never make its appearance again. From a comparison of the bills of mortality it would seem that London is more healthy than New York. Yet the difference is to be ascribed more to improper diet and mode of living, than to the insalubrity of the climate.

‘The society of New York consists of three distinct classes. The *first* is composed of the constituted authorities and government officers; divines, lawyers, and physicians of eminence; the principal merchants and people of independent property. The *second* comprizes the small merchants, retail dealers, clerks, subordinate officers of the government, and members of the three professions. The *third* consists of the inferior orders of the people. The first of these associate together in a style of elegance and splendour little inferior to Europeans. Their houses are furnished with every thing that is useful, agreeable, or ornamental; and many of them are fitted up in the tasteful magnificence of modern style. The dress of the gentlemen is plain, elegant, and fashionable, and corresponds in every respect with the English costume. The ladies in general seem more partial to the light, various, and dashing drapery of the Parisian belles, than to the elegant and becoming attire of our London beauties, who improve upon the French fashions. But there are many who prefer the English costume, or at least a medium between that and the French.

‘Fair complexions, regular features, and fine forms, seem to be the prevailing characteristics of the American fair sex. They do not, however, enjoy their beauty for so long a period as English women, neither do they possess the blooming countenance and rosy tinge of health so predominant among our fair countrywomen, whose charms never stand in need of cosmetics. The beauty of the American women partakes more of the *lily* than the *rose*; though the soft glow of the latter is sometimes to be met with. Their climate, however, is not so favourable to beauty as that of England, in consequence of the excessive heat and violent changes of the weather peculiar to America.

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‘ Most travellers who have visited America have charged the ladies of the United States universally with having bad teeth. This accusation is certainly very erroneous when applied to the whole of the fair sex, and to them alone. That the inhabitants of the States are often subject to a premature loss of teeth is allowed by themselves; and the cause has even been discussed in the papers read before the American Philosophical society; but it does not particularly attach to the females, who are much more exempt from that misfortune than the men.

‘ Dancing is an amusement that the ladies are passionately fond of; and many of them are well accomplished in music and drawing, which they practise with considerable success: but they do not excel in those acquirements, as they do in dancing. Among the young men these accomplishments are but little cultivated.

‘ Marriages are conducted in the most splendid style, and form an important part of the winter’s entertainments. For some years it was the fashion to keep them only among a select circle of friends; but of late the opulent parents of the new-married lady have thrown open their doors, and invited the town to partake of their felicity. The young couple, attended by their nearest connexions and friends, are married at home in a magnificent style; and if the parties are episcopalian, the bishop of York is always procured, if possible; as his presence gives a greater zest to the nuptials. For three days after the marriage ceremony, the new-married couple see company in great state, and every genteel person who can procure an introduction may pay his respects to the bride and bridegroom. It is a sort of levee; and the visitors, after their introduction, partake of a cup of coffee or other refreshments, and walk away. Sometimes the night concludes with a concert and ball, or cards, among those friends and acquaintance who are invited to remain.

‘ There are about 4,000 negroes and people of colour in New York, 1,700 of whom are slaves. These people are mostly of the Methodist persuasion, and have a chapel or two of their own with preachers of their colour; though some at-

tend other places of worship according to their inclination. All religious sects in the United States are on an equal footing, no one has any established prerogative above another; but in any place, on particular occasions, where precedence is given to over another, the episcopal church, or that sect which is most numerous, generally takes the lead.

'Duels are very frequent and fatal throughout the States, and all attempts to prevent them have hitherto failed. At New York, a law was passed to prohibit the sending of challenges, and the fighting of duels, under severe penalties; but it answered no other end than to produce a smart piece of satire on the subject of duels.'

Our author sailed from New York to Charleston, which he describes to be built upon a level sandy soil, and is elevated but a few feet above the height of spring tides. The streets extend east and west between the Ashley and Cooper rivers; and others intersect at right angles from north to south. From its open exposure to the ocean it is subject to storms and inundations, which affect the security of its harbour. The city has also suffered much by fires: the last, in 1796, destroyed upwards of 500 houses, and occasioned 300,000*l.* sterling damage.

The number of dwelling-houses, public buildings, and warehouses, &c. at present in Charleston, is estimated at 3,500. With the exception of Meeting-street, Broad-street, and the Bay, the streets are in general narrow and confined. They are all unpaved; and in blowing weather whirlwinds of dust and sand fill the houses, and blind the eyes of the people. The foot paths are all constructed of bricks; but a few years ago not even this convenience existed.

The houses in the streets near the water side, including that part of the town between Meeting-street and the street called East Bay, are lofty and closely built. The bricks are of a peculiar nature, being of a porous texture, and capable of resisting the weather better than the firm, close, red brick of the northern states. They are made in Carolina, and are of a dark-brown colour, which gives the buildings a gloomy appearance. The roofs are tiled or slated. In this part of the

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town the principal shopkeepers and merchants have their stores, warehouses, and counting-houses. Houses here bear a very high rent: those in Broad and Church-streets for shops, let for upwards of 300*l.* per annum; those along the Bay with warehouses let for 700*l.* and more, according to the size and situation of the buildings. The shipping, as at New York, lie along the wharfs, or small docks and slips along the town.

The houses in Meeting-street and the back parts of the town are many of them handsomely built; some of brick, others of wood. They are in general lofty and extensive, and are separated from each other by small houses or yards, in which the kitchens and out-offices are built. Almost every house is furnished with balconies and verandas, some of which occupy the whole side of the building from top to bottom, having a gallery from each floor. They are sometimes shaded with Venetian blinds, and afford the inhabitants a pleasant cool retreat from the scorching beams of the sun. Most of the modern houses are built with much taste and elegance; but the chief aim seems to be, to make them as cool as possible. The town is also crowded with wooden buildings of a very inferior description.

Three of the public buildings, and the episcopal church of St. Michael, are situated at the four corners formed by the intersection of Broad and Meeting-streets, the two principal avenues in Charleston.

The principal public buildings, besides those which been already enumerated, are the *exchange*, a large respectable building situated in the East Bay, opposite Broad-street; a *poor-house*; a *college*, or rather grammar-school; a *theatre*; and an *orphan-house*. This latter building is worthy of the city of Charleston. It contains about 150 children of both sexes, and the annual expence for provision, clothing, firewood, &c. is 14,000 dollars, which is defrayed by the legislature of the state of South Carolina.

The market of Charleston is well supplied, and the expence of living nearly the same as at New York. The population is reckoned about 28,000, of whom 20,000 are negroes and people of colour.

Charleston has been described as the seat of hospitality, elegance, and gaiety: but the planters, who are generally considered as the wealthiest people, are continually in debt, and can seldom command a dollar. 'When they receive money in advance,' says Mr. Lambert, 'for their crops of cotton or rice, it is immediately squandered away in the luxuries of fashion, good eating or drinking, or an excursion into the northern states; where, after dashing about for a month or two with *tandems*, *curricles*, *livery servants*, and *outriders*, they frequently return home in the *stage coach* with scarcely dollars enough in their pocket to pay their expences on the road. If their creditors of ten or a dozen years standing become clamorous, a small sum is perhaps paid them in part, unless the law interferes, and compels them to pay the whole debt and as much for costs. Thus the planter proceeds in his career of extravagance, which in the midst of his riches renders him continually poor. With an estate worth 200,000 dollars he has seldom a dollar in his pocket but what is borrowed upon an anticipated crop: hence it may be truly said that he lives only from hand to mouth.

'Unlike the farmer and merchant of the northern states, who are *themselves* indefatigably employed from morning to night, the Carolinian lolls at his ease under the shady piazza before his house, *smoking segars* and drinking *sangoree*, while his numerous slaves and overseers are cultivating a rice swamp or cotton field with the sweat of their brow, the produce of which is to furnish their luxurious master with the means of figuring away for a few months in the city, or an excursion to the northward. Property thus easily acquired is as readily squandered away; and the Carolinian, regarding only the present moment for the enjoyment of his pleasures, runs into extravagance and debt.

'The merchants, traders, and shopkeepers of Charleston are obliged to lay a profit, frequently of 150 to 200 per cent. and more, upon their goods, for the long credit which the gentry are accustomed to take. Where they meet with good payments, they seldom fail to realize an independent fortune; for they sell nothing under 50 per cent., even for ready money:

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but it often happens that, after they retire from business, they have a number of debts to collect in.'

'The Carolinians,' observes our author, 'are particularly expert at rifle-shooting; and articles instead of being put up at vendue are often shot for, with rifles, at a small price each shot, which is a more useful and honourable mode than the practice of raffling adopted in the lower country. This method of disposing of goods is worthy of imitation in England, and would soon render the people excellent marksmen.

'There are a great number of Jews settled in Charleston; and they live principally in King-street, where their shops are crowded together, and exhibit as motley a collection of clothing and wearing apparel as can be found in Hounds-ditch or Rag-fair. They are sufficiently numerous to have a synagogue; and one company of the volunteer militia is formed entirely of Jews. They are, as is the case in most countries, monied people: and on their sabbathis the young Jewesses walk out in fine flowing dresses, that would better suit the stage or ball-room than the street.

'I saw only one Quaker in Charleston, and he is as remarkable for the singular plainness of his dress as the large property which he possesses. Of the traders and shopkeepers settled in Charleston, a great number are Scotch, who generally acquire considerable property, by close and persevering habits of industry; after which, they most commonly return to their native country. There are also several Irish traders, but their number is far inferior to the Scotch.'

There are no white servants in Charleston. Every kind of work is performed by negroes and people of colour. The importations of Africans into the States ceased by law on the 1st of January, 1808. This caused about the time of the prohibition, a rise in the price of slaves, who are usually disposed of by auction. 'One morning,' says our author, 'I had a hearty laugh at the expence of a woman who had purchased a female slave at one of these auctions. The brokers are obliged to state the reason for selling the negroes, or give a bill of sale warranting them sound. The girl in question had been lately imported; and, as the auctioneer declared, it was intended to

have shipped her off with several others for New Orleans: but that in *her condition* (pointing to a certain protuberance in front) it was thought most advisable to put her up at vendue. The poor girl appeared to be about sixteen, seemed very unwell, and had no other covering than a dirty blanket. She was placed upon a table by the side of the auctioneer; who frequently turned her round to the bidders, to show her make and figure. He would also, at times, open her mouth and show her teeth, much in the same style as a jockey would exhibit the mouth of a horse for the inspection of his customers. From the manner in which he described her situation I really believed at first that she was in the *family way*, a condition which always enhances the value of a slave: but on looking more earnestly at the girl the protuberance seemed to be rather too high for such a state. One woman, however, who appeared very eager to purchase, outbid the rest, and gave 150 dollars for her, under the full persuasion that the girl was *with child*, and of course a great bargain at that price. The auctioneer also assured her, that she had been sold for less than half her real value. The girl got down from the table with much difficulty, and the woman went with her into the auction-room (for the sales are made in the street before the door). She was eager to examine the quality of the commodity which she had bought; when, to her infinite mortification, upon taking off the blanket she discovered that the girl instead of being with child had got the *dropsy*. She immediately wanted the auctioneer to take her back: but he was too keen, and declared that it was a just and fair sale; for the truth of which he appealed to the bye-standers. It was not his fault, he said, if the lady had been deceived by appearances; it was too often the case: but he declared that he had stated her real situation, which was, that she was not in a condition to be sent on a long voyage, and he still maintained that that was the only defect she was sold for. "*For any thing,*" says the auctioneer, "*that I know to the contrary the girl may be with child, but the lady is certainly the best judge.*"

‘All except the unfortunate purchaser laughed heartily at the trick. One advised her to send for Dr. De Bow immedi-

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ately and have the girl tapped; another was of opinion that she had better send for a carpenter to make a coffin; and a third declared she was heartily glad the woman had been taken in, as she was always so fond of buying *bargains*; and would be bound to say that she would not go to the expence of a dollar to save the girl's life.'

Our traveller next relates a remarkable instance of inviolable affection and heroic courage, evinced in the conduct of a negro and his wife, who had been recently imported from Africa; and which took place while he was in Charleston. 'They had been separated,' says he, 'and sold to two different persons in the city; the man to major R——, and the woman to Mrs. D'A——. For a few months they resided in Charleston; and the major had often allowed the man to visit his wife, which in some measure reconciled them to their separation. But his master, wishing to employ him on his plantation in the country, gave orders for his being sent away. The negro no sooner learnt his destiny than he became desperate, and determined on as bold a scheme as the mind of man could conceive, and one that might vie with the far-famed resolution of the Roman Arria. He obtained leave of his master, on the evening previous to his departure, to take a last farewell of his wife. I know not what passed at such an affecting interview; but it is supposed that he prevailed on her to die with him rather than be separated from each other, and obliged to pass their lives in miserable slavery; for the next morning they were both found dead, having strangled themselves with ropes. The hands of both were at liberty, so that there is no room to suppose that either had not consented to die. The Charleston papers represented this transaction in a very different light, being fearful of the consequences of such an example among the negroes; who, whatever their oppressors may say to the contrary, have proved, in innumerable instances, that they are occasionally possessed of feelings as sensitive and acute as their white brethern.

'In the southern states the incomes of the planters and farmers are various, ranging from 80,000 to 40 dollars. Very few, however, receive incomes of the magnitude of the former



sum. Many receive from 12,000 to 20,000 dollars per annum; but the majority of the planters are only in the annual receipt of from 3,000 to 6,000 dollars. The estates of these latter may be worth from 20 to 40,000 dollars. The farmers are on a smaller scale; and their incomes may be said to range between 2,000 and 400 dollars. The best lands in South Carolina, which are tide-swamps, if cultivated, have sold for 170 dollars per acre. In general, however, they sell from 70 to 90 dollars an acre, on a credit of one or two years. Uncultivated tide land sells proportionally lower. Inland swamps, if cultivated, sell at prices between 20 and 50 dollars per acre. Good cotton land has sold in Beaufort district as high as 60 dollars per acre; its value, however, in general, in different parts of the state, is from 6 to 40 dollars; the price depending much on its situation, as that nearest the sea, for instance, is considered the most valuable, and produces the finest cotton. Other high lands sell from one to six dollars an acre, according to their respective situations and conveniences for navigation.

‘ The buildings are as various as the value of estates, ranging in value between 30,000 and 20 dollars. They are commonly built of wood: some, however, are constructed of brick; though they are principally in the cities and towns. Of late years building has been carried on with spirit throughout the state; and houses of brick and wood erected suitable to the improvement of the manners and comforts of society. The houses are, for the most part, built of one or two stories, according to the taste and abilities of the owner. One peculiarity, however, may be remarked respecting them, which is, that piazzas are generally attached to their southern front, as well for the convenience of walking therein during the day, as for preventing the sun's too great influence on the interior of the house; and the out-offices and kitchens are rarely connected with the principal dwelling, being placed at a distance from it of 30 or 40 yards. The houses of the poorest sort of people are made of logs, let into each other at the ends, and their interstices filled up with moss, straw, and clay. The roofs are covered with clap boards. Their plan is simple, as they

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consist of only one or two rooms: and the manners of the tenants are equally plain.

‘ While agriculture is so much attended to, and the means of engaging in it so easy, it is not surprizing that few direct their attention to manufactures. Some years ago a cotton manufactory was established near Statesborough, which bid fair to rise into consideration. It was, however, soon perceived that the price of labour was too great to permit its goods to stand any competition with those of similar qualities imported from Great Britain: consequently the proprietors were obliged to discontinue their operations. A numerous population and scarcity of lands must first be experienced in a country before its inhabitants will resort to manufactures, while a more eligible mode of subsistence exists. In the upper country, however, necessity has obliged the inhabitants to provide for their respective wants from their own resources, in consequence of the difficulty and expence of conveying bulky articles from the sea coast to the interior. The traveller there soon becomes accustomed to the humming music of the spinning-wheel and the loom. Cottons and woollens of various descriptions are made in sufficient quantities for domestic use; and if we except the articles of salt and sugar, the people in the upper parts of the state may be considered independent of foreign support; for carpenters, smiths, masons, tanners, shoemakers, sadlers, hatters, millwrights, and other tradesmen, are conveniently situated throughout the country; and the materials necessary for their respective professions are met with in abundance.

‘ Since the French Revolution Charleston has been the medium of the greatest part of that trade which has been carried on between the French West India islands and the mother-country under the neutral flag of the United States. The number of vessels that entered the port of Charleston in 1801 amounted to 1,274, of which 875 belonged to that port; the rest were chiefly British vessels. At the time the embargo reached Charleston, the number of vessels in port were, ships 78, brigs 42, schooners and sloops 85—total 205.’

Our author, after remaining at Charleston upwards of two months, took the resolution of taking a journey of 120 miles on foot to Savannah in Georgia. The road lies mostly through a dreary and extensive forest of pines, called in Carolina, a *pine barren*. 'On entering this road,' observes our traveller, 'I never felt myself more disposed for gloomy reflections. A habitation is seldom seen, except at intervals of 10 or 12 miles, or when you approach a savannah or swamp; for the plantations are all settled a considerable distance from the road, and paths of communications are cut through the woods; so that, in travelling through the southern states, you are enveloped in almost one continued forest. A contrary practice is adopted in the northern and middle states, where a succession of farms, meadows, gardens, and habitations, continually meet the eye of the traveller; and if hedges were substituted for rail fences, those states would very much resemble some of the English counties.

'The pine barrens are without any stones on their surface, for 80 miles or more from the sea. The land rises by an almost imperceptible ascent to that distance, where the elevation is said to be near 200 feet above the level of the ocean, and forms the boundary between the middle and lower parts of the state. Through this tract of country the pine barrens have little or no underwood, some species of shrub oak excepted, the ground being generally covered with coarse wild grasses. This is probably not its natural appearance, but is caused by the custom of burning the dry grass in the spring, in order to hasten early pasturage, at the same time destroying the young shrubs, which would otherwise shoot up and form a thick underwood between the pines. From this practice, the forests frequently exhibit on each side the road a dismal appearance, from the great number of trees half burnt and scorched and blacked by the fire; others lying on the ground, or ready to fall with the first high wind; and in several places it is rather hazardous travelling in stormy weather. Almost every week the driver of the stage coach has to cut away large trunks or branches that have fallen across the the road; or, if there is

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an opening sufficiently wide among the trees, he chooses rather to go round than trouble himself to use his axe.

'The pines are chiefly of the pitch and yellow species, and grow to the height of 100 feet and more, with a handsome straight stem, two-thirds of which, upwards, are free from branches. They make excellent masts and timber for vessels, and yield abundance of pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine. The stumps of several which have been cut down were covered with the resinous matter that had been extracted from the top by the heat of the sun. Where the soil improves, which is sometimes the case even in the midst of these barrens, the eye is relieved from the monotonous solemnity of the lofty pine, by a variety of other trees, consisting principally of live oak; red, white, and chesnut oaks; hickory, elm, beech, maple, &c. and numerous shrubs, plants, and flowers. In several places, natural hedges are formed of the shrubs and underwood that escape the ravages of fire; these are intermingled with a variety of flowers, among which the honeysuckles, woodbines, and yellow jessamines are most conspicuous. When I passed, they were in full blossom, and the flowers at once pleased the eye, and impregnated the air with their delightful odours.

'As I proceeded on my journey, the pine-trees, which have their branches towards their summits, formed a complete grove over my head, and almost excluded the sky from my view: in the morning this shady walk was extremely pleasant, but as the day began to close I would willingly have preferred a less gloomy retreat. Every step I took was still the same, and nothing disturbed the solemn silence of the forest, save the whistling murmurs of the wind, the skipping of a few deer across the road, and the rustling of the black snakes amid the grass and fallen branches of the trees. Now and then, indeed, the crash of an enormous pine-tree tumbling to the earth would ruffle the stillness which prevailed, and arouse me from a reverie of thought into which I had fallen, as I pensively measured my steps through the gloomy wilderness; but the sound, after reverberating for a few seconds, died away in distant murmurs through the woods, and all was again silent.'

After a very tedious walk our author reached Purrysburgh, where he agreed to sail in a boat down to Savannah. 'We were rowed,' says he, 'by four negroes, for canoes are not paddled here as in Canada. They seemed to be jolly fellows, and rowed lustily to a boat-song of their own composing. The words were given out by one of them, and the rest joined chorus at the end of every line. It began in the following manner:

' " We are going down to Georgia, boys,  
To see the pretty girls, boys;  
We'll give 'em a pint of brandy, boys,  
And a hearty kiss besides, boys.  
&c. &c. &c."

## CHORUS.

Aye, aye.  
Yoe, yoe.  
Aye, aye.  
Yoe, yoe.

' The tune of this ditty was rather monotonous, but had a pleasing effect, as they kept time with it at every stroke of their oars. The words were mere nonsense; any thing, in fact, which came into their heads. I however remarked that brandy was very frequently mentioned, and it was understood as a hint to the passengers to give them a dram. We had supplied ourselves with this article at Purrysburgh, and were not sparing of it to the negroes, in order to encourage them to row quick. During the passage it rained incessantly, and prevented me from seeing the river to advantage. By the time we arrived at Savannah it was nearly dark, and our rowers, who were pretty far gone, in consequence of their frequent libations of brandy, had nearly upset the canoe, under the cable of a ship which was lying off the town. At length we all landed in safety near the exchange, and in company with one of the passengers, an American gentleman, I proceeded immediately to colonel Shelman's hotel.

' The town of Savannah is built upon an open sandy plain, which forms a cliff, or, as the Americans term it, a *bluff*, by the shore, about 50 feet above the level of the river. It is well laid out for a warm climate, in the form of a parallelogram, about a mile and a quarter long, and half a mile wide. The streets are wide, and open into spacious squares, each of

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which has a pump in the centre, surrounded by a small plantation of trees. A great disadvantage, however, to the town, is the total want of foot-paths and pavement. Improvements of this nature would render walking more agreeable, and the town more cool and healthy. At present, one sinks at every step up to the ancles in sand; and in windy weather the eyes, mouth and nostrils are filled with it.

The houses are mostly built of wood, and stand separate from each other, divided by court yards, except in two or three streets, where they are close built, many of them with brick, and contain several shops and stores. One large range of brick buildings stands near the market-place, and at a distance has the appearance of an hospital. The principal street is that called the Bay, where there are several very good houses of brick and wood. Some contain booksellers', grocers', and drapers' stores, others are private dwellings. This range of buildings extends nearly three quarters of a mile along the town; and opposite to it is a beautiful walk or mall, planted with a double row of trees, the same as those at Charleston.

This agreeable promenade is situated near the margin of the height or bluff upon which the town stands; and the merchants' stores, warehouses, and wharfs, for landing, housing, and shipping of goods, are built immediately below, along the shore, forming in some degree a sort of lower town. From the height there is a fine commanding view of the Savannah river as far as the sea, and for several miles above the town.

About the centre of the walk, and just on the verge of the cliff, stands the exchange, a large brick building, which contains some public offices; and an assembly room, where a concert and ball are held once a fortnight during the winter.

By a census taken eight or nine years ago, the population of Savannah consisted of 3,009 whites, and free people of colour; and 2,376 slaves, making a total of 5,385. At present it is supposed to be about 6,000. The public buildings consist of the branch bank of the United States; the exchange; four or five places of worship; and a jail, built upon the common, some distance from the town. The latter is a large

strong brick building, and well adapted for the confinement of refractory negroes, and other offenders against the laws.

'Since the revolutionary war, Georgia, like most of the other states in the Union, has rapidly increased in population and riches: but she cannot boast of equal rapidity in arts, sciences, and literature. With respect to these embellishments of civilized society, Georgia is yet in the *Gothic age*. Savannah contains five or six respectable book-stores, and publishes three newspapers; two of which are attached to federal principles. The military force of the state consists of militia; but Savannah has several corps of volunteers, infantry and cavalry, who clothe and equip themselves at their own expence.'

'The Sunday after my arrival at Savannah,' says Mr. Lambert, 'I was passing a methodist meeting, and was induced, by the vehemence of the preacher, to go in and hear his discourse. He uttered such terrible imprecations upon sinners unless they were born again in faith, that one half of his congregation were groaning and weeping in the most pitiable manner. Such an assemblage of wretched looks, and pale, ghastly countenances, I never before saw; they seemed, indeed, to have suffered severe castigation for their sins even in this world. Instead of benefiting by the mild and consolatory precepts of Christianity, these people appeared to be lost in a sea of doubt and perplexity; and seemed to think of nothing but everlasting damnation, unless perchance they construed a *gripping of the bowels* into the *workings of divine grace*.

'In no part of the world, perhaps, is religious fanaticism carried to a more extravagant height than in the United States, by a few artful designing men, who contrive to delude the simple and unwary into the most shameful and blasphemous excesses. These fanatics, or artful hypocrites, regularly advertise what they call "*camp meetings*," in different parts of the country, and invite all "friendly ministers and praying people" to attend. I never had an opportunity of being present at one of these meetings; but I am told that the scenes which are exhibited on these occasions often beggar all description.'

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Our author, after some stay in this place, returned to Charleston, from whence he embarked for New York, and on arriving at this place he proceeded in the main stage for Boston. General Bradley, one of the passengers, diverted his companions with facetious stories or pleasant anecdotes.—‘Speaking of the Virginians,’ says Mr. Lambert, ‘he gave us the following specimen of their *dram drinking*.

‘*A gum-tickler* is a gill of spirits, generally rum, taken fasting.

‘*A phlegm-cutter* is a double dose just before breakfast.

‘*An antifogmatic* is a similar dram before dinner.

‘*A gall-breaker* is about half a pint of ardent spirits.

‘When they inquire how such-a-one does, the answer is “Oh, he is only drinking *gum-ticklers!*” If he is drinking *phlegm-cutters*, or *antifogmatics*, the case is not so good, and he is soon expected to get to *gall-breakers*; but if he is drinking the *latter*, they consider him as a lost sheep,—say it is all over with him,—and pity his desperate case. Indeed, a man seldom lives above six months after he has commenced the *gall-breaking* dram! Rum, brandy, or gin *sling*, is a common beverage for travellers throughout the States; and the stage-coachmen in the course of a journey, take “*a special good quantity of it.*” Sometimes it consists only of the liquor and water, sweetened with sugar, and drank cold; but in general it is made of milk, with ginger or nutmeg grated into it.’

In passing through the state of Connecticut towards Hartford, ‘the country,’ observes our author, ‘was extremely beautiful: we travelled, for the most part, over a succession of lofty hills, commanding extensive views across the country. In the midst of some beautiful plains and valleys appeared the Connecticut river, with its fruitful shores covered with innumerable habitations, surrounded by well cultivated grounds, pastures, and meadow lands, orchards, and gardens; all of which evinced the steady and industrious character of the inhabitants. Every mile we advanced afforded us some new objects for admiration; whether they consisted of lofty mountains, fruitful valleys, verdant lawns, meandering streams, rich farms, or populous towns; for they were more or less the



materials which composed the scenery along the road to Hartford, and presented a rapid succession of rich and beautiful landscapes. I regretted only that spring had not yet removed the gloomy mantle of winter, and presented to our view the graceful charms and hidden beauties of nature.

‘Our stay at Hartford was too short to admit of my collecting much information concerning the town. It appeared to be composed of regular streets, and well built houses of red brick. Order, neatness, and cleanliness, seemed to be a predominant feature in the character of its inhabitants; as was the case in all the towns and villages of this state through which I had passed. It is built on the banks of the Connecticut river, and surrounded by rich pasture and meadow-ground, well cultivated corn-fields, and neat dwelling-houses. It is the capital of the state of Connecticut, though the meetings of the legislature are divided between this town and New-haven. Hartford contains a state-house, a bank, museum, some neat churches and meetings, and about 10,000 inhabitants. We left the town about three o'clock, and parted reluctantly with general Bradley; who had pleased us by his gentlemanly manners, and entertained us with his facetious and agreeable humour.

‘For several miles we passed through a plain level country, well cultivated, and apparently rich and fertile. The people of Connecticut are distinguished by their industry, sobriety, and economy; strict piety and devotion. Travelling on Sundays is not permitted in their state, though strangers often contrive to evade the laws. Elders go about and forbid inn-keepers at their peril to suffer any person to travel; but the latter generally keep a few horses ready saddled in the stables; and if a traveller arrives on a Sunday, he helps himself to one of the horses, and goes off by some bye-road.

‘The inhabitants are almost entirely of English descent; there being neither French, Dutch, Germans, nor other foreigners among them; and very few even of the Irish and Scotch. The rough, frank hospitality of the English farmer is here generally met with; and though there are not many who are remarkable for *opulence*, yet the number is still less

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of those who are remarkable for *indigence*. The generality of the people live in easy independent circumstances; and upon that footing of equality which is best calculated to promote virtue and happiness among society. The population of the state is about 300,000, the majority of whom are Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and Independants. The people are said to be distinguished for their general information and learning; and the country abounds with colleges, grammar schools, and village seminaries. The select men (magistrates) are empowered to levy a fine of three dollars upon every person who neglects to send his children to school.

‘ Throughout the states of Connecticut, Massachussets, and New York, a remarkable neat and indeed elegant style of architecture and decoration seems to pervade all the buildings in the towns and villages; and I understand is more or less prevalent in the rest of the northern and middle states. The houses in the small towns and villages are mostly built of wood, generally one or two stories above the ground floor; the sides are neatly clapboarded and painted white. The sloping roofs are covered with shingles, and painted of a slate colour; and with sash windows, green venetian shades outside, neat white railings, and steps, have a pretty effect. Sometimes the entrance is ornamented with a portico. The churches, or, as they are oftener termed, meetings, are constructed of similar materials; painted white, and frequently decorated like the houses, with sash windows and green venetian shades. The building is also surmounted by a handsome spire or steeple with one or two bells. A small town composed of these neat and ornamental edifices, and situated in the neighbourhood of well-cultivated farms, large fields, orchards and gardens, produces a most agreeable effect, and gives the traveller a high opinion of the prosperity of the country, and of the wealth and happiness of its inhabitants. Indeed those parts of the northern and middle states through which I travelled, have the appearance of old, well-settled countries. The towns and villages are populous; provisions are cheap and abundant:

the farms appear in excellent order; and the inhabitants sober, industrious, religious, and happy.'

Our traveller proceeded on his journey through several neat towns and villages, and a well-settled, rich, and fertile country. 'We were now,' says he, 'within a few miles of Boston, and every thing around us appeared indicative of our approach to that rich commercial metropolis. We had an agreeable ride through Cambridge, a kind of suburb to Boston, to which it is connected by a very long bridge across the river Charles. This town contains about 3,000 inhabitants, several handsome seats, orchards, gardens, and pleasure-grounds; three or four places of worship, a court-house, and the celebrated university of Harvard, which is reckoned the best institution of the kind in the United States. This college contains a library of nearly 20,000 volumes, a good philosophical apparatus, and a respectable museum. The students amount to about 250, and professors for every branch of the sciences are engaged to complete their education. The situation of Cambridge is extremely well adapted to such an institution. It is placed at a sufficient distance from Boston to prevent the students from having their morals corrupted by the vices of a populous city. It also contributes to their health, and the prosecution of their studies, by a clear, wholesome atmosphere, and calm retreat from the noise and bustle of a commercial town.

'Through the whole of this journey of 240 miles, from New York to Boston, I had passed over a most beautiful tract of country, which from the manners of the inhabitants, the excellent order and condition of its towns, villages, and buildings, its farms, orchards, gardens, pasture and meadow lands, together with the face of the country, undulated with mountains, hills, plains, and valleys, watered by a number of rivers, small lakes, and streams, afforded a variety of the most beautiful landscapes, and strongly reminded me of English scenery.

'Much has been said by former travellers of the familiarity and rudeness of the American people. I will not attempt to contradict their assertions; but for myself, I must declare, in justice to the American character, that I experienced the ut-

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most civility and even politeness, from the inhabitants, in every part of the country through which I travelled. The coachmen were civil, and the tavern-keepers attentive; and wherever I had occasion to mix with the country people, I never met with the least rudeness or shadow of impertinence on any occasion; on the contrary, they were civil and obliging. The children would take off their hats, bow, or curtsy, as we passed along the road; and the men would frequently nod their heads, which, though it carried with it the appearance of familiarity, and certainly was not so graceful as the salutation of the French Canadian, yet I firmly believe it sprang entirely from an honest, well-meaning civility. I only pretend to speak of what I have myself witnessed; and even if I had met with rudeness from *individuals*, or been cheated by a *sharp*, I should not be inclined to charge *the whole American people* with insolence and brutality, with roguery and imposition. But the Americans are a people like ourselves, who, conscious of the real liberty which they enjoy, boast of it as their greatest blessing. In many men, and particularly in the lower classes, this freedom, even in our own country, sometimes degenerates into rude familiarity; but that philosopher must indeed be squamish, who will not compound with a little rudeness to himself, for the solid acquisition of much substantial comfort and happiness to myriads of his fellow men.

The females of the New England states are conspicuous for their domestic virtues. Every thing in their houses has an air of cleanliness, order, and œconomy; this displays the female character to the greatest advantage. The young women are really handsome. They have almost all fair complexions, often tinged with the rosy bloom of health. They have generally good, and sometimes excellent teeth. Their light hair is tastefully turned up behind, in the modern style, and fastened with a comb. Their dress is neat, simple, and genteel: usually consisting of a printed cotton jacket, with long sleeves, a petticoat of the same, with a coloured cotton apron, or pincloth without sleeves, tied tight, and covering the lower part of the bosom. This seemed to be the prevailing dress in the country places. Their manners are easy,

affable, and polite, and free from all uncouth rusticity: indeed, they appear to be as polished and well bred as the ladies in the cities, although they may not possess their highly finished education. Yet in the well settled parts of New England the children do not want for plain and useful instruction; and the girls, especially, are early initiated in the principles of domestic order and œconomy.'

Our author remained in Boston six days, which place he describes to be irregularly built, situated on a peninsula whose surface is broken by small hills; and, except where the isthmus appears in sight, seems completely environed by a beautiful river. It cannot boast much of uniformity and elegance; but with respect to situation it is extremely beautiful.

From an elevated part of the town the spectator enjoys a succession of the most beautiful views that imagination can conceive. Around him, as far as the eye can reach, are to be seen towns, villages, country seats, rich farms, and pleasure-grounds, seated upon the summits of small hills, hanging on the brows of gentle slopes, or reclining in the laps of spacious valleys, whose shores are watered by a beautiful river, across which are thrown several bridges and causeways. These bridges connect the minor towns of Cambridge, Charlestown, &c. with Boston, and are built of wood, upon a vast number of piers of equal height; their length is from 2,000 to 4,000 feet. They are painted yellow, kept in excellent order, lighted by lamps, and have a foot-path on each side, railed in from the carriage way. There is a toll-gate on each side, and foot passengers passing out of Boston pay one *cent*, which is something more than a halfpenny.

That portion of the town called West Boston contains most of the dwelling-houses of the gentry and principal merchants. A number of elegant buildings of red brick have within these few years been erected; and wide spacious streets, consisting of handsome private houses of similar construction, are yet forming throughout that end of the town. These streets are mostly in the vicinity of Beacon Hill, a rising ground of considerable elevation, situate behind the new state-house. On this hill a monumental pillar is erected, with a

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gilt eagle at the top, bearing the arms of the United States. On the pedestal of the column are inscriptions commemorating the most remarkable events of the Revolution.

The new state-house is, perhaps, more indebted to its situation for the handsome appearance which it exhibits, than to any merit of the building itself. It is built upon part of the rising ground upon which Beacon Hill is situated, and fronts the park, an extensive common planted with a doubled row of trees along the borders. The lower part of the building is constructed in a plain and simple style of architecture, with red brick, and surmounted by a large circular dome of the same materials, coloured yellow. The whole has a neat and ornamental appearance; but if stone had been substituted for brick, it would have then been a structure worthy of admiration, and honourable to the people of Boston.

The park was formerly a large common, but has recently been enclosed, and the borders planted with trees. On the east side there has been for many years a mall, or walk, planted with a double row of large trees, somewhat resembling that in St. James's park, but scarcely half its length. It affords the inhabitants an excellent promenade in fine weather. At the bottom of the park is a branch of the harbour; and along the shore, to the westward, are several extensive rope-walks built upon piers. At high water boats and barges can be admitted between the walks, which are all roofed in, and have large brick warehouses at the eastern end. Considerable quantities of excellent cordage are manufactured at these walks, and form an articles of exportation to the other states. In the street next the mall, at the upper end of the park, there is a stand of hackney coaches, superior in every respect to vehicles of that description in London.

The other portion of Boston, which may with propriety be called the *Old Town*, is the seat of trade and commerce, and contains numerous streets, lanes, and alleys, crowded with stores, shops, warehouses, wharfs, and piers; taverns, coffee-houses, and porter-houses; insurance offices, banks, and state buildings; churches, chapels, and meetings.

Of late years considerable improvements have taken place in East Boston. Towards the harbour an extensive range of lofty warehouses have been erected upon India Wharf: they are built of red brick, with much neatness and uniformity. Offices for the merchants are below, and the upper part of the building is appropriated to the reception of goods. A short distance from these warehouses to the northward, is Long Wharf, or Boston Pier, which extends from the bottom of State-street, upwards of 1,750 feet into the harbour. Its breadth is about 100 feet. On the north side of this immense wharf is a range of large warehouses, extending the whole length of the pier.

Along the water side there is a great number of other piers, which extend a considerable way into the harbour; these form as many open docks, or slips, which admit vessels of almost every size and draught of water up to the very doors of the houses. Viewing this sight from an eminence it has a singular and beautiful effect; the crowded masts and rigging of the vessels appear in the midst of the streets, and the colours of all nations are seen flying over the tops of the houses.

Boston is well paved, and has excellent foot-paths of flag stones. The streets, which in the old town are generally narrow and irregularly laid out, are for the most part clean and in good order. The markets are situated near each other, close to the water-side; and are supplied with every description of provisions in the greatest plenty, and at a moderate price. But they are crowded and confined by the surrounding buildings, and the narrow lanes and alleys in the vicinity. This, together with the number of shabby shops and alehouses in the neighbourhood, gives to this part of the town an unseemly appearance, which is still further increased by the litter and confusion unavoidable in a market-place.

The population of Boston, according to the census of 1800, was 24,937; about three years after it amounted to 28,000; and very lately it was computed to be upwards of 30,000. The majority of the people are Congregationalists; the remainder consist of Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Univer-

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salists, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Sandemanians. They have 20 places of worship, of which *nine* belong to the Congregationalists, and *four* to the Episcopalians.

The inhabitants are distinguished for their domestic habits, regularity of living, integrity in their dealings, hospitality to strangers, strict piety and devotion, and respect for the moral and social virtues; upon which depend the happiness and well being of a community.

It was not without a long and arduous struggle that a theatre was erected, which is now well supported. Boston also contains several considerable book-stores, and many daily and weekly newspapers: a few magazines and reviews are also published in this city. The principal manufactures are rum, beer, paper-hangings, loaf-sugar, cordage, playing cards, sail-cloth, wood-cards, spermaceti and tallow candles, and glass; besides cabinet-work, coaches and carriages of every description; hats, shoes, boots, and other articles of domestic use. The town is governed by *select men*, chosen annually; with other subordinate officers.

Sundays are observed with the strictest decorum; the town appears as if completely deserted; and scarcely a person is seen walking the streets, except in going to or coming from a place of worship.

This strict observance of religious duties disposes a stranger to judge favourably of the moral character of the people; nor has he any reason to alter his opinion, until he hears of so many unfortunate females in the cities.

There is a material difference in point of character between the people of the northern states and those to the southward; there also exists a considerable spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition between them. The former (speaking in general terms) are a plain, honest, and industrious people; regular in their habits, punctual in their payments, and strongly attached to agricultural and commercial pursuits. But the southern planter acquires his wealth not by the sweat of *his* brow like the New Englander, but by the labour of his *negroes*. He lolls at his ease in the shady retreat, drinking, smoking, or sleeping, surrounded by his slaves and overseers,



who furnish him with the luxuries of life, without the necessity of his leaving the piazza. The northern merchant, on the contrary, is strenuously exerting himself from morning till night; exercising his faculties, expanding his mind, and enlarging his ideas by continual intercourse with people of every nation, and correspondence in every quarter of the globe. The planter is deprived of these opportunities of mixing with the world, and acquiring an extensive knowledge of the interests of states. Hence he supposes, that to raise a crop and sell it sufficiently benefits the country; nor can he conceive what difference it will make, whether it is taken away in a ship of his own nation or that of a foreign state. He also looks upon the merchant or trader with contempt, as a mere plodding fellow who is making a fortune by his assistance; he even hates him, when by careful industry and œconomy the merchant can leave off business, and becomes, by the aid of his superior wealth and abilities, a more important personage in society than himself. Such are, in all probability, the causes which have created the existing spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition, between the northern and southern states; and which, if not quickly extirpated, may one day or other occasion a separation of the Union. The American States may defy the world while they remain true to themselves; like the bundle of sticks in the fable, they cannot be broken so long as they are *united*; but if they *separate*, they will assuredly be destroyed in *detail*.

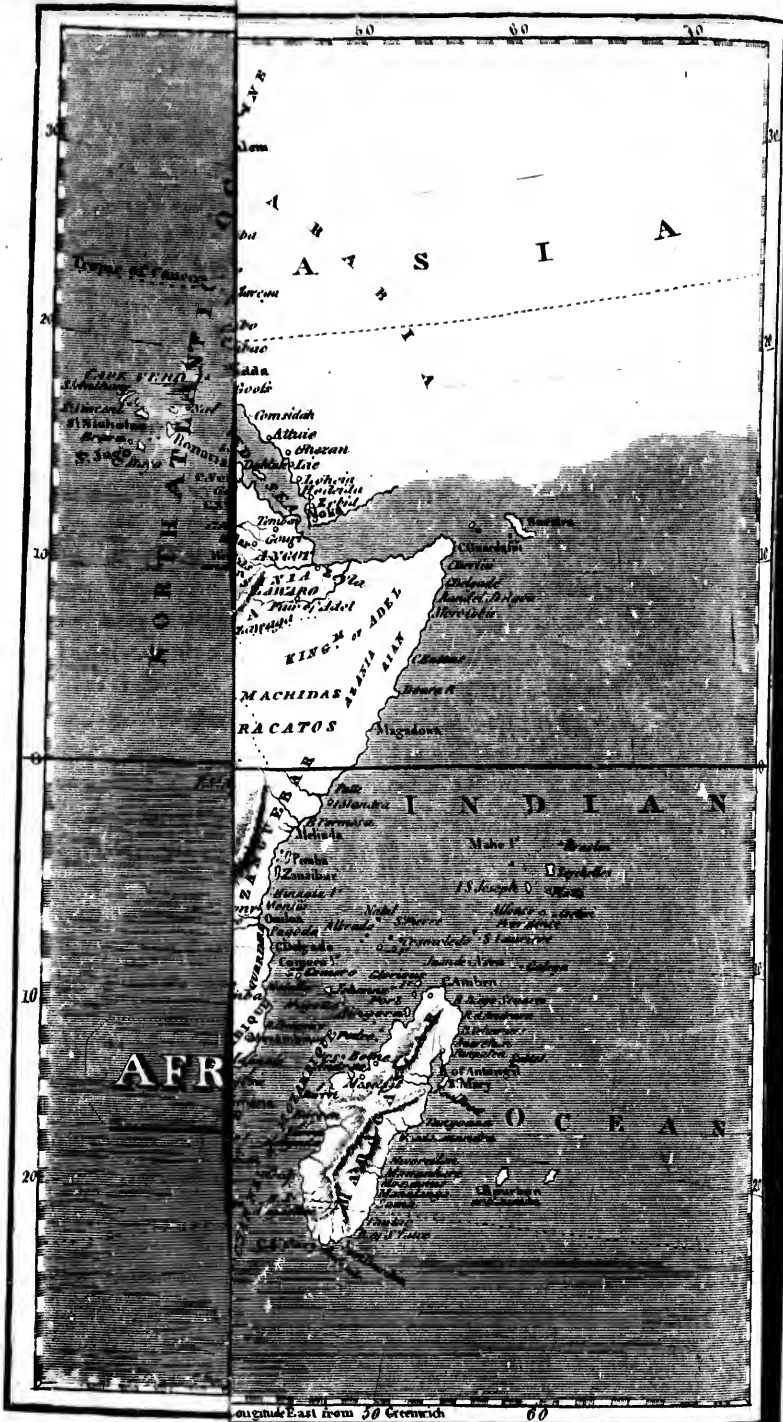
Such is the valuable information that we have selected from the work of this judicious and candid traveller, and which no doubt will have a tendency to decrease that animosity and disgust, which disappointed and interested men have endeavoured to increase between the inhabitants of Britain and the United States, who are bound by every principle of good policy to act with kindness and liberality towards each other.

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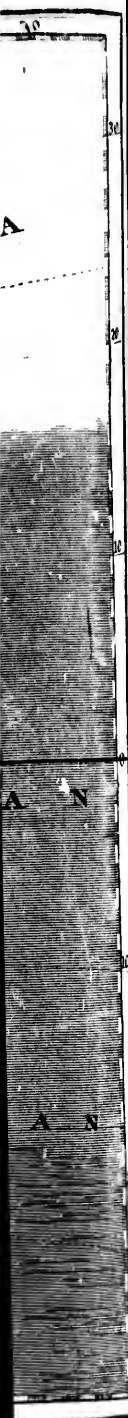
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**T**HE knowledge which the ancients possessed concerning Africa was extremely limited. Its northern provinces, indeed, were sufficiently known, and were at various times over-run by the armies of Europe, or peopled by its colonies. Herodotus seems to have been well acquainted with this country, from mount Atlas to Ethiopia above Egypt; and had heard of the central river Niger, which he mentions as flowing to the east. Egypt, the nursery of learning and civilization, maintained, at an early period, an intercourse with Europe and Asia; and continued long the resort of the intelligent and curious, from both these continents: yet the adjacent country of Ethiopia was very imperfectly known.

The Carthaginians, an active and enterprising people, penetrated by land into several of the interior provinces, with some of which they established a commercial intercourse, while others were subjected to their empire. They sailed along the western coast almost to the tropic of Cancer; and, planting several colonies, endeavoured to civilize the rude natives, and accustom them to trade. A laudable curiosity, combined with the desire of commercial advantage, prompted them to extend their discoveries on the African coast. A fleet, equipped

by the authority of the senate, and at the public expence, was entrusted to Hanno, who was directed to steer towards the south, along the coast of Africa; and appears to have advanced nearer the equinoctial line than any former navigator of that nation. The periplus of his voyage has been preserved, and, as its authenticity has been incontrovertibly established, it may be regarded as a curious monument of the naval skill of the Carthaginians, and one of the most valuable remains of antiquity.

A still more wonderful voyage is said to have been accomplished some time before by a Phœnician fleet, which was fitted out by Necho, king of Egypt. Sailing by his direction, from a port in the Red sea, about 604 years before the Christian era, it proceeded along the eastern coast of Africa, doubled its southern promontory, and after a voyage of three years, returned by the straits of Gades to the mouth of the Nile. This voyage, which is regarded by Herodotus, who relates it as a fabulous tale, seems to derive confirmation from the very circumstances which appeared to him the most incredible. 'The relation of these Phœnicians,' says he, 'may obtain credit from others—to me it seems unworthy of belief,—for they declared, that, when sailing round Africa, *they had the sun on their right hand.*' Their account was rejected for the same reason, by many of the most eminent historians and geographers of antiquity, who deemed it impossible, that the sun could any where assume a position so different from that in which he had always appeared to themselves. What was regarded by the ancients as a convincing proof of the falsehood of these Phœnicians, has been converted by modern improvements in science, into the most irresistible evidence of their veracity.

After the downfall of the Roman empire, Africa was scarcely known to Europeans, till the accidental discovery of the Canary islands excited a general spirit of adventure, which the previous invention of the mariner's compass powerfully aided and increased. But it was not till the 15th century, that the boldness of enterprize, which improving skill in navigation inspired, and the ardent curiosity natural to minds just emerg-

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ing from ignorance, and expanding with more enlarged ideas, suggested regular plans of discovery, which at length conducted the navigator to a new world, and to regions hitherto unexplored. The Portuguese took the lead in this glorious career. A great armament was equipped by John I. of Portugal, destined to attack the Moors on the coast of Barbary. Several vessels were appointed to sail before it, to the western shores of Africa, in quest of countries which yet remained unknown. At that time, navigation was still very imperfect; the voyages of the Portuguese had hitherto been limited by cape Non; but the vessels sent on this expedition passed that dreary promontory, and proceeded as far as cape Bojador, 160 miles beyond the progress of former navigators. The breakers, which dashed with tremendous fury over the cliffs of Bojador, projecting far into the Atlantic, deterred them from attempting to sail round it; but their success gave new ardour to the passion for discovery.

The flattering prospects which now began to open on the African continent, were cherished with enthusiasm by Henry, fourth son of John, a prince of rare talents, enlightened and polished beyond the age in which he lived. Capable of conceiving the grandest designs, his judgment readily discerned how far they were practicable; and when his resolutions were once formed, he prosecuted them with an ardour and a decision which no obstacle could withstand. Geography had been his favourite study. He had accompanied his father on his expedition to Barbary; and comparing the discoveries then made by the fleet, with the accounts of intelligent travellers, he was convinced of the probability of finding new and opulent countries in the more southern latitudes of Africa. To indulge without interruption these enchanting prospects, and to mature his schemes for realizing them, he withdrew from court on his return from Barbary, and fixed his residence at Sagres, where the view of the Atlantic constantly reminded him of his favourite project, and directed all his meditations to the means of its completion. He soon fitted out a single vessel, and entrusting the command of it to Gonzalez Zarco and Tristan Vaz, two gentlemen of his household, who voluntarily undertook



the enterprize, he instructed them to endeavour, by all means, to double cape Bojador, and advance farther towards the south. The timid mode of coasting, which still prevailed, would probably have prevented them from accomplishing the object of their voyage; but their efforts were rewarded by an accidental discovery, which proved equally satisfactory to their master. A sudden squall of wind drove them out to sea, and carried them to an unknown island, which, in commemoration of their escape from shipwreck, they named *Porto Santo*.

When they returned to Portugal, Henry received with transport the account of an adventure, which seemed to enlarge the field of discovery; and, pursuing his favourite project with keener ardour and more sanguine hope, he next year sent out three ships, under the same commanders, along with Bartholomew Perestrelo, to take possession of the island to which they had so fortunately been driven. From *Porto Santo* they observed, towards the south, a fixed spot in the horizon, which they conjectured to be land; and, directing their course towards it, they came to a considerable island, uninhabited and covered with wood, which, from that circumstance, they called *Madiera*.

Their voyages to these islands accustomed the Portuguese to a bolder navigation. Gilianez, who commanded one of Henry's ships, venturing into the open sea, doubled cape Bojador, and discovered the vast continent of Africa, still washed by the Atlantic ocean, and stretching, apparently without limits to the south. These successes gave a stronger impulse to the adventurous curiosity of the Portuguese. In a few years, they advanced within the tropics, discovered the river Senegal, and explored all the coast of Africa, from cape Blanco to cape de Verd, the islands of which were discovered in the year 1446, and the Azores soon after.

Alphonzo, who occupied the throne of Portugal after Henry's death, was too much engaged in war to prosecute with much ardour the discoveries in Africa. Yet, during his reign, the Portuguese ventured to cross the line; and were surprized to find those regions populous and fertile, which they had imagined to be scorched with intolerable heat. John II., who

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succeeded his father Alphonzo, fully aware of the importance of these new acquisitions, entered into the schemes of his grand-uncle Henry, with all that prince's zeal, and with very superior advantages. Under his patronage, a powerful fleet was sent out, which discovered the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, and advanced 1,500 miles beyond the equinoctial line; where the adventurers beheld with astonishment a new heaven, filled with stars which they had never before seen.

Anxious to secure the possession of those countries, which his subjects had discovered, John planted colonies, and erected forts on the coast of Guinea; entered into commercial connections with its more powerful sovereigns; rendered others the vassals of his crown; and, by a regular and well digested system of policy, established, upon a solid foundation, the power and commerce of the Portuguese in Africa.

Meanwhile, John, in order to obtain the information and assistance necessary for promoting his schemes of discovery, sent ambassadors to the court of Abyssinia. A fleet was also dispatched under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, whom he directed to reach, if possible, the southern extremity of the African continent; and explore that passage, which it was now his highest ambition to ascertain. The experience and fortitude of Diaz eminently qualified him for an undertaking of such difficulty and importance. Undaunted by the tempests, which he encountered in those unknown seas; unmoved by the frequent mutinies of his crew, or by the more dreadful prospect of famine, which from the loss of his store-ship he had reason to fear, he resolutely proceeded on his voyage, till, after discovering more than 1,000 miles of new country, he at length descried the lofty promontory, by which Africa is terminated on the south. But he could do no more than descrie it. The increasing violence of the storms, the shattered state of his ships, and the turbulence of his crew, compelled him to return; and he called the promontory, in search of which he had encountered so much hardship and danger, *Cabo Tormentoso*, or the *Stormy Cape*. But his sovereign, confident that he had now found the long-wished-for passage to India,

gave it a name of better omen, which it has ever since retained, the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The king next equipped a powerful squadron, on the success of which the result of his favourite project was destined to depend. The conduct of this eventful voyage was committed to Vasquez de Gama, a man of noble birth, possessed of talents and intrepidity equal to such an arduous enterprize. Not yet acquainted with the proper seasons for navigating the Atlantic ocean, he set sail in July, and had to struggle for four months with contrary winds before he reached the cape. A calm at length succeeded, which enabled him to accomplish the important object of his voyage. He passed the southern extremity of Africa; explored its eastern shores as far as Melinda, in Zanguebar; and, sailing thence towards India, arrived at Calicut on the 22d of May, 1498. Unprovided with a military force sufficient to attempt a settlement on that coast, or with the commodities necessary for trading with the Indians, he hastened to Europe, and landed at Lisbon on the 14th of September, 1499, after an absence of two years, two months, and five days. To this voyage, the longest, the most difficult, and, next to that of Columbus, which had been accomplished about seven years before, the most important that had ever been undertaken, we are indebted for the discovery of the southern and eastern boundaries of Africa; and for the origin of the maritime trade with India, from which Europe in general, and our own country in particular, has since derived such extensive advantage.

From the first voyages of the Portuguese till near the close of the 18th century, our knowledge of this continent scarcely extended beyond its coasts. Except a few lines traced on its margin, the map of Africa was a wide extended blank, on which the geographer, according to his own conjecture, or on the doubtful authority of the Xeriff Edrisi and Leo Africanus, delineated the fancied course of unexplored rivers, or marked the positions of towns and nations as little ascertained. For the scanty knowledge which was obtained of the interior, we are chiefly indebted to a few spirited individuals, who,

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with a generous ardour in the cause of science, had penetrated, in different directions, these inhospitable regions, undeterred by the variety of danger which they had constantly to encounter in their progress. Sparrman and Paterson had travelled in Caffraria, which was afterwards more fully explored by Vaillant, who has described the situation, political state, customs and manners of various nations, till then unknown to Europeans even by name. Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, had long been generally known; and our acquaintance with Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, was considerably enlarged by the communications of Norden and Bruce.

Such was the state of our knowledge of this continent until the abolition of the slave trade, and the formation of the *African Institution*, which will be more particularly noticed in another part of this work.

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## EGYPT.

BY A BRITISH OFFICER.

THESE observations, which form the substance of several letters addressed by an officer of rank to his lady, are not less admirable for accuracy of description, than for the wit and humour in which they are conveyed. Our author accompanied the expedition to this celebrated country under Sir Ralph Abercromby, but his journal is not filled with military occurrences. His first communication is dated Rosetta, July 20, 1801, the description of which he begins thus:

‘I must first tell you, that after having been an inhabitant of the desert near Alexandria, (where not an atom of verdure was to be seen), from the day of our landing until after the action of the 21st, my ideas of Egypt, and the conjectures I formed, were not *particularly* favourable; nor likely to become more so by my removal on board ship, from whence the eye ranged over a vast space of country, yet met nothing but a continuation of that dreary, glaring, white sand, which fatigued and oppressed the eye, and bespoke only intense heat, and its concomitant *agremens*.

‘With this impression on my mind, I left the ship in which I had embarked after the 21st, for Rosetta; that same even-

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ing we reached the *bogaze* (bar at the entrance of the Nile), but did not venture to cross it, two boats being lost in the attempt while we were in debate; we therefore anchored our little boat until the morning; when, with a fair and light breeze, we entered the Nile, and, in doing so, to my way of thinking, entered into (as the union has taken place, and I am no longer an *Irishman*, may say) TERRESTRIAL paradise.

‘ I was faint, debilitated, and miserable, with a nasty fever hanging on me, which followed my wound, and oppressed my spirits dreadfully; but the sudden transition from barren hot sand, and every thing that proclaimed a desolate and melancholy country, into the cheerful verdant soil which, either side of the Nile, presented to my feverish, but now all-devouring eye, gave such a filip to exhausted and desponding nature, that, as if roused from lethargy, inspirited and revived by the unexpected novelty of the scene, I involuntarily rose up in the boat, and felt a degree of strength for a long time quite unknown to me. Every minute added to the beauty of the scene, and to my strength; the whole river, alive with wild-fowl, and our boats; continued and picturesque groups of men and women sporting on its banks; while the buffaloes alongside refreshed themselves by bathing and rolling in the Nile, nothing but their heads appearing, which they ever and anon dipped to get rid of the busy fly; never did any creature seem to enjoy itself so much.

‘ Here, an ancient-looking mansion, well built of brick, whose owner, in all the pompous grandeur and absurdity of the East, sat in the shade, encircled by his vassals, smoking, and drinking coffee, meditating upon—*nothing*; surrounded by highly cultivated grounds and lovely gardens, watered by the incessant labour of immense bullocks.

‘ There, a village, which, though of mud huts, yet picturesque in the extreme; these huts rising in tiers, one above the other, to the summit of the hill upon which it stood, and, as the roofs were flat, had a very singular appearance.

‘ On one side, a very extensive wood of date trees, in which we discovered, at the winding of the river, fort Julien, built in a commanding situation, about two miles from the mouth

of the Nile. This afforded not only a fine, but very interesting object; it had surrendered but the day before.

‘ At the other side, a village crowded with children, running naked about, and splashing in the water, delighting their anxious parents, who assembled upon the banks to watch them.

‘ Immense tracts of ground, verdant with most luxurious clover; whole fields of cucumbers, sallads, beans, pumpkins, &c. &c.; pasture land covered with cattle; poultry of all kinds, (except turkeys, of which, odd to say, there are none in this country,) other fowls in myriads; pigeons swarming about the villages which present themselves, every 2 or 300 yards, upon the Delta side, proving its population and plenty: some of these villages with tolerably good houses, others entirely of huts and mud-holes, but all affording a novelty and variety of scene, and creature, that have made so strong an impression upon my mind, I never can forget my first trip up the Nile; which must at all times gladden and rejoice the poor unfortunate fellow who, like myself, shall enter it, either from a long *sejour* on board ship, or from the barren plains of Alexandria. I confess the effect it produced upon me, was that of doing for me more than all the *medicins* or *medicines* in the country; I felt myself, for the moment, a renovated man.

‘ Though the sun was inclined to deal its heat most powerfully upon us, yet it was tempered by the charming fresh breeze, which one can almost always *command* upon this part of the Nile, and which wafted me safe to Rosetta, without being conscious of the langour and oppression of which I found every one in the town complain.

‘ I ought not to forget the delight we felt in being able, by leaning over the boat, to take up a drink of excellent good water, which was a *very scarce commodity* in our fleet; we found the water fresh within ten yards of the mouth of the Nile.

‘ The appearance of Rosetta through the trees, as you pass round the island, (the quarantine), is really not only beautiful, but grand; the houses *seem* elegant, regularly built,

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very large, and have an appearance of grandeur, from their ancient style of architecture; all which wear off, though, upon a closer view. These, with the numerous lofty and majestic *minarets* (steeple) of their mosques, and the delightful gardens, and groups of date trees, with which the environs are crowded, form a *coup d'œil* you can better fancy than I describe.

Such is the exterior appearance of Rosetta, one of the principal cities of Egypt, built upon the western bank of the Nile, about five miles from the entrance, retired, so as to have a good broad quay, upon which are peculiarly fine store-houses, airy and extensive. The main streets of the town are parallel with this part of the Nile, north and south; so that one always finds a cool room in the houses (which are built double), and can avoid both morning and evening sun.

The number of inhabitants in this town is computed (at the moment I write) to be 16,000; of whom about 250 are Christians, (Greeks, Syrians, Levantines, &c.) 60 Jews, and about 100 Turks, natives of Constantinople, or other parts of Turkey, but now residents.

The trade between Europe and the interior of this country is all carried on by a few individuals of this town, agents for the merchants of Alexandria and Cairo, to whom every thing is consigned, and through whose hands every thing passes.

The principal house is that of a Monsieur Varsy, *fls*; his mother is sister-in-law to the celebrated Wortley Montague; she is Irish, and a most excellent creature; her name was Dormer, her father a merchant at Leghorn: though she has been 22 years in this country, this good lady still retains much of her English; her daughters are married to the French generals Bona, Carera, and Delzon, and the chef-de-brigade Lentin, the two latter in this country and at Cairo.

From the son, an excellent young man, I learnt a vast deal of the manners, &c. &c. &c. of this country; and, as well as finding infinite satisfaction and pleasure in the society of both mother and son, at whose house I lived, I really profited very much by their information, and, during a very alarming



and tedious illness, found that their kindness and attention made the difference literally of life or death to me. I happened to have it in my power to be civil to them while the army was here; they repaid me doubly when I returned an invalid. So much for my host and hostess, of whom I cannot help saying what I *feel*. The house, with one or two others, carried on all the business for both French and English merchants, or rather French ones; for since the plunder of the caravan from Suez to Cairo, in 1779, the property of English merchants, not one remained in this country, or even any Englishmen, except Mr. Baldwin, our consul, and he left it a short time previous to the arrival of the French army.

‘ After this digression I must back again to Rosetta, the interior of which, I confess, ill accorded with the idea I had formed of it while in the boat, or from what I had been taught to expect by Monsieur Savery. The poverty and wretched appearance of a ragged multitude that swarmed round me upon landing, and the filthy condition of the streets, gave no favourable impression.

‘ The Christian inhabitants, the Jews, some few European Turks and Greeks, speak a *lingua franca*, which is, at least, a very accommodating language, if not a very pure one. These poor Christians, from the constant terror in which they live, and the system of tyranny and oppression exercised upon them by the *truc believers*, (Musselmen,) have dwindled into a race of the most despicable slaves, abject worthless liars, hypocritical knaves and cheats, that exist upon the face of the earth: Jews are said to be so; these Christians *I know to be so*: their style of dress is like that of the native, distinguished principally by the difference of turban; their manners and customs of smoking, drinking coffee, lounging crossed legs upon sophas, (called *divans*,) &c. &c. &c. are those of the Arabs, so that, except in religion, they differ not from the natives.

‘ The streets of this town -----

‘ -----But the day beginning to dawn, (as Shoherazade says, in the Arabian Night’s Entertainments,) I will defer my

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description of the town until the morrow night. You see I mean to vote this an Arabian Night's (or *Knights*'s) Entertainment, and therefore assume unto myself the title of

‘CARLOS BEY.

‘The candles being lighted, Carlos Bey thus proceeded:—The principal streets of this town, which run parallel to each other and are very long, as well as the communicating ones, are all extremely narrow, and appear still more so, from a sort of bank, or seat, built out from the walls, (upon which the inhabitants sit, smoke, and sleep;) and from the very great height of the houses, the upper stories of which seem to threaten a junction with their opposite neighbours, and darken the streets much. One benefit arising from this height is, that, except about mid-day, you are sure of shade on one side or the other.

‘The streets are not paved; nor are they lighted up at night. While the French were here though, they made the inhabitants hang lamps outside of their doors so that they might venture to walk out at night, otherwise they would have been assassinated.

‘Except in a few Christians’ houses, and those inhabited by the French, you see no panes of glass; the substitute is a very close wood-work, which effectually bides the person within, which is, I believe, one of their reasons for using it, but it is so much *too* close, that it makes the room very warm, except just at the moment when the sun happens to shine upon the particular window, then its effects are kept out, and the air admitted. The closest grating in Spain or Portugal is open work to this, which, from the scarcity of wood and workmen in Egypt, is a very extravagant, and, I confess, *selon mon gout*, an *ugly ornament*.

‘The inside of their houses *may be made comfortable*; but, from the state in which they live in them, are generally wretched, and dismally uncomfortable: even in the best houses, where, though you find spacious rooms, flagged with marble of various colours, some of them with fountains of water playing in the centre, to keep them wet and cool during

the hot weather, glistening with oriental splendour, and all the luxuries that indolence could wish, divans, carpets, cushions to loll upon, &c. &c. &c. yet no one thing in the house bespeaking *comfort*.

‘ I always conform to the customs of the people amongst whom I live, as much as any man can do, and am the last person in the world to condemn manners, &c. &c. &c. *because they differ from ours in England*; but confess that it would be necessary I should live a *little longer* amongst my friends and worthy allies, the Turks and Arabs, before I could adopt almost any one of their habits: every thing seems to be done diametrically opposite to the way we do it; they tear their meat to pieces with their fingers, and half a dozen dirty fellows’ hands (although they may have undergone their ablutions) are crowded into the dish at the same moment, and then thrust half way down their throats, cramming themselves as I have seen a poulterer do a turkey. They dine upon the floor, sitting like tailors, round their dishes, and, except to stuff them full, scarcely open their mouths: their meal is consequently of short duration; after which, from the immense quantity they eat, and *oceans* of water, which they drink, they fall asleep.

‘ In general, their living is very poor; scarcely any meat; boiled rice, great quantities of cucumbers, onions, sallad, water-melons, or the country cheese (hard sour milk); any of these separately composes a poor Arab’s feast.

‘ The Christians live better, though in the same style. I was introduced by my hostess to all the Christian families, and was received with a fawning cringe, and despicable, abject, dissimulative smile, that seemed to say, “ I *fear* you; and am so accustomed to dread and abhor (*though appear to love and respect*) those in power, that I receive you, sir, as I would one of them; wishing you at the d—l, while I bend to kiss your feet.” Human nature revolts at their melancholy state of subjection, and cannot help pitying, while she must depise them!

‘ They always wear a turban of dark-brown, the badge of *slavery*, (for it approaches very near that,) and their clothes

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must be of dark colours, nothing brilliant or rich; they must *seem poor*, or are certain of persecution; nor dare they wear shawls or *yellow* slippers in the streets: in their houses, when in turn *they* act grandees, they put these, and rich clothes on.

‘ Several of the women, principally Syrians, are really beautiful. I remarked, that, almost without an exception, they had handsome hands and arms. At one house, the principal Syrian merchant’s, I thought I never saw any thing so lovely, as, indeed, the woman altogether, but the shape and *tourneure* of her hand and arm I had a full opportunity of admiring in different points of view; for, out of respect, and according to their custom, it was the lady of the house who presented me with sweet-meats, and the mother with a richly-embroidered handkerchief to wipe my fingers. With great persuasion and entreaty I prevailed upon them to sit down and let the men of the house hand the coffee.

‘ I fell desperately in love-----  
 -----(don’t be jealous)-----

‘ -----Here the day breaking, Carlos Bey abruptly ceased to continue his description until the next evening, when he thus proceeded:—

‘ I fell in love with -----  
 not only the arm, but, I thought, the most beautiful bracelets I had ever seen; and, upon expressing a wish to buy them, to my host, who had conducted me there, they were next morning sent to me for what they had cost a few weeks before at Cairo.

‘ The description of one room is of *every room*, surrounded by cushions raised about eight inches from the floor upon a frame, and large pillows against which to lean, ranged along the wall. The magnificence of the room consists in the beauty of the silk with which these pillows are covered, and the fineness of the carpets which are spread over the cushions. No other ornaments, except handsome swords, pistols, daggers, &c. &c. &c. The ladies sleep (*as I am told*) upon the ground, spreading their carpet, with or without a matrass, and as often in their clothes as without them—men always in their full

dress. In such a country as this, you'll say, how necessary a part of the ceremony *bathing* must be.

' At my second visit to the Syrian family, the women remained seated, and the men handed me the things, observing, "that it was right, men, and not women, should be at that trouble;" and thanked me for giving them the hint. How long their civility will last, and the poor women be thus indulged, I cannot pretend to say: I fear not long; for as it is but over the women they can exercise authority, and fancy themselves mighty, they will not like to give up their power; it will be a short-lived freedom, I am afraid. Yet, with all this, the Christian woman, though looked upon by her husband as a servile animal, enjoys a degree of freedom not known to the poor Arab woman. The one is suffered to live upon the same floor with her husband, and remains uncovered to her Christian visitors: she, in her turn too, visits. The other inhabit the top of the house, seldom or ever descends to the rooms below her own, nor dare she sit down at meals with her husband, but attends like a servant, and does all the dirty and drudging work.

' Her rooms are called the *haram*, into which no male stranger ever puts his foot. As these rooms, or, more properly speaking, *this room*, for one apartment suffices for a lady of this clime to eat, drink, and sleep in; as this is her constant prison, it is always fitted up with great magnificence: coloured glass windows round the top of the room; ceiling and walls gilt and painted in very bright and rich colours; the floor inlaid with different-coloured marbles; and the lattice-work of the windows particularly well carved; the divans, carpet, cushions, &c. &c. the most elegant possible: in the midst of which finery this unfortunate creature exists, like a bird in a cage.

' No expence is spared in their apparel: the finest shawls, muslins, silks, pelisses, &c. &c. compose the dress, which, according to the wealth of the husband, is covered with pearls, and various stones, diamonds, emeralds, &c. &c. &c.

' In the *haram*, as indeed in almost all their rooms, there is a sort of *orchestra*, the lattice-work of which is fine, and

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very close, puts me in mind of the place in the synagogues in which the unmarried women sit not to be seen. I have never been able to find out the meaning or use of this orchestra; some say it is for ornament; others, a place for the women to retire to and loll upon sofas without the fear of being disturbed by visitors: and, again, I have been told, it was for the female singers to sit in, where they might uncover their faces without being seen, which seems likely enough, as there are sometimes steps leading up to it: I am almost led to think it is by way of ornament, and to fill up a certain space, for it is uniformly on the top of an armoire, which armoire, with little pigeon-holes such as one sees in apothecaries' shops, on each side of it, invariably, in every house, fills up one complete side of a room. One or two of the native women, who, *by great favour*, remained unveiled during our visit, were rather pretty, good eyes and teeth, and well made, but stupid-looking creatures, without any manner, and seeming not to know what to do with their hands. Four women of the country, married to French officers, were left in this town, one only in the least pretty: she was really beautiful; the finest figure and most illumined countenance I almost ever saw; (like what I remember Madame de Fontenay, now Madame Talien). This woman was of Danietta. These poor creatures all had children, were forsaken by their husbands, and, upon our first taking possession of Rosetta, turned into the streets, the people dreading to be murdered by the Turks for suffering the wives of Frenchmen under their roofs: however we soon re-instated them.

'Volney's description of the fleeting spectre-like figure that you meet in every woman in the street, is well expressed, and will give you a better idea of the appearance of the figure than I can: add to which figure the variety of objects so perfectly novel to an European eye, and then judge of one's astonishment at first entering a town in Egypt.

'Entire long streets, if paltry narrow lanes deserve to be so called, filled with little miserable shops, in which you see a dismal meagre-looking figure, if not blind of *at least one eye*, certainly with *both sore* and inflamed: rolled up in a blue

shroud, or rather loose shirt, like our carter's frock, stretched at his length, sleeping, or else sitting cross-legged in the middle of his tenement, eating bread and garlic pounded in a mortar, with rancid oil; or garlic and horse-beans fried in this same sort of oil; or cucumbers and sallad, which they stuff in handfuls down their throats; or water-melons, which they ravenously devour as if afraid the passer-by was going to snatch them away; or a dried fish, with mountains of rice, which they cram down with their fingers; and, when one imagines they are full as to be unable to hold another grain, a juglet of water is applied to the mouth, nor taken from it until empty, although at least a quart shall have been its contents. I never saw people swallow so much at a draught: it is true they drink seldom, which is a fortunate thing, or God help the Nile!

'The shopman is at no trouble in handing you the thing you want, for, without moving from his seat, his hand reaches all corners of these shabby little holes, rather than shops, which are square places inclosed, about three feet from the ground, upon a broad wall or bank, which, projecting from the house, makes the passage through the shop-streets, already too narrow, so impracticable, that an European *nose* cannot venture to force its way through the crowd, assailed on one side by strong-smelling cheese and rancid oil, on the other, by garlic, and the filth of the people themselves.

'The water-carriers, of which description of people there are near 400 in this town, attract your notice, being different from those of any European country, where the water is carried in barrels, buckets, or jars; but here, the figure appears completely dressed in leather, bending under the weight of an immense *goat-skin* filled with water, and a small leather bucket hanging to his side, with which he fills this skin from the Nile, and sells the water through the town for one or two medines or *paras*, (of which coin there are 160 in a *dollar*,) according to the distance he carries it; and he is employed, too, in filling the cisterns during the overflow of the Nile. I am afraid to say, the numbers of this description of people, at that period, employed at Cairo, many of whom come down from Upper Egypt to assist. It is generally supposed that these people

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*never* get the plague; that they are less liable to infection is certain, because they are constantly dripping wet; but at night, when their daily labour is at an end, they dry themselves, and catch it as others do. The proof-positive, though, is, that two of them have died, within these last 10 days, in the plague-hospital of this place.

‘ In passing the coffee-houses, of which there are several in every street, your attention is arrested by a person, who, seated in a conspicuous part of the room, recites, for the amusement of the company; he tells them stories in the style of the Arabian Night’s Entertainment, all of which they firmly believe, for they have, *in idea*, to this day, their good and evil genii, in whom they place great faith, and by whom, they say, they are impelled by a variety of actions. I have frequently stopped to here this *narrator*, who never seemed, at least by any apparent symptom, or alteration in the muscles of his auditors, to *divert* them, though he attracted their attention, perhaps the subjects may have been of a serious nature.

‘ Every here and there you find a man seated in a little shop, whose implements bespeak him a *scribe*: there are people who write for the public, make out their petitions, copy books, write their letters, &c. &c. &c. and are a very useful class in a society, where not one man in 10,000 can write or read; yet are these poor devils ill paid, and almost always starve when they grow old, unless they have a family to support them, as they get only a *para per sheet*; so that 15 paras a-day is, upon an average, what one of these men can earn.

‘ Your *ears* are constantly assailed by the clinking of the bason and jar of the *shirbett*-seller, who parades the streets to satisfy the drought of the passengers; honey and water, liquorice and water; in short, *shirbett* of all kinds (water sweetened) is his beverage.

‘ Your *eyes* are next caught by the barber’s shop, in which you see half-a-dozen bald heads enveloped in suds and lather, which, the barber, (with his customer’s head, and a lump of soap in hand,) spreads over face, head, and neck, and, never minding eyes, nose, or mouth, scrubs away until one would



imagine he had stifled the miserable but patient sufferer, whose neck is bent forward to hinder the water, poured from a large urn upon the top of his head, from running down his back; the expert shaver then, most dexterously certainly, performs his operation in the reverse way to which we do, pushing the razor froia, instead of drawing it to him, and concludes the ceremony by opening the spout of the water-urn, washing off all the soap, plucking the hairs from the ears and nose, and finally cutting and pairing the nails; *and all this for three paras!*

‘Which of your senses is next brought into action I know not, when you meet the ambulating ghost-like figure, that you *are told* is a woman, selling the handkerchief sort of thing worked at the ends, which is made use of, as well to throw over the neck and wipe hands, after eating sweetmeats, as to tie the trowsers of the ladies round their waists, answering the purpose of a running string.

‘The eyes of these phantoms, the only part of the face, or creature, which you see, are always black, sometimes beautiful, and wondrously speaking and expressive, but as often defective; indeed I am well assured and convinced, that at least two-thirds of the people in this town have defects in their eyes, proceeding from various causes, principally, I believe, neglect; when young, rolling about in the sand, getting the eyes full of it, and never being washed out; the particles, by friction, eat into the ball of it; the flies, too, settle upon the corners of the children’s eyes, and absolutely devour them; nor can these people be persuaded to wash their eyes in any stage of the ophthalmia—from some surperstitious motive, I am told; so that nine times in ten the eye affected is eaten out, by, what they might have washed away, becoming a crude substance. Any liquid application they hold to be pernicious. I should doubt whether a black ointment, with which, by way of *ornament*, they paint the eye-lids and eye-lashes tends much to benefit the eyes!!! They never pay or receive a visit without daubing themselves in this way, which is frightful.-----Here the appearance of day ended the third night’s narration----the next evening he continued thus:

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‘ To return to my handkerchief-seller :—She is retailer of the work done by the women in the harems for their amusement : some of these muslins are very neatly worked. She also sells purses that are very pretty, and curiously embroidered.

‘ The Egyptian women are extremely abandoned ; and, whenever an opportunity offers, give full swing to their vicious inclinations. A vast number of them lived with the French soldiers, and almost invariably destroyed by medicine, before birth, the creatures that would otherwise have seen the light, *but, would have been the children of Christians!* such is the influence of false religion upon their minds ! Almost every officer had a woman, to whom *he voted* himself married for the moment, and, when tired of her, sent her about her business. I have seen many of these who have returned to their husbands, others have gone back to their parents, and several of them are since married to Arabs, who, poor fellows ! with their eyes open to the misconduct of the women, have taken them, saying, “ *it was the will of the Prophet.* ” “ *Their genii told them it was to be so,* ” and “ *it was written on their foreheads.* ” Happy consequence of being a *true believer!*

‘ When the Cairo division of the French army was about to embark for France, the scene that passed upon the quay at Rosetta was in truth a very singular one—the two contending Christian powers were employed in the traffic of women, who were no more liable, in any justice, to be sold by the one, than bought by the other ; yet there was a regular sale, on the part of the French, to our army, of the women of the country who had lived with them. Several of our soldiers bought very pretty ones for a dollar ! and it was ridiculous enough to see them parading through the streets with their dingy *properties* under their arms.

‘ But to return to my description of the town ; the roofs of all their houses are flat, so that you might go from one end of the street to the other upon a fine level walk, were it not that some of the terraces are separated by walls of five and six feet high. In summer, the people very frequently sleep out upon these terraces, and, in the winter months, spread upon them all their cloaks, furs, carpets, &c. &c. to give them air.

‘ Now then, to get out of the sand and heat of this city, of which none of the streets are paved, to enjoy the refreshing breeze, which seldom ceases gently to blow through the gardens, or rather what (in England) we call wildernesses, that extend to the northward and westward of the town; there no walls impede the progress of the eye, which wanders (while the feet cannot *conveniently*, as there are *no walks*,) through an extent of garden, and feeds with rapturous delight upon luxuriant verdure with which it is surrounded.

‘ Nothing can be more grateful than an afternoon’s stroll into these wildernesses, where you find fruit-trees of various descriptions—orange, citron, lemon, fig, banana, olive, &c. &c. &c. and the noble date tree o’er-topping every other and breaking the uniformity. All these appear to be thrown indiscriminately together, and growing in the wildest luxuriance, afford a pleasant shade and cool retreat for the inactive being that I mean to present you in the shape of a Turk.

‘ Figure to yourself this creature, too lazy to enjoy the *still fresher* air, by walking upon the banks of the Nile; riding his *booricos* (ass) to one of these gardens, attended by boys, who carry his pipe, coffee, cushion and carpet—there stretched out under a tree, *apparently* wrapped in weighty abstraction, *seeming* to meditate some great *coup*, (while he puffs the smoke through his nostrils).

‘ Appearing to seek this retreat to feed upon his fancy, immersed in the *semblance* of deep thought,

he thinks of nought—but——

*coffee—pipe—pipe and coffee*. The maxim of this brute seems to be, let the morrow take care of itself—sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof: taken in a bad sense. Ignorant, superstitious, intolerant, and supercilious, is the character of this self-sufficient being, *our noble ally*, whose haughty pride, vanity, and consummating arrogance, added to the immoveable detestation with which he looks upon us, and the inveterate horror in which he holds us as Christian dogs and infidels, places him in such a point of view, in such a light to the eye of a civilized being, that one is almost tempted to wish a partition of the Turkish empire between *Christian* powers, to teach

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‘It seems Carlos Bey was tired, and broke off before the arrival of day.’

‘THE whole country from Rosetta to Cairo is one continued flat, intersected with dykes and canals for the admission of water at the overflow of the Nile; the beds of *some* of these dykes are even higher than the level of the country: at a particular time they are cut, the land is thus covered with water, and manured by the fat and slimy mud it brings with it, that produces the uncommon abundance of grain which Egypt boasts.

‘As a great portion of mud remains in the dykes, which would be filled up if they did not clear them, it is thrown out on each side, making immense banks, or laid in heaps, (dreadful barriers to the progress of troops endeavouring to conquer this country), which, in course of time, form the artificial hills upon which all their villages are built, and thus secured from the water, while the surrounding country is inundated.

‘By describing one village you describe all; invariably built upon one of these hillocks; an assemblage of flat-roofed square mud-houses; few houses with upper stories or walls of brick; oval *kennels* of mud, without any window, and only a small hole, through which they creep, and were it not that a hollow is dug about two feet in the sand they would scarcely be able to stand upright in them. The Arab hut, like the “cobler’s stall, serves for kitchen, parlour and hall;” in truth answers *every purpose*, for they are *beastly dirty*.

‘As the army marched through or by the villages, the people crowded about us, probably from curiosity, but with great demonstrations of joy; they received us with every expression of delight, offered up prayers for our success, and the women congratulated us by a *quick motion of the tongue* (*not uncommon to women*), which produced a sound the most ridiculous and comical, called in the Arabic *ululah*. This uncommon mode of reception, it seems, meant to assure us how they rejoiced at our arrival; but they not only gave us this, but most

excellent milk, bread, and jars of water, which they distributed to all as we passed. This scene was repeated at every village, but with particular emphasis at Demanhour, where the people in crowds pressed out to meet us a mile from the town, giving us all kinds of refreshment, and in every way testifying their delight.

‘*Nous sommes devoree d’insectes*, (we are devoured by insects), says a Frenchman in an intercepted correspondence—I agree with him, and thought so while in Roseita, where flies, fleas, bugs, mosquitoes, coackroaches, &c. &c. live upon you; but I felt the truth of this observation even more sensibly upon the march to the attack of Rhamaniè—under a vertical sun, not a breath of air, and really myriads of flies and insects of all descriptions devouring you; in short, if you opened your mouth, you were almost choked by a swarm that rushed down your throat “*aux pas de charge!!!*” (at full gallop). *Voilà ce que c’est que de voyageur!* (you see what it is to travel) *a tough story is worth telling*, else wherefore breathe I in this *unchristian* land!!!

‘The heat during the day is oppressive in the greatest degree, and the higher up the country you go the more severely you feel it, as you lose the fresh air in leaving the sea shore. At Rosetta there is almost daily a sea-breeze, which sets in about seven o’clock in the morning, (as at ten in the West Indies,) and is a great support against the oppressive heat of the day.

‘Fortunately for the inhabitants of this country, the wind which is called *ghum sine* (south east) blows but seldom during the summer, or the effects would be dreadful; we have hitherto, thank God, experienced but one day of it, and *that* day, by good fortune, the army had halted.

‘Fortunately, as I before said, this wind blows seldom, and rarely more than 24 hours; if it did, ’twould be more dreadful than the *plague*, from which *agreeable* visitor, I am sorry to say, we have suffered severely; and yet its visits to us has been but short, and very friendly, in comparison to the long stay and havoc it made in the French army and amongst the natives. What precise number of men we have lost, I know

not; but less than 150 men, all the men, fell vic-

‘It has not the heat, which, produces a bad effect. While the precautions will put on to prevent even the contact of the body of the rather than be

‘At the time I lived, (the a small wind from the our vegetables, was left at the not to communicate fresh and ho-

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not; but learn, that, at the principal plague-hospital, about 150 men, all the cooks and nurses, and four medical gentlemen, fell victims to it.

‘ It has now completely subsided, being destroyed by the heat, which, as well as cold, in the extreme, has that good effect. Whilst it raged, I had an opportunity of witnessing the precautions by Christians. The Turks use *none*; they will put on the very turban in which the man died without even the common precaution of washing it: and prefer that the body of the deceased should remain for days in the house rather than bury it, thus spreading the infection.

‘ At the top of the stairs leading up into the house in which I lived, (there are no halls in this country,) was a door with a small window in it, through which every thing was passed from the outside, and eatables, such as meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, &c. were dropped into a barrel of water; bread was left at the door until it grew cold, as it is *then* supposed not to communicate infection, or at least not so easily as when fresh and hot.

‘ All *letters* were thrown upon the floor, picked up by tongs, passed through vinegar, and then fumigated. No cloth or woollen things suffered to be brought into the house, and no kind of communication allowed with the people of the town but through this window.

‘ We cannot be too grateful that it now ceases to rage, for there has scarcely *ever* been remembered so destructive a plague as that of this year. In Upper Egypt whole villages were completely swept away by it; in Cairo 40,000 natives, and I am told, 1,400 French; but even half of this number would be melancholy. Providentially it never got into *our* army, I mean the *Cairo division* of the British army; it raged but at Aboukir and Rosetta.

‘ The calculation made this year is, that 150,000 persons were attacked, and 80,000 sunk under it.

‘ The regulations made by the French to establish cleanliness, prevent communication with patients in the plague, and ultimately destroy its baneful effects, were *in theory* at least, admirably good. Whether they were acted upon, and put in

practice with full force or not, I can't assert; but in truth I believe they were very attentive to them.

'Who knows whether the very pelisse I now have on my shoulders may not have contagion in it; nothing more likely than its having had for an *along-side* companion in the tailor's shop the trowsers of some unfortunate wretch who died of the plague!!!—but I'll change my subject to a more grateful one, lest you should vote *me a plague*.

'There certainly never was a country better calculated to feed an army; all kinds of eatables in plenty, and cheap—buffalo beef, mutton, corn, rice, beans, vegetables of various kinds, all good, and particularly reasonable in price. Fish, fowls, geese, rabbits, pigeons, eggs, and fruit, equally so.

'Before we, *who always spoil the market*, came into the country, the largest sheep cost but one dollar, (4s. 8d.) now three dollars; geese, eight for a dollar, now five; fowls, 12 paras a-piece, now 25 paras; pigeons, 32 for a dollar, now 20; eggs, eight or ten for a para, now three. Every thing rose in this proportion—yet still how uncommonly cheap!!!

'The chickens you know, are produced in ovens, where eggs are kept constantly at a *certain* heat, for a given length of time: I forgot how many days. The consequence of hatching them in this way is, that though myriads of fowls are produced, yet the breed is so dwindled that in truth a good barn-door fowl in Old England is as substantial a dish as *three* in this country; no where is the breed so diminutive; eggs are small in proportion; the effect of the stinted growth of the hen, few of which will sit to hatch; when you buy one that will, you pay treble price for it.

'I must tell you an anecdote upon this subject:—An officer, who had a *confused notion* of the manner in which the eggs were hatched, in passing through a village upon the Delta, saw a number of naked men, who had crawled into the ovens, stretched upon their bellies upon the eggs. It so happened that, at the critical moment he passed, they were in the act of *turning* them, which they do at stated periods: he returned to camp, literally fully impressed with the idea that these men were every now and then relieved by others, and

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that it was *their* warmth which produced the chicken.—How ridiculous!!!

‘ Carlos Bey concluded this night’s detail by an account of the uncommon heavy dew that falls even before the sun has completely set; so damp is the evening, and an hour or two before day-break, that a person upon jumping up in a morning, although covered with a thick cloak all night, is as wet as if there had been a shower of rain. Except at Porto Rico I never felt so heavy a dew.’

‘ The divan being assembled, the next night was opened thus:

‘ To give you an idea of what the unfortunate Copts, and all other Christians, I may indeed say Jews, and all inhabitants, for none are spared, have to expect from the Turks as soon as we shall have left the country, and they find no one to restrain them; I must tell you, that the miscreants sent by the vizier as cavalry, to join our army, scarcely passed through a village upon the Delta without plundering, murdering, in short, committing all the most atrocious and horrible crimes that one could only think the greatest savages capable of: the poor Christians were the principal sufferers.

‘ In a little affair, too, between these inhuman barbarians and some French who were taken in Djermes, when we were upon the march to Cairo, after seizing upon the boats, they shot a young child at its mother’s breast, wounded her, and almost cut off the arm of another woman!!

‘ One or two of them galloped into our camp with the heads of some of the unfortunate French soldiers, who had surrendered themselves prisoners, and thrown down their arms.—What blessed allies we have!!!

‘ They levied contributions all through the country, and were in the act of doing so at Foua, when we put in our *veto* to such proceeding. This measure, you will suppose, must have won the hearts of the natives, and so it did; yet the aversion to *Christians* is so rooted, that notwithstanding all our kindness and attention to their welfare, I am well assured



that they never would be reconciled to a Christian power established here.

‘ With inhabitants like these how difficult to civilize a country! Hard indeed that task in Egypt, where so many obstacles present themselves. The insurmountable one would be the *fanaticism* of the natives, which would produce constant assassination; *possibly* the greater influx of *Christians*, the more civilized they would become, and murder might at last be thought a crime: *now*, it is, alas! the common mode of revenging a quarrel. The sheik of one village quarrels with the sheik of the next, murders him in the night, and in his turn is murdered by some relation of the other.—Happy, happy country this to live in!!! I confess that were it not for political reasons, and lest their wandering spirits might have crept into the East, I could almost lament that the French, for the benefit of mankind, had not remained; here with the sea open to them, they might have brought about, after some time, such a change, that the country would have put on a new appearance, or more properly I should say, *its old appearance*; it is certainly to be made one of the finest countries in the world. I had rather the French should have *the pleasure* of making it so, than it should be *our* lot, thousands would fall in the attempt, and I doubt if success would be quite ensured.

‘ There are dancing-girls here, as in the East Indies, who are hired for any given time; but they are not to be compared, either in appearance, skill, or grace, to those of the East.

‘ They display their shapes in a dance precisely like the Spanish fandango, except that it is even more indecent here, than as danced by the common women in Spain or Portugal. Instead of music, it is accompanied by sad inharmonious sounds from a sort of fife or hand drum; and two pieces of stick, with which they make a great noise, are meant to imitate, but are sad substitutes for the time-beating castanets.

‘ These girls have their head-quarters at a town called *Motubes*, (a Spanish sounding name by the way,) where they indulge their vicious inclination. It is impossible to be more

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depraved than they are, or, in general, more hideously ugly—fat, coarse, and decidedly inlegant; their manner of dancing disgustingly indecent; yet are they not only admitted into all societies, but looked upon almost as absolutely *necessary* at a marriage ceremony, where they are admired in proportion as they are indelicate!!!

‘The men have a dance which is precisely, music and altogether, the same as that which is danced by the blacks in the West Indies.

‘In Egypt there are three distinct holidays in each week—Friday the sabbath of the Arab, Saturday of the Jew, and Sunday that of the Christian.

‘On Friday *only*, there is an injunction upon every muselman to attend public prayers at the mosques, the other days it is sufficient to pray at home; however fanatics, of which there are very many, never miss a day.

‘Half an hour before prayer time the people are all summoned to the mosque by the iman, who mounts the minaret, and calls out lustily *to come and pray*. He covers his eyes with his hands lest he should see the women upon the tops of the houses, where they generally are twice in the day.

‘He calls the people to prayers *five* times in every twenty-four hours:—An hour before day break. At twelve o’clock in the day. At four o’clock in the afternoon. At sun-set, and two hours after sun-set.

‘The invitation to prayers is as follows:

BEFORE DAY-BREAK.

*God is the most great!*

*God is the most great!*

*God is the most great!*

*I confess there is none other God but God.*

*I confess there is none other God but God.*

*I confess there is none other God but God.*

*I allow that Mahomet is the envoy of God.*

*I allow that Mahomet is the envoy of God.*

*I allow that Mahomet is the envoy of God.*

*Assemble for prayers.*

*Assemble for prayers.*

*Assemble for prayers.*

*Prayers are of greater consequence than sleep.*

*Prayers are of greater consequence than sleep.*

*Prayers are of greater consequence than sleep.*

*Assemble for prayers, for prosperity.*

*Assemble for prayers, for prosperity.*

*Assemble for prayers, for prosperity.*

*God is the most great; there is none other God but God.*

‘At twelve o’clock, the same, omitting *Prayers are of greater consequence than sleep.*

Four o’clock the same as at twelve, adding,

*Prayer and health to you (notre Seigneur\*) the friend of God.*

*Prayer and health to you (notre Seigneur) the friend of God.*

*Prayer and health to you, O Prophet, as well as his mercy, and his blessing upon you, your family, and your companions.*

‘Bells, being contrary to their religion, are not made use of; I confess I think their mode of calling the people to worship a most excellent one.

‘They always go through their ablutions before prayers, before meals, after sleeping, or if they touch any thing *impure.*

‘In their temples an iman preaches. The form of these buildings is not determined; some are round, some square, and all, I think, extremely picturesque: the inside supported by pillars, and the floors covered with mats; they are extremely ill-lighted by little paltry lamps. Between the hours of prayer the mosques are converted into academies; passages of the Koran are explained, and lectures given upon different sciences by the imans, and learned men, a *scarce commodity here*; some of whom give these lectures for their own amusement, as well as public good; others are paid a certain sum out of a fund, which is often a very rich one, and supported by lega-

\* I do not know how to translate *notre Seigneur* in this instance.’

gies, as every body bequeaths something to the particular mosque he frequented.

‘ Many of the Arabs make use of a string of beads in the same way the Catholics do, except that, instead of offering up a prayer, the Arab only calls upon Alla or Mahomet, and draws up a bead as often as he repeats either of these words, which he does many hundred times. He will ask and answer questions in the midst of his ejaculations, and as *the thread of his petition cannot be very well broken*, he prays on for perhaps half an hour in this way. These strings of beads are used as play-things too.

‘ Another very curious and more uncommon custom is this: a group of fanatics assemble, form a circle, and with a slow and low tone repeat the word *Alla*, each time raising the voice, and proceeding more rapidly, until at last, some one of them out of breath, quite exhausted, and frothing at the mouth like a mad dog, literally faints away. He is then looked upon as blessed, and envied by all the others !!

‘ Every man has a carpet for the express purpose of praying upon; he never makes any other use of it; and dares not sit upon it to smoke or eat. The manner in which they offer up their prayers is very frequent, indeed strikingly so:—they certainly appear, while thus employed, to give up their whole mind and soul to God, nor can they bear any stranger to watch them; I have more than once seen a man from my window, whom I suppose to have had his attention taken by passengers (for there were many) abruptly rise, in apparent agony for having suffered any thing to interfere with or interrupt his devotion, remove to another spot that was less frequented, and recommence his prayers. The thumbs of both hands are put upon the ears, as if to shut out every sound: a religious address is repeated; the man then kneels down, but instead of resting all his weight upon the knees, as we do, he sits back upon his feet, and every now and then bends his forehead to the ground. This ceremony lasts a few minutes, during the whole of which he faces to the east or west, according to the time of day; the former, if at sun-rise, the latter, if the sun shall have set, or be about to set; at which

particular time a great concourse of the natives flock to the Nile to wash and pray: this has a curious and very interesting appearance.

‘ Unfortunate persons who have lost their senses; ideots, and people subject to fits, are all looked upon as saints, and respected as such. By the way, a young man, neither idiot or subject to fits, however, but an uncommonly clever man, whom the Arabs revere as a saint, and who pretends to speak *only by inspiration*, called upon Sir Sydney Smith one day while we were at dinner; he was vastly good-looking, and his manner truly imposing; he appeared not to meditate any speech, but as if suddenly impelled, he spoke, and certainly uttered excellently good sense, and made very shrewd remarks: an immense crowd of people had followed him to the door, and waited for his going out, that they might touch and kiss the hem of his garment. The *true believers* confidently assert that he cannot be injured by the balls fired at him from the guns of infidels.—I hope, with all my heart, for his sake and theirs, *if they wish to be deceived*, that should he be hit, by any chance, with that little bit of lead in shape of a musket-ball, he may be more fortunate than the Irish priest, who professed to be invulnerable!! Certainly this young man has great influence upon a large body of the lower class of people, and might be made a very useful instrument.

‘ There is a *ramadan* (a fast) in this country which lasts 30 days, during which time the musselmans neither eat or drink until the sun has set; it is astonishing how strictly they observe it; so rigidly do they conform to this injunction, that even in cases where health required sustenance, they have been constantly known to refuse taking any.

‘ Some of the very bigotted, *not satisfied* with 30 days fast, *make a little fast* of their own, for perhaps 30 days longer, and observe it with the same precision!!!

‘ Their ideas of *pure* and *impure* things are singular, and the distinctions they make are curious: I will tell you some anecdotes that will justify me, I think, in saying so.

‘ The dog, as well as the pig, is an *impure* animal; they are not, however, destroyed on this account, unless they be

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*guilty* of defiling a true believer. If a dog sits upon the step at a door he is beaten away, and it is instantly well washed; if he goes into a mosque, (into which neither dog, pig, woman, or any other *impure animal*, is suffered), he seldom escapes with life, and it must be washed and purified immediately.

‘ Yet are the people charitable towards this animal, and even from religious motives give money to buy bread, which is distributed to the passing dog with one hand, while with the other he is kept at a distance with a stick as an impure beast, lest he should defile the donor by a touch: they prefer extending their charity to the wandering dog, who, they say, “cannot ask for it, or tell his wants,” rather than bestow it upon their suffering and petitioning fellow-creatures!!!

‘ These causes account for the uncommon number of dogs that fill the streets of Rosetta, and to the great annoyance of bad sleepers, (*I now speak feelingly,*) howl through the streets all night: the fact is, they have no masters, consequently no houses.

‘ The cat is a pure animal, for they tell you that one having kittened upon Mahomet’s pelisse, while he was asleep, was about to be destroyed by some of his followers, but they were prevented by the apprehension of disturbing their prophet; the moment he awoke, the cat’s fate was decided, by his stamping it a *pure* beast, and cutting off the part of the pelisse upon which it lay rather than suffer it to be disturbed.

‘ Some fanatics, if on the point of going to a mosque, they should happen to touch a Christian, will return home and perform their ablutions; yet this very *pure* and *cleanly* man’s shirt may not have been changed perhaps for a month, and be covered with oil and filth!!!

‘ Their religion sends them to the bath, which is certainly a most curious exhibition, and where they undergo the most extraordinary process imaginable.

‘ In a large circular room -----

‘ Here the day breaking, an account of it was deferred until the following night, when Carlos Bey entered the public bath,



‘THE bath consists of a large circular room, supported by lofty pillars, the floor of stone, and handsome, being inlaid with marble; round the wall, a seat, formed by immense slabs of marble, about eight feet wide, raised from the ground near three feet, and with steps up to it; this seat covered in part with carpets and mats. In the centre of the hall is a large fountain of water, always kept warm, and round which perfumes are constantly burning; these are most requisite and necessary for the *nasal* faculties, as the smell is beyond every thing bad.

‘You must picture to yourself the attendants in this hall, almost black, and quite naked, except that a handkerchief is tied round their waists, with long beards, shaved heads, and really looking more like savages watching for their prey, than civilized beings.

‘The marble seat which I described to be placed round the wall, is covered with figures resembling dead persons in winding sheets; these are people who, seated on a slab of marble, to the amount of twenty in company, have undergone the operation of being washed, which is performed in a room at the end of a long passage, intersected with half a dozen doors, to prevent as much as possible the steam from coming out: this is effectually done, and the heat is really so intense, that water drops off the body from violent perspiration, occasioned by vapour, through which, the men employed to rub and scrub are scarcely to be distinguished. Soap, and a brush made of the bark of the palm-tree, are used in scrubbing, which is done from head to foot; all the joints are cracked, and they are left until *a force de suer*, no particle of soap remains on their bodies; they are then brought back to the hall, stretched out at full length upon one of the carpets, wrapped up in a great quantity of sheets or rather small squares of linen, which are changed twenty times at least, until they become perfectly dry, when they a second time undergo the operations of having their joints well cracked and their nails paired; they then sleep an hour or two, else, take their pipe and coffee, and afterwards their sleep.

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‘ Ten paras pay for the whole of this ceremony, a part of which I endured, literally to have it to say I did so; but was so delighted a being *after taking* my bath, that I was *generous*, and gave a *quarter-dollar!!!* No temptation could induce me again to undergo this ceremony. I really expected to have been suffocated: indeed many officers, anxious, at least to see the operation performed upon others, failed in the attempt to reach the room at the end of the long passage, the heat was so intense, and the *deadly smells* (for they are the dirtiest people in the world) were so oppressive and over-coming; these, increasing in proportion as you advanced.

‘ The bath is public, and open to both sexes, at different and stated periods: until three o’clock in the day the men have admission; after that the women have it to themselves.

‘ It is to be made, at all events, *more sufferable* by hiring it, which may be done for any number of hours, or indeed for the whole day; you then have your own attendants, linen, &c. &c. and no other person is admitted.

‘ To spend the day in one of these baths is deemed the greatest luxury; they take their women, dinners, and one of the story-tellers, and thus kill time.

‘ The two principal holy days in Egypt are the day upon which the ramadan is concluded, and they are again at liberty to feast; and the day upon which they sacrifice an animal to God. The rich offer up a buffalo or sheep; the poor a fowl.

‘ The descendants of Mahomet, known by the name of *sheriffes*, are distinguished by wearing a *green* turban, and are the *nobility* (*mob-ility* more properly) of Egypt; you may imagine what a numerous progeny their prophet must have, as it is only necessary that either father or mother shall be *sheriffe* to make the children and *their* children so. They not only pride themselves upon being descendants of the prophet, but enjoy some privileges in consequence---for instance, if a *sheriffe* commits a crime, he can only be tried and punished by persons of his own order; so that if one of them is taken up for rioting, the sheik of the town hands him over to the head *sheriffe*, who claims the privilege of punishing him. It is not a little ridiculous to see the *descendants of the Prophet*

employed as *water-carriers*, *camel-drivers*, in short, in the lowest and vilest occupations: yet so it is---and you constantly meet these *nobles* begging for paras, without a rag to cover them!!!

‘The principal sheriffe of Egypt resides at Cairo, and is a man highly respected by the whole of that sect.

‘Volney so well describes the buffalo and camel, and so justly dwells upon the utility of the latter to the people of this country, particularly to the Bedouin Arabs, and enters so fully into the details of the good qualities with which nature has endowed it, that to him I shall refer you for the character of that *patient* and indefatigable animal; but I must beg leave to introduce to your notice the dromedary as a peculiarly useful creature; for, in addition to all the good qualities of the other camel, he has the advantage of being remarkably swift.

‘The French did not suffer this qualification to remain unnoticed; they turned it to great account, and put on the back of the dromedary a soldier, thus forming an instrument of war, until then unknown in Egypt. I do not mean to say that the Arabs were unacquainted with this good quality of the animal, or that they did not turn it to use; but certainly to the French is due the credit of establishing the *dromedary corps*, which proved one of the most useful in their army; for by means of it a constant communication was kept up between the most distant posts, without fatigue to either man or beast, that could be compared to that which cavalry must have suffered if obliged to cross the desert, and undergo such privation of food and water as would have been unavoidable. You will rejoice when I tell you that to your friend general Doyle is due the credit of depriving the French of this useful arm; for almost the whole of the dromedary corps was with a convoy which he captured in the desert, between Alexandria and Cairo.

‘This brilliant *coup* was highly advantageous to our army and creditable to him---but I promised not to enter into military details, and shall therefore say no more on a subject upon which I could wish to dwell, but will endeavour to give you

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an idea of the appearance this corps made. Imagine a regiment, in which the men were almost all tall, their apparent height increased considerably by a peculiar kind of hat, dressed in rich and new uniforms, mounted upon these immense animals, which they guided with such facility by a cord from the nostril as really to be able to go through the *cavalry manoeuvres*; but, to complete the scene, you must imagine still more—you must see this body of *new-fashioned centaurs*, this *Brobdingnag cavalry*, through the medium of the *Mirage*, a phenomenon in optics, which is, I believe, peculiar to this part of the world; but as I have spared you the details of battles, you must spare me those of philosophy.

‘ Certain it is that the dromedary corps, through this medium, gave the idea of something supernatural, and as this country was the theatre of Alladin’s adventures, but a slight stretch of fancy was required to imagine it produced by means of his wonderful lamp. The splendid scenery in *Ficarro* could not more astonish the eye than the appearance of this extraordinary body.

‘ Now, to close my journal with this night’s entertainment, and the description of the mode of salutation in Egypt, which never changes—the same dull prolix speeches are invariably repeated at meeting and parting; repartee is unknown, nor would it avail to have a command of words, each term of salutation having its assigned answer; even lord Chesterfield would in vain have laboured to improve these brutes! When two Arabs meet, several minutes are employed in asking and answering about their health, and recommending each other to Alla as fast as their breath will permit. When equals meet, they take hold of each other’s hands, but do not shake them as we do, nor let go until they have poured forth all their compliments.

‘ If a superior in rank enters a room, the inferior rises and kisses his hand, that is to say, touches it, but kisses his own, the hand being almost always drawn away; if an inferior enters, he approaches and does the same by his superior. If a superior sends for an inferior person, the latter, after going through the above ceremony, and receiving his orders, puts

his hand to his head, signifying that he will pay attention to what has been said, for that *it has gone in there*; he then puts his hand to his mouth, meaning that it shall remain secret, *and not go out there*; he ultimately puts his hand upon his heart, and the top of his head, to impress the idea *that he feels what has been said, and with his life will answer for the execution of his order*: this is a ceremony which has in it something extremely imposing.

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THE  
TRAVELS  
OF  
JAMES BRUCE, ESQ.

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ABOUT the year 1760, young Bruce, then in possession of his paternal estate, was looked upon as one of the most promising young Scotsmen of his age; and the administration, desirous of patronizing his talents, appointed him to the office of British consul at Algiers. As he discovered much of the adventurous spirit, and the passionate curiosity of a traveller, fitted to explore barbarous regions, it was recommended to him, by the ministers to whom he owed his appointment, to investigate those remains of ancient Roman magnificence, of which Africa was believed to contain many specimens, either unknown, or but imperfectly known to the curious in Europe. Such an enterprize gratified the fondest wishes of Bruce's heart. His imagination was then warm with those delightful visions which the perusal of the classics naturally excites in every ingenuous mind. To discover those remains of Roman art and of Grecian colonization, which had hitherto eluded the researches of the moderns; to penetrate to the sources of the Nile, which Julius Cæsar had in vain attempted to detect; seemed to him objects of pursuit not unworthy of the most ardent literary enthusiasm, and the most generous ambition.

Many of the most eminent philosophers in Europe earnestly offered him their advice for the direction of his enterprize. From Italy and England he was supplied with the best instru-

ments for every purpose of the draughtsman and the astronomer. Some necessary assistants were engaged to follow him. He accordingly departed from Europe, and soon arrived in safety in Algiers. Some time was necessarily spent in the study of the language of the Moorish Arabians, and in fulfilling the functions of his official character, before he could proceed upon his researches. But within no long period of his arrival, he boldly committed himself to the dangerous faith of some tribes of wandering Arabs, and advanced in search of ancient ruins, into regions which no visitant from modern Europe had as yet successfully explored. Associating with his Arabian hosts and guides, and displaying a skilful use of their language and manners, which left him scarcely under the disadvantages of a stranger, he was thus enabled to discriminate the peculiarities of their respective characters with an accuracy of observation perhaps unequalled by any former traveller.

Being, perhaps, more a master of the pencil than of the art of literary composition, he executed many drawings of the various ruins now discovered by him; the singular excellence of which was afterwards doomed to excite the false and invidious cavil, that they could not be his own. While he shared the hospitality of the Arabs in these deserts, he had occasion to live with them on the flesh of lions; a species of animal food so very different from roast-beef, and so much less easy than hare or venison to be procured by the chase, that some untravelled Englishmen may, perhaps, be inclined to deny that it can ever have been used as food.

From Africa he passed, in prosecution of greater designs, to the Grecian isles, and the coast of Syria. An unfortunate shipwreck damaged his valuable collection of instruments for astronomical observation, but could not deter his resolute mind from its adventurous pursuits. In Syria he surveyed the ruins of Tadmer and Balbeck, and executed many valuable drawings of those noble, though mutilated, monuments of ancient art which they display. In the hospitable society of European friends, whom he found in the commercial cities, he passed the time necessary for him to await the arrival of various arti-

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cles from Europe, without which he could not adventure upon his grander enterprize. During this period he diligently studied medicine, in order to recommend him to the barbarous inhabitants of the regions which he purposed to explore.

From Syria he repaired to Egypt. Its great towns, its pyramids; the sites and remains of its ancient cities; the phenomena of the overflowings of its mighty river, the Nile; the formation of its lower territory, which advances to bound the Mediterranean sea; the comparison of its present local circumstances with its ancient history, joined to the character of its government and inhabitants, all excited Mr. Bruce's attention. His science, the manly dignity and firmness of his personal character, the advantages arising from the recommendations with which he travelled, and some lucky concurring accidents, introduced him to the friendship and protection of the famous Ali Bey, who was then all-powerful in Egypt, and by this means procured him facilities for observation and inquiry, which have rarely been possessed by Europeans in that land. He was accordingly enabled to visit, without personal danger, various remote and interesting scenes, in the course of which almost every other traveller would have been inevitably robbed and probably murdered. The sacred code of the Jewish and Christian religions was in his hands, as well as the Grecian records of Homer and Herodotus: and, comparing what these books relate concerning ancient Egypt, with the scenes and state of society before him, he was enabled to understand a number of unexplained particulars, in the hints which those eldest books present respecting the early annals of a country that was almost the primæval seat of civilized society; and to confirm the truth of the Christian revelation, by discovering various new proofs of the scrupulous fidelity of the Mosaic History.

From Egypt Mr. Bruce sailed southward, on the Red sea, to Jidda in Happy Arabia. He had the good fortune to find at Jidda a number of his own countrymen from India, ship-captains and merchants, in the service of the English India company. They welcomed him among them with kind hospitality; heard with pleasure and admiration of his bold pur-



pose of penetrating into Abyssinia, and exploring the sources of the Nile; procured whatever directions were there to be obtained for his conduct during his journey; introduced him to the powerful protection of the prime minister to the she-riffe, or religious prince of Mecca, offered him the free use of their purses and credit; and, in fine, espoused all his interests so openly, so earnestly, and with such a shew of deference and respect, that the whole influence of the English name and greatness in the East appeared to be interposed for his security among those barbarians to whose doubtful faith he was now hastening to commit himself.

Before we proceed to relate the surprising adventures of this celebrated traveller in countries till then untrod by Europeans, it may be proper to remark, that his tall, muscular, athletic form, was combined with great energy and acuteness of mind, and the lofty disdain that appeared in his deportment, and which he acquired during his long intercourse with barbarians and savages, was tempered by the most courteous manners and elegance of conversation.

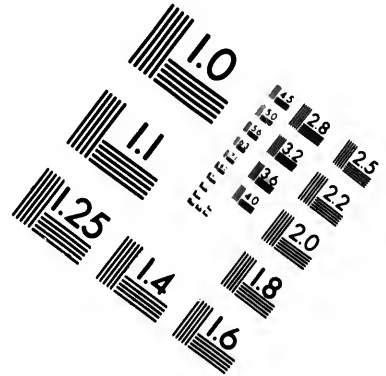
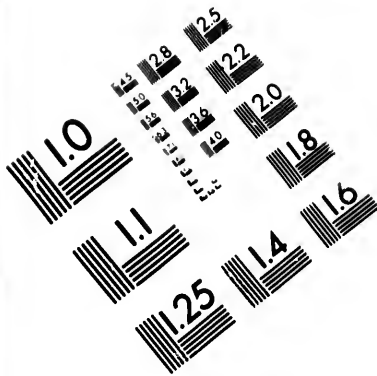
Although Mr. Bruce received such kind assistance at Jidda, his first introduction was rather curious and unpromising. In sailing down the Red sea to this port he had slept little. 'I had, besides,' says he, 'an agueish disorder, which very much troubled me, and in dress and cleanliness was so like a *galiongy* (or Turkish seaman) that the *emir bahar* (captain of the port) was astonished at hearing my servants say I was an Englishman, at the time they carried away all my baggage and instruments to the custom-house. He sent his servant, however, with me to the Bergal-house, who promised me, in broken English, all the way, a very magnificent reception from my countrymen. Upon his naming all the captains for my choice, I desired to be carried to a Scotchman, a relation of my own, who was then accidentally leaning over the rail of the staircase, leading up to his apartment. I saluted him by his name; he fell into a violent rage, calling me villain, thief, cheat, and renegado rascal; and declared, if I offered to proceed a step further, he would throw me over the stairs. I went away without reply; his curses and abuses followed me long

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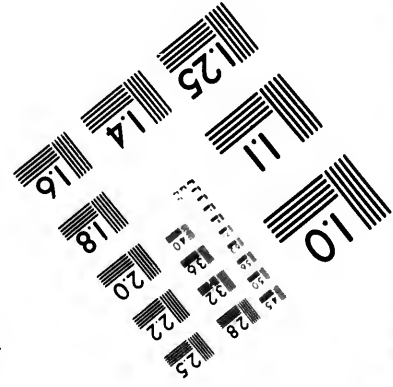
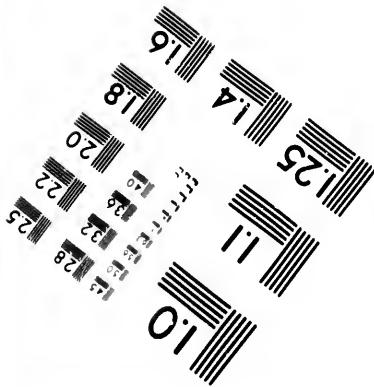
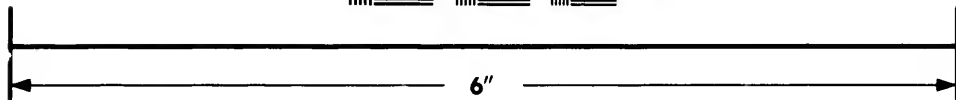
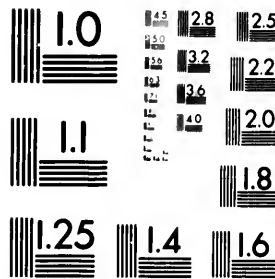
afterwards. The servant, my conductor, screwed his mouth, and shrugged up his shoulders. "Never fear," says he, "I will carry you to the best of them all." We went up an opposite staircase, whilst I thought within myself, if those are their India manners, I shall keep my name and situation to myself while I am at Jidda. I stood in no need of them, as I had credit for 1,000 sequins and more, if I should want it, upon Yousef Cabil, vizir or governor of Jidda.

'I was conducted into a room, where captain Thornhill was sitting, in a white frock-coat, a very high pointed white cotton night-cap, and a large tumbler of water before him, seemingly very deep in thought. The emir bahar's servant brought me forward by the hand, a little within the door; but I was not desirous of advancing much farther, for fear of the salutation of being thrown down stairs again. He looked very steadily, but not sternly, at me; and desired the servant to go and shut the door. "Sir," says he, "are you an Englishman?"—I bowed. "You are surely sick, you should be in your bed; have you been long sick?"—I said "long, sir," and bowed. "Are you wanting a passage to India?"—I again bowed. "Well," says he, "you look to be a man in distress; if you have a secret, I shall respect it till you please to tell it me; but if you want a passage to India, apply to no one but Thornhill of the Bengal Merchant. Perhaps you are afraid of somebody; if so, ask for Mr. Greig, my lieutenant, he will carry you on board my ship directly, where you will be safe." "Sir," said I, "I hope you will find me an honest man; I have no enemy that I know, either in Jidda or elsewhere, nor do I owe any man any thing." "I am sure," says he, "I am doing wrong, in keeping a poor man standing, who ought to be in his bed. Here! Philip! Philip!"—Philip appeared. "Boy," says he, in Portuguese, which, as I imagine, he supposed I did not understand, "here is a poor Englishman, that should be either in his bed or in his grave; carry him to the cook, tell him to give him as much broth and mutton as he can eat; the fellow seems to have been starved, but I would rather have the feeding of ten to India, than the burying of one at Jidda."





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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‘ Philip de la Cruz was the son of a Portugueze lady, whom captain Thornhill had married; a boy of great talents, and excellent disposition, who carried me with great willingness to the cook. I made as awkward a bow as I could to captain Thornhill, and said, “ God will return this to your honour some day.” Philip carried me into a court-yard, where they used to expose the samples of their India goods in large bales. It had a portico along the left hand side of it, which seemed designed for a stable. To this place I was introduced, and thither the cook brought me my dinner. Several of the English from the vessels, lascars, and others, came in to look at me; and I heard it, in general, agreed among them, that I was a very thief-like fellow, and certainly a Turk, and d—mn them if they should like to fall into my hands.

‘ I fell fast asleep upon the mat, while Philip was ordering me another apartment. In the mean time, some of my people had followed my baggage to the custom-house, and some of them staid on board the boat, to prevent the pilfering of what was left. The keys had remained with me, and the vizir had gone to sleep, as is usual, about mid-day. As soon as he awaked, being greedy of his prey, he fell immediately to my baggage, wondering that such a quantity of it, and that boxes in such a curious form, should belong to a mean man like me; he was therefore full of hopes, that a fine opportunity for pilage was now at hand. He asked for the keys of the trunks; my servant said they were with me, but he would go instantly and bring them. That, however, was too long to stay; no delay could possibly be granted. Accustomed to pilfer, they did not force the locks, but, very artist-like, took off the hinges at the back, and in that manner opened the lids, without opening the locks.

‘ The first thing that presented itself to the vizir’s sight was the firman of the grand signior, magnificently written and titled, and the inscription powdered with gold dust, and wrapped in green taffeta. After this was a white satin bag, addressed to the khan of Tartary, with which Mr. Peyssonel, French consul at Smyrna, had favoured me, and which I had not delivered, as the khan was then prisoner at Rhodes.

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The next was a green and gold silk bag, with letters directed to the sheriffe of Mecca; and then came a plain crimson-satin bag, with letters addressed to Metical Aga, sword-bearer (or *selictar*, as it is called) of the sheriffe, or his chief minister and favourite. He then found a letter from Ali Bey to himself, written with all the superiority of a prince to a slave.

‘In this letter the bey told him plainly, that he had heard the governments of Jidda, Mecca, and other states of the sheriffe, were disorderly, and the merchants coming about their lawful business, were plundered, terrified, and detained. He therefore intimated to him, that if any such thing happened to me, he should not write or complain, but he would send and punish the affront at the very gates of Mecca. This was very unpleasant language to the vizir, because it was now publicly known, that Mahomet Bey Abou Dahab was preparing to march against Mecca, for some offence the bey had taken against the sheriffe. There was also another letter to him from Ibrahim Sikakeen, chief of the merchants at Cairo, ordering him to furnish me with 1,000 sequins for my present use, and, if more were needed, to take my bill.

‘These contents of the trunks were so unexpected, that Yousef, the vizir, thought he had gone too far, and called my servant in a violent hurry, upbraiding him for not telling who I was. The servant defended himself, by saying, that neither he, nor his people about him, would so much as regard a word that he had spoke; and the *cadi* of Medina’s principal servant, who had come with the wheat, told the vizir plainly to his face, that he had given him warning enough, if his pride would have suffered him to hear it.

‘All was now wrong; my servant was ordered to nail up the hinges, but he declared it should be the last action of his life; that nobody opened baggage that way, but with an intention of stealing, when the keys could be got; and, as there were very many rich things in the trunk, intended as presents to the sheriffe, and Metical Aga, which might have been taken out, by the hinges being forced off before he came, he washed his hands of the whole procedure, but knew his master would complain, and loudly too, and would be heard

both at Cairo and Jidda. The vizir took his resolution in a moment like a man. He nailed up the baggage, ordered his horse to be brought, and, attended by a number of naked blackguards (whom they call soldiers), he came down to the Bengal-house, at which the whole factory took alarm.

'About 26 years before, the English traders from India to Jidda, 14 in number, were all murdered, sitting at dinner, by a mutiny of these wild people. The house has, ever since, lain in ruins, having been pulled down and forbidden to be rebuilt.

'Great inquiry was made after the English nobleman, whom nobody had seen; but it was said that one of his servants was there in the Bengal-house; I was sitting drinking coffee on the mat, when the vizir's horse came, and the whole court was filled. One of the clerks of the custom-house asked me "where my master was?" I said, "In heaven." The emir bahar's servant now brought forward the vizir to me, who had not dismounted himself. He repeated the same question, "where my master was?" I told him, I did not know the purport of his question; that I was the person to whom the baggage belonged, which he had taken to the custom-house, and that it was in my favour the grand signior and bey had written. He seemed very much surprized, and asked me "how I could appear in such a dress?"—"You cannot ask me seriously," said I; "I believe no prudent man would do so better, considering the voyage I had made. But, besides, you did not leave it in my power, as every article, but what I have on me, has been these four hours at the custom-house, waiting your pleasure."

After being entertained as before mentioned, Mr. Bruce sailed from Jidda on the 8th of July, 1769. 'I embarked,' says he, 'on board the same vessel as before, and I suffered the *rais* (or master of the ship) to take a small loading for his own account, upon condition that he was to carry no passengers. The wind was fair, and we sailed through the English fleet at their anchors. As they all honoured me with their regret at parting, and accompanied me to the shore, the *rais* was surprized to see the respect paid to his little vessel as it

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passed under their huge sterns, every one hoisting his colours, and saluting it with 11 guns, except the ship belonging to my Scotch friend, who shewed his colours, indeed, but did not fire a gun, only standing upon deck, he cried with a trumpet, "Captain —— wishes Mr. Bruce a good voyage." I stood upon deck, took my trumpet, and answered, "Mr. Bruce wishes captain —— a perfect return of his understanding;" a wish, poor man, that has not yet been accomplished, and very much to my regret, it does not appear probable that ever it will.'

After a dangerous navigation along the Arabian coast our adventurers anchored, on the 15th, in the port of Sibt. 'This is,' he remarks, 'a place too mean, and too small to be called a village, even in Arabia. It consists of above 15 or 20 miserable huts, built of straw; around it there is a plantation of doom-trees, of the leaves of which they make mats and sails, which is the whole manufacture of the place.

'Our rais made many purchases here. The Cotrushis, the inhabitants of this village, seem to be as brutish a people as any in the world. They are perfectly lean, but muscular, and apparently strong; they wear all their own hair, which they divide upon the crown of their head. It is black and bushy, and, although sufficiently long, seems to partake of the woolly quality of the negro. Their head is bound round with a cord or fillet of the doom-leaf, like the ancient diadem. The women are generally ill-favoured, and go naked like the men. Those that are married have, for the most part, a rag about their middle, some of them not that. Girls of all ages go quite naked, but seem not to be conscious of any impropriety in their appearance. Their lips, eye-brows, and foreheads above the eye-brow, are all marked with stibium, or antimony, the common ornament of savages throughout the world. They seemed to be perfectly on an equality with the men, walked, sat, and smoked with them, contrary to the practice of all women among the Turks and Arabs.

'The 16th, at five in the morning, we sailed from the port of Sibt, and passed Djezan and several small villages, called Queime. The whole country seems perfectly bare and desert,

without inhabitants. It is reported to be the most unwholesome part of Arabia Felix.

Mr. Bruce touched at Lohcia, and afterwards passed Mocha. On the 6th of September, a trouble of a very particular kind fell upon the vessel. 'An Abyssinian,' says our voyager, 'who had died on board, and had been buried upon our coming out from Lohcia bay, was seen upon the boltsprit for two nights, and had terrified the sailors very much; even the rais also was not a little alarmed; and, though he could not directly say that he had seen him, yet, after I was in bed on the 7th, he complained of the bad consequences it would produce, if a gale of wind was to rise, and the ghost was to keep his place there, and desired me to come forward and speak to him. "My good rais," said I, "I am exceedingly tired, and my head aches much with the sun, which has been violent to-day. You know the Abyssinian paid for his passage, and if he does not overload the ship, (and I apprehend he should be lighter than when we took him on board) I do not think that, in justice or equity, either you or I can hinder the ghost from continuing his voyage to Abyssinia, as we cannot judge what curious business he may have there." The rais began to bless himself, that he did not know any thing of his affairs. "Then," said I, "if you did not find him make the vessel too heavy before, do not molest him; because, certainly if he was to come into any other part of the ship, or if he should insist to sit in the middle of you (in the disposition in which you all are) he would be a greater inconvenience to you than in his present post." The rais again began to bless himself, repeating a verse of the Koran; "*bismilla sheitan rejem*," (in the name of God keep the devil far from me). "Now rais," said I, "if he does us no harm, you may let him ride upon the boltsprit till he be tired, or till he come to Masuah; for I swear to you, unless he hurt or trouble us, I do not think I have any obligation to get out of my bed to molest him; only see that he carry nothing off with him."

'The rais now seemed to be exceedingly offended, and said, for his part he did not care for his life more than any other man on board; if it were not for fear of a gale of wind,

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he might ride on the boltsprit and be d-----d; but that he had always heard learned people could speak to ghosts. "Will you be so good, rais," said I, "to step forward and tell him, that I am going to drink coffee, and should be glad if he would walk into the cabin, and deliver any thing he has to communicate to me, if he be a Christian, and if not, to Mahomet Gibberti," (an Abyssinian, who accompanied me). The rais went out, but, as my servant told me, he would neither go himself, nor could get any person to go to the ghost for him. He came back, however, to drink coffee with me. I was very ill, and apprehensive of what the French call a *coup de soleil*. "Go," said I to the rais, "to Mahomet Gibberti (who was lying just before us), tell him that I am a Christian, and have no jurisdiction over ghosts in the seas."

"A Moor, called Yasine, well known to me afterwards, now came forward, and told me, that Mahomet Gibberti had been very ill since we sailed, of sea-sickness, and begged that I would not laugh at the spirit, or speak so familiar of him, because it might very possibly be the devil, who often appeared in those parts. The Moor also desired I would send the Gibberti (this word is the epithet used to denote their faith, by Abyssinian Mahometans,) some coffee, and order my servant to boil him some rice with fresh water from Foosht; for hitherto our fish and our rice had been boiled in sea-water, which I constantly preferred. This bad news of my friend Mahomet banished all merriment; I gave, therefore, the necessary orders for my servant to wait upon him, and at the same time recommended to Yasine to go forward with the Koran in his hand, and read all night, or till we should get to Zimmer, and then, or in the morning, bring me an account of what he had seen."

Next day the vessel sailed, but on the 11th she struck upon a coral rock. 'Arabs,' observes Bruce, 'are cowards in all sudden dangers, which they consider as particular directions, or mandates, of providence, and therefore not to be avoided. Few uncultivated minds, indeed, have any calmness, or immediate resource in themselves, when in unexpected danger. The Arab sailors were immediately for taking the boat. The

Abyssinians were for cutting up the planks and wood of the inside of the vessel, and making her a raft.

‘ A violent dispute ensued, and after that a battle, when night overtook us, still fast upon the rock. The rais and Yasine, however, calmed the riot, when I begged the passengers would hear me. I told them, “ You all know, or should know, that the boat is mine, as I bought it with my money, for the safety and accommodation of myself and servants; you know, likewise, that I and my men are all well armed, while you are naked; therefore, do not imagine that we will suffer any of you to enter that boat, and save your lives at the expence of ours. On this vessel of the rais is your dependence, in it you are to be saved or to perish; therefore, all hands to work and get the vessel off, while it is calm; if she had been materially damaged, she had been sunk before now.”—They all seemed on this to take courage, and said, they hoped I would not leave them. I told them, if they would be men, I would not leave them while there was a bit of the vessel together.

‘ The boat was immediately launched, and one of my servants, the rais, and two sailors, were put on board. They were soon up the bank, where the two sailors got out, who cut their feet at first upon the white coral, but afterwards got firmer footing. They attempted to push the ship backwards, but she would not move. Spokes and handspikes were tried, in order to stir her, but these were not long enough. In a word, there was no appearance of getting her off before morning, when we knew the wind would rise, and it was to be feared she would then be dashed to pieces. Mahomet Gibberti, and Yasine, had been reading the Koran aloud ever since the vessel struck. I said to them in passing, “ Sirs, would it not be as wise for you to leave your books till you get ashore, and lend a hand to the people?” Mahomet answered, “ that he was so weak and sick, that he could not stand.” But Yasine did not slight the rebuke; he stripped himself naked, went forward on the vessel, and threw himself into the sea. He, first, very judiciously, felt what room there was for standing, and found the bank was of considerable breadth, and that we were stuck

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upon the point of it; that it rounded, slanting away afterwards, and seemed very deep at the sides, so that the people, standing on the edge of it, could not reach the vessel to push it, but only those upon the point. The rais and Yasine now cried for poles and handspikes, which were given them; two more men let themselves down by the side, and stood upon the bank. I then desired the rais to get out a line, come a-stern with the boat, and draw her in the same direction that they pushed.

'As soon as the boat could be towed a-stern, a great cry was set up, that she began to move. A little after, a gentle wind just made itself felt from the east, and the cry from the rais was, "Hoist the fore-sail, and put it a-back." This being immediately done, and a gentle breeze filling the fore-sail at the time, they all pushed, and the vessel slid gently off, free from the shoal. I cannot say I partook of the joy so suddenly as the others did. I had always some fears a plank might have been started; but we saw the advantage of a vessel being sewed, rather than nailed together, as she not only was unhurt, but made very little water. The people were all exceedingly tired, and nobody thought they could enough praise the courage and readiness of Yasine. From that day he grew into consideration with me, which increased ever after, till my departure from Abyssinia.'

On the 13th, the vessel touched at the island of Dahalac, the largest one in the Red sea. It is a bare, barren, parched spot, where a few Arabs find a miserable subsistence. It was formerly eminent for its pearl fishery. On the 17th, Mr. Bruce sailed from this desolate, but once flourishing island, and, on the 19th of September, entered the harbour of Masuah, after a dangerous passage which had occupied 17 days.

Masuah is a small island immediately on the Abyssinian shore. After the conquest of Arabia Felix, by Sinon Basha, it fell under Selim, emperor of Constantinople. It was afterwards given by the Turks to a tribe of Mahometan shepherds, inhabiting the coast of the Red sea. The chief of this tribe, who is called the *naybe*, finding the power of the Turks declining, gradually withdrew from paying the customary tribute; and, during the troubles in Abyssinia, he equally withdrew

from paying any consideration to the powers in that country, from which he received supplies of water and provisions. This was precisely the situation of the naybe when Mr. Bruce arrived at Masuah.

At this time also Michael, an old warrior, conducted the affairs of Abyssinia. This man had gradually risen into power, and in less than six months he murdered two of his sovereigns, and the one that now reigned was crowned by this bold and artful minister, who was so lame as scarcely to be able to stand, and within a few years of eighty. This debility of the Abyssinian general had induced the naybe to despise his threat of laying waste Masuah. The basha of Jidda was likewise offended at the usual tribute being withheld, and to bring about the payment he sent Metical Aga to Masuah. This man was an officer of great credit with the sheriffe of Mecca, and moreover a friend of Ras Michael. He carried, with his message, the firman from Constantinople, and instructions to inform Michael of the treatment he had received. Mr. Bruce relates his reception at Masuah as follows:

‘ Mahomet Gibberti, Metical Aga’s servant, had come in the boat with me; but Abdelcader, who carried the message and firman, and who was governor of the island of Dahalac, had sailed at the same time with me, and had been spectator of the honour which was paid to my ship when she left the harbour of Jidda.

‘ Running straight over to Masuah, Abdelcader had proclaimed what he had seen with great exaggeration, according to the custom of his country; and reported that a princee was coming, a very near relation of the king of England, who was no trader, but came only to visit countries and people.

‘ It was many times, and carefully agitated (as we knew afterwards) between the naybe and his counsellors, what was to be done with this princee. Some were for the most expeditious, and what has long been the customary, method of treating strangers in Masuah, to put them to death, and divide every thing they had among the garrison. Others insisted, that they should stay and see what letters I had from Arabia to Abyssinia, lest this might prove an addition to the storm

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just ready to break upon them, on the part of Metical Aga and Michael Suhul.

‘ But Achmet, the naybe’s nephew, said, it was folly to doubt but that a man of my description would have protections of every kind ; but whether I had or not, that my very rank should protect me in every place where there was any government whatever ; it might do even among banditti and thieves, inhabiting woods and mountains ; that a sufficient quantity of strangers’ blood had been already shed at Masuah, for the purpose of rapine, and he believed a curse and poverty had followed it ; that it was impossible for those, who had heard the firing of those ships, to conjecture whether I had letters to Abyssinia or not ; that it would be better to consider whether I was held in esteem by the captains of those ships, as half of the guns they fired in compliment to me, was sufficient to destroy them all, and lay Arkeeko and Masuah as desolate as Michael Suhul had threatened to do ; nor could that vengeance cost any of the ships, coming next year to Jidda, a day’s sailing out of their way ; and there being plenty of water when they reached Arkeeko, at the south-west of the bay, all this destruction might be effected in one afternoon, and repeated once a-year without difficulty, danger, or expence, while they were watering.

‘ Achmet, therefore, declared it was his resolution that I should be deceived with marks of consideration, till upon inspecting my letters, and conversing with me, they might see what sort of a man I was, and upon what errand I came ; but even if I was a trader, and no priest or Frank, such as came to disturb the peace of the country, he would not then consent to any personal injury being done me ; if I was indeed a priest, or one of those Franks, they might send me to hell (*gehen-nim*) if they chose ; but he, for his part, would not, even then, have any thing to do with it.

‘ Before our vessel appeared, they came to these conclusions ; and though I have supposed that hoisting the colours and saluting me with guns had brought me into this danger, on the other hand it may be said, perhaps with greater reason, they

were the means Providence kindly used to save my life in that slaughter-house of strangers.

‘ On the 19th of September, 1769, we arrived at Masuah, very much tired of the sea, and desirous to land. But, as it was evening, I thought it advisable to sleep on board all night, that we might have a whole day (as the first is always a busy one) before us, and receive in the night any intelligence from friends, who might not choose to venture to come openly to see us in the day, at least before the determination of the naybe had been heard concerning us.

‘ Mahomet Gibberti, a man whom we had perfectly secured, and who was fully instructed in our suspicions as to the naybe, and the manner in which we had resolved to behave to him, went ashore that evening; and, being himself an Abyssinian, having connections in Masuah, dispatched that same night to Adowa, the capital of Tigre, those letters which I knew were to be of the greatest importance: giving our friend Janni (a Greek, confidential servant of Michael, governor of Tigre) advice that we were arrived, that we had letters of Metical Aga to the naybe and Ras Michael; as also Greek letters to him from the Greek patriarch at Cairo, a duplicate of which I sent by the bearer. We wrote likewise to him in Greek, that we were afraid of the naybe, and begged him to send us instantly some man of confidence, who might protect us, or at least be a spectator of what should befall us. We, besides, instructed him to advise the court of Abyssinia, that we were friends to Metical Aga, had letters from him to the king and the Ras, and distrusted the naybe of Masuah.

‘ Mahomet Adulai dispatched his messenger, and Mahomet Gibberti repaired that same night to the naybe at Arkceeko, with such diligence that lulled him asleep as to any prior intelligence, which otherwise he might have thought he was charged to convey to Tigre; and Mahomet Gibberti, in his conversation that night with Achmet, adroitly confirmed him in all the ideas he himself had first started in council with the naybe. He told him the manner I had been received at Jidda, my protection at Constantinople, and the firman which I brought

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from the grand signior, the power of my countrymen in the Red sea and India, and my personal friendship with Metical Aga. He moreover insinuated, that the coasts of the Red sea would be in a dangerous situation if any thing happened to me, as both the sheriffe of Mecca and the emperor of Constantinople would themselves, perhaps, not interfere, but would most certainly consider the place, where such disobedience should be shewn to their commands, as in a state of anarchy, and therefore to be abandoned to the just correction of the English, if injured.

‘ On the 20th, a person came from Mahomet Gibberti to conduct me on shore. The naybe himself was still at Arkeeko, and Achmet therefore had come down to receive the duties of the merchandize on board the vessel which brought me. There were two elbow-chairs placed in the middle of the market-place. Achmet sat on one of them, while the several officers opened the bales and packages before him; the other chair on his left hand was empty.

‘ He was dressed all in white, in a Banian habit of muslin, and a close-bodied frock reaching to his ancles, much like the white frock and petticoat the young children wear in England. This species of dress did not, in any way, suit Achmet’s shape or size; but, it seems, he meant it to be in gala. As soon as I came in sight of him, I doubled my pace: Mahomet Gibberti’s servant whispered to me, not to kiss his hand; which indeed I intended to have done. Achmet stood up, just as I arrived within arm’s length of him; when we touched each other’s hands, carried our fingers to our lips, then laid our hands across our breasts: I pronounced the salutation of the inferior, “*Salem alicum!*”---(Peace be between us): to which he answered immediately, “*Alicum salem!*”---(There is peace between us). He pointed to the chair, which I declined; but he obliged me to sit down.

‘ In these countries, the greater honour that is shewn you at first meeting, the more considerable present is expected. He made a sign to bring coffee directly, as the immediate offering of meat or drink is an assurance your life is not in danger. He began with an air that seemed rather serious: “We

have expected you here some time ago, but thought you had changed your mind, and was gone to India."—"Since sailing from Jidda, I have been in Arabia Felix, the gulf of Mocha, and crossed last from Lohcia." "Are you not afraid," said he, "so thinly attended, to venture upon these long and dangerous voyages?"—"The countries where I have been are either subject to the emperor of Constantinople, whose firman I have now the honour to present you, or to the regency of Cairo, and port of Janizaries—here are their letters—or to the sheriffe of Mecca. To you, sir, I present the sheriffe's letters; and, besides these, one from Metical Aga your friend, who, depending on your character, assured me this alone would be sufficient to preserve me from ill-usage so long as I did no wrong: as for the dangers of the road from banditti and lawless persons, my servants are indeed few, but they are veteran soldiers, tried and exercised from their infancy in arms, and I value not the superior number of cowardly and disorderly persons."

'He then returned me the letters, saying, "You will give these to the naybe to morrow; I will keep Metical's letter, as it is to me, and will read it at home." He put it accordingly in his bosom; and our coffee being done, I rose to take my leave, and was presently wet to the skin by deluges of orange flowered-water showered upon me from the right and left, by two of his attendants, from silver bottles.

'A very decent house had been provided; and I had no sooner entered, than a large dinner was sent us by Achmet, with a profusion of lemons, and good fresh water, now become one of the greatest delicacies in life; and, instantly after, our baggage was all sent unopened; with which I was very well-pleased, being afraid they might break something in my clock, telescopes, or quadrant, by the violent manner in which they satisfy their curiosity.

'Late at night I received a visit from Achmet; he was then in an undress, his body quite naked, a barracan thrown loosely about him; he had a pair of calico drawers; a white cowl, or cotton cap, upon his head, and had no sort of arms whatever. I rose up to meet him, and thank him for his civility in send-

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ing my baggage; and when I observed, besides, that it was my duty to wait upon him, rather than suffer him to give himself this trouble, he took me by the hand, and we sat down on two cushions together.

“All that you mentioned,” said he, “is perfectly good and well; but there are questions that I am going to ask you, which are of consequence to yourself. When you arrived at Jidda, we heard it was a great man, a son or brother of a king, going to India. This was communicated to me, and to the naybe, by people that saw every day the respect paid to you by the captains of the ships at Jidda. Metical Aga, in his private letter delivered to the naybe last night by Mahomet Gibberti, among many unusual expressions, said, The day that any accident befalls this person will be looked upon by me always as the most unfortunate of my life. Now, you are a Christian, and he is a Musselman, and these are expressions of particular regard not used by the one when writing of the other. He says, moreover, that, in your firman, the grand signior styles you *bey-adze*, or most noble. Tell me, therefore, and tell me truly, Are you a prince, son, brother, or nephew, of a king? Are you banished from your own country? and, What is it you seek in ours, exposing yourself to so many difficulties and dangers?”

“I am neither son nor brother of a king. I am a private Englishman. If you, Sidi Achmet, saw my prince, the eldest, or any son of the king of England, you would then be able to form a juster idea of them, and that would forever hinder you from confounding them with common men like me. If they should choose to appear in this part of the world, this little sea would be too narrow for their ships: your sun, now so hot, would be darkened by their sails; and when they fired their terrible wide-mouthed cannon, not an Arab would think himself safe on the distant mountains, while the houses on the shore would totter and fall to the ground, as if shaken to pieces by an earthquake. I am a servant to that king, and an inferior one in rank; only worthy of his attention from my affection to him and his family, in which I do not acknowledge any superior. Yet so far your corres-

pondents say well: my ancestors were the kings of the country in which I was born, and to be ranked among the greatest and most glorious that ever bore the crown and title of king. This is the truth, and nothing but the truth. I may now, I hope, without offence, ask, To what does all this information tend?"

“To your safety,” said he, “and to your honour, as long as I command in Masuah: to your certain death and destruction if you go among the Abyssinians; a people without faith, covetous, barbarous, and in continual war, of which nobody yet has been able to discover the reason. But of this another time.”

“Be it so,” said I. “I would now speak one word in secret to you (upon which every body was ordered out of the room): all that you have told me this evening I already know; ask me not how: but to convince you that it is truth, I now thank you for the humane part you took against these bloody intentions others had of killing and plundering me on my arrival, upon Abdelcader governor of Dahalac’s information that I was a prince, because of the honour that the English ships paid me, and that I was loaded with gold.

“*Ullah acbar!* (in great surprize) Why, you was in the middle of the sea when that passed.”

“Scarcely advanced so far, I believe; but your advice was wise, for a large English ship will wait for me all this winter in Jidda, till I know what reception I meet here, or in Abyssinia. It is a 54 gun ship; its name, the Lion; its captain, Thomas Price. I mention these particulars, that you may inquire into the truth. Upon the first news of a disaster, he would come here, and destroy Arkeeko, and this island, in a day. But this is not my business with you at present.

“It is a very proper custom, established all over the east, that strangers should make an acknowledgment for the protection they receive, and trouble they are to occasion. I have a present for the naybe, whose temper and disposition I know perfectly—(*Ullah acbar!* repeats Achmet).—I have likewise a present for you, and for the kaya of the Janizaries; all these I shall deliver the first day I see the naybe; but I was taught,

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in a particular manner; to repose upon you as my friend, and a small, but separate acknowledgment, is due to you in that character. I was told, that your agent at Jidda had been inquiring every where among the India ships, and at the broker of that nation, for a pair of English pistols, for which he offered a very high price; though, in all probability, those you would get would have been but ordinary, and much used; now I have brought you this separate present, a pair of excellent workmanship; here they are: my doubt, which gave rise to this long private conversation, was, whether you would take them home yourself; or, if you have a confidential servant that you can trust, let him take them, so that it be not known; for if the naybe"-----

“ I understand every thing that you say, and ever thing that you would say. Though I do not know men's hearts that I never saw, as you do, I know pretty well the hearts of those with whom I live. Let the pistols remain with you, and shew them to nobody till I send you a man, to whom you may say any thing, and he shall go between you and me; for there is in this place a number of devils, not men; but *Ullah Kerim*---(God is great). The person that brings you dry dates in an Indian handkerchief, and an earthen bottle to drink your water out of, give him the pistols. You may send by him to me any thing you choose. In the mean time, sleep sound, and fear no evil; but never be persuaded to trust yourself to the caffres of Habbesh at Masuah.”

“ On the 20th of September, a female slave came, and brought with her the proper credentials, an Indian handkerchief full of dry dates, and a pot, or bottle, of unvarnished potters earth, which keeps the water very cool. I had some doubt upon this change of sex; but the slave, who was an Abyssinian girl, quickly undeceived me, delivered the dates, and took away the pistols destined for Achmet, who had himself gone to his uncle, the naybe, at Arkeeko.

“ On the 21st, in the morning, the naybe came from Arkeeko. The usual way is by sea; it is about two leagues straight across the bay, but somewhat more by land. The passage from the main is on the north side of the island, which

is not above a quarter of a mile broad ; there is a large cistern for rain-water on the land side, where you embark across. He was poorly attended by three or four servants, miserably mounted, and about 40 naked savages on foot, armed with short lances and crooked knives.

‘ The drum beat before him all the way from Arkeeko to Masuah. Upon entering the boat, the drum on the land-side ceased, and those, in what is called the castle of Masuah, began. The castle is a small hut, and in it one swivel-gun, which is not mounted, but lies upon the ground, and is fired always with great trepidation, and some danger. The drums are earthen jars, such as they send butter in to Arabia; the mouths of which are covered with a skin, so that a stranger, on seeing two or three of these together, would run a great risk of believing them to be jars of butter, or pickles, carefully covered with oiled parchment.

‘ In the afternoon of that day I went to pay my respects to the naybe, and found him sitting in a large wooden elbow-chair, at the head of two files of naked savages, who made an avenue from his chair to the door. He had nothing upon him but a coarse cotton shirt, so dirty, that, it seemed, all pains to clean it again would be thrown away; and so short, that it scarcely reached his knees. He was very tall and lean; his colour black; had a large mouth and nose; in place of a beard, a very scanty tuft of grey hairs upon the point of his chin; large, dull, and heavy eyes; a kind of malicious, contemptuous, smile on his countenance; he was altogether of a most stupid brutal appearance. His character perfectly corresponded with his figure, for he was a man of mean abilities, cruel to excess, avaricious, and a great drunkard.

‘ I presented by firman. The greatest basha in the Turkish empire would have risen upon seeing it, kissed it, and carried it to his forehead; and I really expected that Omar Aga, for the day he bore that title, and received the caftan, would have shewn this piece of respect to his master. But he did not even receive it into his hand, and pushed it back to me again, saying, “Do you read it all to me, word for word.” —I told him it was Turkish; that I had never learned to read

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a word of that language.—“Nor I either,” says he; “and I believe I never shall.” I then gave him Metical Aga’s letter, the sheriffe’s, Ali Bey’s, and the Janizaries’ letters. He took them all together in both his hands, and laid them unopened beside him, saying, “You should have brought a moullah along with you. Do you think I shall read all these letters? Why, it would take me a month.” And he glared upon me, with his mouth open, so like an idiot, that it was with the utmost difficulty I kept my gravity, only answering, “Just as you please; you know best.”

‘He affected at first not to understand Arabic; spoke by an interpreter in the language of Masuah, which is a dialect of Tigre; but seeing I understood him in this, he spoke Arabic, and spoke it well.

‘A silence followed this short conversation, and I took the opportunity to give him his present, with which he did not seem displeased, but rather that it was below him to tell me so; for, without saying a word about it, he asked me, “Where the Abuna of Habbesh was? And why he tarried so long?” I said, “The wars in Egypt had made the roads dangerous;” and, it was easy to see, Omar longed much to settle accounts with him.

‘The inhabitants of Masuah were dying of the small-pox, so that there was fear the living would not be sufficient to bury the dead. The whole island was filled with shrieks and lamentations both night and day. They at last began to throw the bodies into the sea, which deprived us of our great support, fish, of which we had ate some kinds that were excellent. I had suppressed my character of physician, fearing I should be detained by reason of the multitude of sick.

‘On the 15th of October, the naybe came to Masuah, and dispatched the vessel that brought me over; and, as if he had only waited till this evidence was out of the way, he, that very night, sent me word that I was to prepare him a handsome present. He gave in a long list of particulars to a great amount, which he desired might be divided into three parcels, and presented three several days. One was to be given him as naybe of Arkeeko; one as Omar Aga, representative of the

grand signior; and one for having passed our baggage *gratis* and unvisited, especially the large quadrant. For my part, I heartily wished he had seen the whole, as he would not have set great value on the brass and iron.

‘As Achmet’s assurance of protection had given me courage, I answered him, That, having a firman of the grand signior, and letters from Metical Aga, it was mere generosity in me to give him any present at all, either as naybe or Omar Aga; I was not a merchant that bought and sold, nor had merchandise on board, therefore had no customs to pay. Upon this he sent for me to his house, where I found him in a violent fury; and many useless words passed on both sides. At last he peremptorily told me, That unless I had 300 ounces of gold ready to pay him on Monday, upon his landing from Arkeeko, he would confine me in a dungeon, without light, air, or meat, till the bones came through my skin.

‘An uncle of his, then present, greatly aggravated this affair. He pretended that the naybe might do what he pleased with his presents; but that he could not, in any shape, give away the present due to the janizaries, which was 40 ounces of gold, or 400 dollars; and this was all they contented themselves to take, on account of the letter I brought from the port of janizaries in Cairo; and in this they only taxed me the sum paid by the Abuna for his passage through Masuah. I answered firmly, “Since you have broken your faith with the grand signior, the government of Cairo, the basha of Jidda, and Metical Aga, you will, no doubt, do as you please with me; but you may expect to see the English man of war, the Lion, before Arkeeko, some morning by day-break.”—“I should be glad,” said the naybe, “to see that man at Arkeeko, or Masuah, that would carry as much writing from you to Jidda, as would lie upon my thumb-nail; I would strip his shirt off first, and then his skin, and hang him before your door, to teach you more wisdom.”—“But my wisdom has taught me to prevent all this. My letter is already gone to Jidda; and if, in 20 days from this, another letter from me does not follow it, you will see what will arrive. In the mean time, I here announce it to you, that I have letters from Me-

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tical Aga and the sheriffe of Mecca, to Ras Michael Suhul, governor of Tigre, and the king of Abyssinia. I, therefore, would wish that you would leave off these unmanly altercations, which serve no sort of purpose, and let me continue my journey." The naybe said, in a low voice, to himself, "What, Michael too! Then go your journey, and think of the ill that is before you." I turned my back, without any answer or salutation, and was scarce arrived at home, when a message came from the naybe, desiring I would send him two bottles of aqua-vitæ. I gave the servant two bottles of cinnamon water; which he refused till I had first tasted them: but they were not agreeable to the naybe, so they were returned.

'All this time I very much wondered what was become of Achmet, who, with Mahomet Gibberti, remained at Arkeeko: at last I heard, from the naybe's servant, that he was in bed, ill of a fever. Mahomet Gibberti had kept his promise to me; and, saying nothing of my skill in physic, or having medicines with me, I sent, however, to the naybe, to desire leave to go to Arkeeko. He answered me surlily, I might go if I could find a boat; and, indeed, he had taken his measures so well, that not a boat would stir for money or persuasion.

'On the 29th of October, the naybe came again from Arkeeko to Masuah, and, I was told, in very ill-humour with me. I soon received a message to attend him, and found him in a large waste room like a barn, with about 60 people with him. This was his divan, or grand council, with all his janizaries and officers of state, all naked, assembled in parliament. There was a comet that had appeared a few days after our arrival at Masuah, which had been many days visible in Arabia Felix, being then in its perihelion; and, after passing its conjunction with the sun, it now appeared at Masuah early in the evening, receding to its aphelion. I had been observed watching it with great attention; and the large tubes of the telescopes had given offence to ignorant people.

'The first question the naybe asked me was, What that comet meant, and why it appeared? And before I could answer him, he again said, "The first time it was visible, it brought the small-pox, which has killed above 1,000 people

in Masuah and Arkeeko. It is known you conversed with it every night at Loheia; it has now followed you again, to finish the few that remain, and then you are to carry it into Abyssinia. What have you to do with the comet?"

' Without giving me leave to speak, his brother Emir Achmet then said, That he was informed I was an engineer going to Michael, governor of Tigre, to teach the Ayssinians to make cannon and gunpowder; that the first attack was to be against Masuah. Five or six others spoke much in the same strain; and the naybe concluded by saying, That he would send me in chains to Constantinople, unless I went to Hamazen, with his brother Emir Achmet, to the hotwells there; and that this was the resolution of all the janizaries; for I had concealed my being a physician.

' I had not yet opened my mouth. I then asked, If all these were janizaries? and, Where was their commanding officer? A well-looking, elderly man, answered, "I am sardar of the janizaries."—"If you are sardar, then," said I, "this firman orders you to protect me. The naybe is a man of this country, no member of the Ottoman empire." Upon my first producing my firman to him, he threw it aside like waste-paper. The greatest vizir in the Turkish dominions would have received it standing, bowed his head to the ground, then kissed it, and put it upon his forehead. A general murmur of approbation followed, and I continued—"Now I must tell you, my resolution is, never to go to Hamazen, or elsewhere, with Emir Achmet. Both he and the naybe have shewed themselves my enemies; and, I believe, that to send me to Hamazen is to rob and murder me out of sight."—"Dog of a Christian!" says Emir Achmet, putting his hand to his knife, "if the naybe was to murder you, could he not do it here now this minute?"—"No," says the man, who had called himself sardar, "he could not; I would not suffer any such thing. Achmet is the stranger's friend, and recommended me to-day to see no injury done him; he is ill, or would have been here himself."

"Achmet," said I, "is my friend, and fears God; and were I not hindered by the naybe from seeing him, his sick-

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ness before this would have been removed. I will go to Achmet at Arkeeko, but not to Hamazan, nor even again to the naybe here in Masuah. Whatever happens to me must befall me in my own house. Consider what a figure a few naked men will make, the day that my countrymen ask the reason of this either here or in Arabia." I then turned my back, and went out without ceremony. "A brave man!" I heard a voice say behind me, "*Wallah Englese!* True English, by God!" I went away exceedingly disturbed, as it was plain my affairs were coming to a crisis for good or for evil. I observed, or thought I observed, all the people shun me. I was, indeed, upon my guard, and did not wish them to come near me; but, turning down into my own gateway, a man passed close by me, saying distinctly in my ear, though in a low voice, first in Tigre, and then in Arabic, "Fear nothing, or, be not afraid." This hint, short as it was, gave me no small courage.

'I had scarcely dined, when a servant came with a letter from Achmet at Arkeeko, telling me how ill he had been, and how sorry he was that I refused to come to him, as Mahomet Gibberti had told him I could help him. He desired me also to keep the bearer with me in my house, and give him charge of the gate till he could come to Masuah himself.

'I soon saw the treachery of the naybe. He had not, indeed, forbid me to go and see his nephew, but he had forbid any boat to carry me; and this I told the servant, appealing to the sardar for what I said in the divan, of my willingness to go to Arkeeko to Achmet, though I positively refused to go to Hamazen. I begged the servant to stop for a moment, and go to the sardar, who was in the castle, as I had been very essentially obliged to him for his interposition at a very critical time, when there was an intention to take away my life. I sent him a small present by Achmet's servant, who delivered the message faithfully, and had heard all that had passed in the divan. He brought me back a pipe from the sardar in return for my present, with this message, That he had heard of my countrymen, though he had never seen them; that he loved brave men, and could not see them injured; but Ach-

met being my friend, I had no need of him. That night he departed for Arkeeko, desiring us to shut the door, and leaving us another man, with orders to admit nobody, and advising us to defend ourselves, if any one offered to force entrance, be they who they would, for that nobody had business abroad in the night.

' I now began to resume my confidence, seeing that Providence had still kept us under his protection; and it was not long we had an opportunity to exercise this confidence. About 12 o'clock at night, a man came to the door, and desired to be admitted; which request was refused without any ceremony. Then came two or three more, in the name of Achmet, who were told by the servant, that they would not be admitted. They then asked to speak with me, and grew very tumultuous, pressing with their backs against the door. When I came to them, a young man among them said he was son to Emir Achmet, and that his father and some friends were coming to drink a glass of aracky (so they call brandy) with me. I told him my resolution was not to admit either Emir Achmet, or any other person, at night; and that I never drank aracky.

' They attempted again to force open the door, which was strongly barricaded. But as there were cracks in it, I put the point of a sword through one of them, desiring them to be cautious of hurting themselves upon the iron spikes. Still they attempted to force open the door, when the servant told them, that Achmet, when he left him the charge of that door, had ordered us to fire upon those who offered to force an entrance at night. A voice asked him, Who the devil he was? The servant answered, in a very spirited manner, That he had greater reason to ask who they were, as he took them for thieves, about whose names he did not trouble himself.--- "However," says he, "mine is Abdelcader (the son of somebody else, whom I do not remember). Now you know who I am, and that I do not fear you; and you, Yagoubc, if you do not fire upon them, your blood be upon your own head. The sardar from the castle will soon be up with the rest." I ordered then a torch to be brought, that they might

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have a view of us through the door; but Abdelcader's threat being fully sufficient, they retired, and we heard no more of them.

'It was the 4th of November when the servant of Achmet returned in a boat from Arkeeko, and with him four janizaries. He was not yet well, and was very desirous to see me. He suspected either that he was poisoned or bewitched, and had tried many charms without good effect. We arrived at Arkeeko about eleven, passed the door of the naybe without challenge, and found Achmet in his own house, ill of an intermitting fever, under the very worst of regimens.

'He was much apprehensive that he should die, or lose the use of his limbs, as Emir Achmet had done: the same woman, a Shiho, and a witch, was, he said, the occasion of both. "If, Achmet, your uncle had lost the use of his tongue," said I, "it would have saved him a great deal of improper discourse in the divan." His head ached violently, and he could only say, "Aye! aye! the old miscreant knew I was ill, or that would not have happened." I gave Achmet proper remedies to ease his pains and his stomach, and next morning began with bark.

'This medicine operates quickly here; nay, even the bark that remains, after the stronger spirituous tincture is drawn from it, seems to answer the purpose very little worse than did the first. I staid here till the 6th in the morning, at which time he was free from the fever. I left him, however, some doses to prevent its return; and he told me, on the 7th, he would come to Masuah with boats to bring us, with our baggage, to Arkeeko, and free us from the bondage of Masuah.

'Upon the 6th, in the morning, while at breakfast, I was told that three servants had arrived from Tigre; one from Janni, a young man and slave, who spoke and wrote Greek perfectly; the other two servants were Ras Michael's, or rather the king's, both wearing the red short cloak lined and turned up with mazarine-blue, which is the badge of the king's servant, and is called *shalaka*. Ras Michael's letters to the naybe were very short. He said the king Hatze Hanne's health was bad, and wondered at hearing that the physician,

sent to him by Metical Aga from Arabia, was not forwarded to him instantly at Gondar, as he had heard of his being arrived at Masuah some time before. He ordered the naybe, moreover, to furnish me with necessaries, and dispatch me without loss of time; although all the letters were the contrivances of Janni, his particular letter to the naybe was in a milder style. He expressed the great necessity the king had for a physician, and how impatiently he had waited his arrival. He did not say that he had heard any such person was yet arrived at Masuah, only wished he might be forwarded, without delay, as soon as he came.

‘To us Janni sent a message by a servant, bidding us a hearty welcome, acknowledging the receipt of the patriarch’s letter, and advising us, by all means, to come speedily to him; for the times were very unsettled, and might grow worse.

‘In the afternoon I embarked for Masuah. At the shore I received a message from the naybe to come and speak to him; but I returned for answer, “It was impossible, as I was obliged to go to Masuah to get medicines for his nephew, Achmet.”’

Mr. Bruce arrived at eight o’clock in this inhospitable island, and began immediately to take measures to ensure his departure. The naybe endeavoured in vain to extort from him a large sum of money. He next pretended that that part of Samhar, through which our traveller must pass, was in a state of rebellion: and when he found this stratagem had failed, he confessed it was all a trick to detain so valuable a person. On the 15th, the naybe furnished him with a guide named Saloome, who had married his sister. Mr. Bruce immediately after began his journey. In the evening, Achmet waited upon him, and discharged four men whom his uncle had furnished to carry the baggage, but replaced them with four others.

‘Achmet,’ says Mr. Bruce, ‘now came into the tent, called for coffee, and, while drinking it, said, “You are sufficiently persuaded that I am your friend; if you are not, it is too late now to convince you. It is necessary, however, to explain the reasons of what you see. You are not to go to Dobarwa, though it is the best road, the safest being preferable to the

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easiest. Saloome knows the road by Dixan as well as the other. You will be apt to curse me when you are toiling and sweating ascending Taranta, the highest mountain in Abyssinia, and on this account worthy your notice. You are then to consider if the fatigue of body you shall suffer in that passage is not overpaid by the absolute safety you will find yourselves in. Dobarwa belongs to the naybe; and I cannot answer for the orders he may have given to his own servants; but Dixan is mine, although the people are much worse than those of Dobarwa. I have written to my officers there; they will behave the better to you for this; and as you are strong and robust, the best I can do for you is to send you by a rugged road, and a safe one."

'Achmet again gave orders to Saloome; and we, all rising, said the *fedtah*, or prayer of peace; which being over, his servant gave him a narrow web of muslin, which, with his own hands, he wrapped round my head in the manner the better sort of Mahometans wear it at Dixan. He then parted, saying, "He that is your enemy is mine also; you shall hear of me by Mahomet Gibberti."

'Thus finished a series of trouble and vexation, not to say danger, superior to any thing I ever before had experienced, and of which the bare recital (though perhaps too minute a one) will give but an imperfect idea. These wretches possess talents for tormenting and alarming, far beyond the power of belief; and, by laying a true sketch of them before a traveller, an author does him the most real service. In this country, the more truly we draw the portrait of man, the more we seem to fall into caricature.'

Our traveller now began his journey, over a bleak and mountainous country, covered with loose stones; and at the end of four days, began to ascend the great mountain Taranta. The unevenness and incredible steepness of the road, rendered the conveyance of the baggage and instruments extremely difficult, and in executing this task, Mr. Bruce and Yasine, the Moor, had their hands and knees all cut, mangled, and bleeding, with climbing over and sliding down the sharp points of the rocks.

After passing this mountain, and travelling four days longer, our traveller entered the province of Tigre, in Abyssinia, when the king's servants, who accompanied Bruce, threatened immediate destruction to the naybe's people, if they offered to pass the boundary, for their treachery to him. The threat produced its proper effect, 'and here,' observes our author, 'I recovered a portion of that tranquillity of mind to which I had been a stranger ever since my arrival at Masuah.'

Mr. Bruce was here joined by about 20 loaded asses driven by Moors, and two loaded bulls. The caravan set off early next morning, and the same day reached the residence of the *baharnagash*, who was appointed to watch over the naybe. From this nobleman our traveller purchased a horse. 'On the following day,' says he, 'after pitching our tents we were overtaken by our friend the *baharnagash*, who was so well pleased with our last interview, especially the bargain of the horse, that he sent us three goats, two jars of honey-wine, and some wheat-flour. I invited him to my tent, which he immediately accepted. He was attended by two servants on foot, and some horsemen with lances and shields; he had no arms himself, but, by way of amends, had two drums beating, and two trumpets blowing before him, sounding a charge.

'He seemed to be a very simple, good-natured man, indeed remarkably so; a character rarely found in any degree of men in this country. He asked me how I liked my horse? said, he hoped I did not intend to mount it myself? I answered, God forbid; I kept him as a curiosity. He commended my prudence very much, and gave me a long detail about what horses had done, and would do, on occasions. Some of the people without, however, shewed his servants my saddle, bridle and stirrups, which they well knew, from being neighbours to the Arabs of Sennaar, and praised me as a better horseman by far than any one in that country; this they told to the *Baharnagash*, who, nothing offended, laughed heartily at the pretended ignorance I had shewn him, and shook me very kindly by the hand, and told me he was really poor, or he would have taken no money from me for the horse. He shewed so much good nature, and open honest behaviour, that I gave

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him a present, which was very agreeable, as it was not expected. Razors, knives, steels for striking fire, are the most valuable presents in this country, of the hardware kind.

‘The baharnagash now was in such violent good spirits, that he would not go home till he had seen a good part of his jar of hydromel finished; and he little knew, at that time, he was in the tent with a man who was to be his chief customer for horses hereafter. I saw him several times after at court, and did him some services, both with the king and Ras Michael. He had a quality which I then did not know: with all his simplicity and buffoonery, no one was braver in his own person than he: and, together with his youngest son, he died afterwards in the king’s defence, fighting bravely at the battle of Serbraxos.

‘I had gained the baharnagash’s heart so entirely, that it was not possible to get away the next day. We were upon the very verge of his small dominions, and he had ordered a quantity of wheat-flour to be made for us, which he sent in the evening, with a kid. For my part, the share I had taken yesterday of his hydromel had given me such a pain in my head that I scarce could raise it the whole day.

‘It was the 29th we left our station at Barranda, and had scarcely advanced a mile when we were overtaken by a party of about 20 armed men on horseback. The Shangalla, the ancient Cushites, are all the way on our right hand, and frequently venture incursions into the flat country that was before us. This was the last piece of attention of the baharnagash, who sent his party to guard us from danger in the plain. It awakened us from our security; we examined carefully the state of our fire arms; cleaned and charged them anew, which we had not done since the day we left Dixan.

‘The first part of our journey to-day was in a deep gully; and, in half an hour, we entered into a very pleasant wood of acacia trees, then in flower. We came out of this wood into the plain, and ascended two easy hills; and again entered a straggling wood, so overgrown with wild oats that it covered the men and their horses. The plain here is very wide.

‘ After passing the wood, we came to the river, which was then standing in pools. I here, for the first time, mounted on horseback, to the great delight of my companions from Baranda, and also of our own, none of whom had ever before seen a gun fired from a horse galloping, excepting Yasine and his servant, now my groom, but neither of these had ever seen a double-barrelled gun. We passed the plain with all the diligence consistent with the speed and capacity of our long-eared convoy; and, having now gained the hills, we bade defiance to the Serawe horse, and sent our guard back perfectly content, and full of wonder at our fire-arms, declaring that their master, the baharnagash, had he seen the black horse behave that day, would have given me another much better.

‘ On the 1st of December we ascended a steep mountain, upon which stands the village Noguet, which we passed about half an hour after. On the top of the hill were a few fields of teff. Harvest was then ended, and they were treading out the teff with oxen. Having passed another very rugged mountain, we descended and encamped by the side of a small river, called *Mai Kol-quall*, from a number of these trees growing about it. The place is named the *Kella*, or Castle, because, nearly at equal distances, the mountains on each side run for a considerable extent, straight and even, in shape like a wall, with gaps at certain distances, resembling embrasures and bastions. This rock is otherwise called Damo, anciently the prison of the collateral heirs-male of the royal family.

‘ The river Kol-quall rises in the mountains of Tigre, and, after a course nearly N. W., falls into the Mareb. It was at Kella we saw, for the first time, the roofs of the houses made in form of cones; a sure proof that the tropical rains grow more violent as they proceed westward.

‘ About half a mile on the hill above is the village Kaibata, wholly inhabited by Mahometan Gibbertis; that is, native Abyssinians of that religion. Kella being one of these *bers*, or passages, we were detained there three whole days, by the extravagant demands of these farmers of the Awide, who laughed at all importance we gave ourselves. They had rea-

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sons for our reasons, menaces for our menaces, but no civilities to answer ours. What increased the awkwardness of our situation was, they would take no money for provisions, but only merchandise by way of barter. We were, indeed, prepared for this by information; so we began to open shop by spreading a cloth upon the ground, at the sight of which, hundreds of young women poured down upon us on every side, from villages behind the mountains which we could not see. The country is surprizingly populous, notwithstanding the great emigration lately made with Michael. Beads and antimony are the standard in this way-faring comnerce; but beads are a dangerous speculation. You lose sometimes every thing, or gain more than honestly you should do; for all depends upon fashion: and the fancies of a brown, or black beauty, there, give the *ton* as decisively as does the example of the fairest in England.

‘To our great disappointment, the person employed to buy our beads at Jidda had not received the last list of fashions from this country; so he had bought us a quantity beautifully flowered with red and green, and as big as a large pea; also some large oval, green, and yellow ones; whereas the *ton* now among the beauties of Tigre were small sky-coloured blue beads, about the size of small lead shot, or seed pearls; blue bugles, and common white bugles, were then in demand, and large yellow glass, flat in the sides like the amber-beads formerly used by the better sort of the old women-peasants in England. All our beads were then rejected, by six or seven dozen of the shrillest tongues I ever heard. They decried our merchandize in such a manner, that I thought they meant to condemn it as unsaleable, to be confiscated or destroyed.

‘Let every man, travelling in such countries as these remember, that there is no person, however mean, who is in his company, that does not merit attention, kindness, and complacency. Let no man in travelling exalt himself above the lowest, in a greater degree than he is able to do superior service; for many that have thought themselves safe, and been inattentive to this, have perished by the unsuspected machinations of the lowest and meanest wretch among them. Few

have either made such long and frequent journeys of this kind as I; and I scarcely recollect any person so insignificant that, before the end of a moderate journey, had not it in his power to return you like for like for your charity or unkindness, be the difference of your quality and condition what it would.

‘Of all the men in our company, none had any stock of the true small sky-blue beads, and no one had one grain of the large yellow glass ones, but the poor Moor, whose ass was bit by a *liyæna* near Lila, and whose cargo was likely to be left behind at the foot of Taranta, I had distributed among the rest of the asses of the caravan; and, leaving the wounded one for the price he would fetch, had next day bought him another at Halai, with which, since that time, he continued his journey. That fellow had felt the obligation in silence; and not one word, but good-day, and good-e’en, had passed between us since conferring the favour. Understanding now what was the matter, he called Yasmine, and gave him a large package, which he imprudently opened, in which was a treasure of all the beads in fashion, all but the white and blue bugles, and these Yasmine himself furnished us with afterwards.

‘A great shout was set up by the women-purchasers, and a violent scramble followed. Twenty, or thirty, threw themselves upon the parcel, tearing and breaking all the strings as if they intended to plunder us. This joke did not seem to be relished by the servants. Their hard-heartedness before, in professing they would let us starve rather than give us a handful of flour for our unfashionable beads, had quite extinguished the regard we else would have unavoidably shewn to the fair sex. A dozen of whips and sticks were laid unmercifully upon their hands and arms, till each dropped her booty. The Abyssinian men that came with them seemed to be perfectly unconcerned at the fray, and stood laughing, without the least sign of wishing to interfere in favour of either side. I believe the restitution would not have been complete, had not Yasmine, who knew the country well, fired one of the ship-blunderbusses into the air behind their backs. At hearing so unexpectedly this dreadful noise, both men and women fell flat on their faces; the women were immediately dragged off the cloth;

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and I do not believe there was strength left in any hand, to grasp, or carry away, a single bead. My men immediately wrapped the whole in the cloth; so, for a time, our market ended.

For my part, at the first appearance of the combat I had withdrawn myself, and sat a quiet spectator under a tree. Some of the women were really so disordered with the fright, that they made very feeble efforts in the market afterwards. The rest besought me to transfer the market to the carpet I sat on under the tree. To this I consented; but, growing wise by misfortune, my servants now produced small quantities of every thing, and not without a very sharp contest and dispute, somewhat superior in noise to that of our fish-women. We were, however, plentifully supplied with honey, butter, flour, and pumpkins of an exceeding good taste, scarcely inferior to melons.

Our caravan being fully victualled the first and second day, our market was not opened but by private adventurers, and seemingly savoured more of gallantry than gain. There were three of them the most distinguished for beauty and for tongue, who, by their discourse, had entertained me greatly. I made each of them a present of a few beads, and asked them how many kisses they would give for each? They answered very readily, with one accord, "Poh! we don't sell kisses in this country: who would buy them? we will give you as many as you wish for nothing." And there was no appearance but, in that bargain, they meant to be very fair and liberal dealers.

The men seemed to have no talent for marketing; nor do they, in this country, either buy, or sell. But we were surprized to see the beaux among them come down to the tent, the second day after our arrival, with each of them a single string of thin, white bugles tied about their dirty, black legs, a little above their ancle; and of this they seemed as proud as if the ornament had been gold, or jewels.

I easily saw that so much poverty, joined to so much avarice and pride, made the possessor a proper subject to be employed. One of my young favourites, who had made so frank an offer of her kindness, had brought me her brother, begging

that I would take him with me to Gondar to Ras Michael, and allow him to carry one of my guns, no doubt with an intention to run off with it by the way. I told her that was a thing easily done; but I must first have a trial of his fidelity, which was this, That he would, without speaking to any body but me and her, go straight to Janni at Adowa, and carry the letter I should give him, and deliver it into his own hand; in which case I would give him a large parcel of each of these beads, more than ever she thought to possess in her life-time. She frankly agreed, that my word was more to be relied upon than either her own, or her brother's; and, therefore, that the beads, once shewn to them both, were to remain a deposit in my hand. However, not to send him away wholly destitute of the power of charming, I presented him the single string of white bugles for his ancle. Janni's Greek servant gave him a letter, and he made such diligence that, on the fourth day, by eight o'clock in the morning, he came to my tent without ever having been missed at home.

'At the same time came an officer from Janni, with a violent mandate, in the name of Ras Michael, declaring to the person that was the cause of our detention, That, was it not for ancient friendship, the present messenger should have carried him to Ras Michael in irons; discharging me from all awides; ordering him, as *shum* of the place, to furnish me with provisions; and, in regard to the time he had caused us to lose, fixing the awides of the whole caravan at eight piasters, not the twentieth part of what he would have exacted.

'It was on the afternoon of the 4th that we set out from Kella; our road was between two hills covered with thick wood. We then began to descend, surrounded on all sides with mountains covered with high grass and brushwood, and abounding with lions. On the 5th, we first began to see the high mountains of Adowa, nothing resembling in shape those of Europe, nor, indeed, any other country. Their sides were all perpendicular rocks, high, like steeples, or obelisks, and broken into a thousand different forms.'

On the 6th of December Bruce reached Adowa, the capital of Tigre, where he was most kindly and hospitably entertained.

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'The governor's palace,' says he, 'is not distinguished from any of the others in the town unless by the size; it is situated upon the top of a hill. The person, who is Michael's deputy, in his absence lives in it. It resembles a prison rather than a palace; for there are, in and about it, above 300 persons in irons, some of whom have been there for 20 years, mostly with a view to extort money from them; and, what is the most unhappy, even when they have paid the sum of money which he asks, do not get their deliverance from his merciless hands; most of them are kept in cages like wild beasts, and treated every way in the same manner.

'Adowa is the seat of a very valuable manufacture of coarse cotton cloth, which circulates all over Abyssinia instead of silver money; each web is 16 peck long of 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  width; their value a pataka; that is 10 for the ounce of gold. The houses of Adowa do not exceed 300; and are all of rough stone, cemented with mud instead of mortar. That of lime is not used but at Gondar, where it is very bad. The roofs are in the form of cones, and thatched with a reedy sort of grass, something thicker than wheat straw. The *Falasha*, or Jews, enjoy this profession of thatching exclusively; they begin at the bottom, and finish at the top.

'The province of Tigre is all mountainous; and it has been said, without any foundation in truth, that the Pyrenees, Alps, and Appenines, are but mole-hills compared to them. I believe, however, that one of the Pyrenees, above St. John Pied de Port, is much higher than Lamalmon; and that the mountain of St. Bernard, one of the Alps, is full as high as Taranta, or rather higher. It is not the extreme height of the mountains in Abyssinia that occasions surprize, but the number of them, and the extraordinary forms they present to the eye. Some of them are flat, thin, and square, in shape of a hearth-stone, or slab, that scarce would seem to have base sufficient to resist the winds. Some are like pyramids, others like obelisks or prisms, and some, the most extraordinary of all the rest, pyramids pitched upon their points, with their base uppermost, which, if it was possible, as it is not, they

could have been so formed in the beginning, would be strong objections to our received ideas of gravity.

‘It was on the 10th of January, 1770, I visited the remains of the Jesuits’ convent of Fremona. It is built upon the even ridge of a very high hill, in the middle of a large plain, on the opposite side of which stands Adowa. It rises from the east to the west, and ends in a precipice on the east; it is also very steep to the north, and slopes gently down to the plain on the south. The convent is about a mile in circumference, built substantially with stones, which are cemented with lime-mortar. It has towers in the flanks and angles; and, notwithstanding the ill usage it has suffered, the walls remain still entire, to the height of 25 feet. It is divided into three, by cross walls of equal height. The first division seems to have been destined for the convent, the middle for the church, and the third division is separated from this by a wall, and stands upon a precipice. It seems to me as if it was designed for a place of arms. All the walls have holes for muskets, and, even now, it is by far the most defensible place in Abyssinia. It resembles an ancient castle much more than a convent.

‘The kindness, hospitality, and fatherly care of Janni never ceased a moment. He had already represented me in the most favourable light to the *iteghe*, or queen-mother (whose servant he had long been), to her daughter Ozoro Esther, and Ozoro Altash; and, above all, to Michael, with whom his influence was very great, and, indeed, to every body he had any weight with; his own countrymen, Greeks, Abyssinians, and Mahometans; and, as we found afterwards, he had raised their curiosity to a great pitch.

‘The 17th of January was now at hand, on which the Abyssinians celebrate the feast of the epiphany with extraordinary rejoicings, and as extraordinary ceremonies, if we believe what their enemies have said about their yearly repetition of baptism. This I was resolved to verify with my own eyes; and as Alvarez, chaplain to the embassy from Don Emanuel, king of Portugal, to king David III., says he was likewise present at it, the public will judge between the two eye-witnesses which is

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likeliest to be true, when I come to give an account of the religious rites of this people.

‘ On the 7th, we set out from Adowa, resuming our journey to Gondar; and, after passing two small villages, Adeganet, and Adegan Daid, the first about half a mile on our left, the second about three miles distant on our right, we encamped at sun-set near a place called Bet Hannes, in a narrow valley, at the foot of two hills, by the side of a small stream.

‘ On the 18th, in the morning, we ascended one of these hills, through a very rough stoney road, and again came into the plain, wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia, at least as it is supposed. For my part, I believe it to have been the magnificent metropolis of the trading people, or Troglodyte Ethiopians, called, properly, Cushites, for the reason I have already given, as the Abyssinians never built any city, nor do the ruins of any exist at this day in the whole country.

‘ The ruins of Axum are very extensive; but, like the cities of ancient times, consist altogether of public buildings. In one square, which I apprehend to have been the centre of the town, there are 40 obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them. There is one larger than the rest still standing, but there are two still larger than this fallen. They are all of one piece of granite; and on the top of that which is standing there is a patera, exceedingly well carved in the Greek taste. Below, there is the door-bolt and lock, which Poncet speaks of, carved on the obelisk, as if to represent an entrance through it to some building behind. The lock and bolt are precisely the same as those used at this day in Egypt and Palestine, but were never seen, as far as I know, in Ethiopia, or at any time in use there.

‘ On the 20th of January, at seven o’clock in the morning, we left Axum. Not long after our losing sight of the ruins of this ancient capital of Abyssinia, we overtook three travellers driving a cow before them; they had black goat-skins upon their shoulders, and lances and shields in their hands, in other respects they were thinly clothed; they appeared to be soldiers. The cow did not seem to be fatted for killing, and it occurred

to us all that it had been stolen. This, however, was not our business, nor was such an occurrence at all remarkable in a country so long engaged in war. We saw that our attendants attached themselves in a particular manner to the three soldiers that were driving the cow, and held a short conversation with them. Soon after, we arrived at the hithermost bank of the river, where I thought we were to pitch our tent. The drivers suddenly tript up the cow, and gave the poor animal a very rude fall upon the ground, which was but the beginning of her sufferings. One of them sat across her neck, holding down her head by the horns, the other twisted the halter about her fore feet, while the third, who had a knife in his hand, to my very great surprize, in place of taking her by the throat, got astride upon her belly before her hind legs, and gave her a very deep wound in the upper part of her buttock.

‘From the time I had seen them throw the beast upon the ground, I had rejoiced, thinking, that when three people were killing a cow, they must have agreed to sell part of her to us; and I was much disappointed upon hearing the Abyssinians say, that we were to pass the river to the other side, and not encamp where I intended. Upon my proposing they should bargain for part of the cow, my men answered what they had already learned in conversation, that they were not then to kill her, that she was not wholly theirs, and that they could not sell her. This awakened my curiosity; I let my people go forward, and staid myself, till I saw, with the utmost astonishment, two pieces, thicker, and longer than our ordinary beef steaks, cut out of the higher part of the buttock of the beast. How it was done I cannot positively say, because judging the cow was to be killed from the moment I saw the knife drawn, I was not anxious to view that catastrophe, which was by no means an object of curiosity; whatever way it was done, it surely was adroitly, and the two pieces was spread upon the outside of one of their shields.

‘One of them still continued holding the head, while the other two were busied in curing the wound. This too was done not in an ordinary manner; the skin which had covered the flesh that was taken away was left entire, and flapped over

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the wound, and was fastened to the corresponding part by two or more small skewers, or pins. Whether they had put any thing under the skin, between that and the wounded flesh, I know not; but at the river side where they were, they had prepared a cataplasm of clay, with which they covered the wound; they then forced the animal to rise, and drove it on before them, to furnish them with a fuller meal when they should meet their companions in the evening.

‘I could not but admire a dinner so truly soldier-like, nor did I ever see so commodious a manner of carrying provisions along the road as this was. I naturally attributed this to necessity, and the love of expedition. It was a liberty, to be sure, taken with Christianity; but what transgression is not warranted to a soldier, when distressed by his enemy in the field? I could not as yet conceive that this was the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even of priests, throughout all this country.’

A rumour having been circulated that Ras Michael was defeated in battle, the people, in the province through which Bruce now travelled, were in a very turbulent state, and inclined to attack him as being the friend of the unfortunate warrior: but when it was understood, that Michael had in fact gained the victory, he was suffered to pass unmolested; except by the wild beasts, with which they were continually surrounded. ‘On the 30th, at night,’ says Bruce, ‘the hyænas devoured one of the best of our mules. They are here in great plenty, and so are lions; the roaring and grumbling of the latter, in the part of the wood nearest our tent, greatly disturbed our beasts, and prevented them from eating their provender. I lengthened the strings of my tent, and placed the beasts between them. The white ropes, and the tremulous motion made by the impression of the wind, frightened the lions from coming near us. I had procured from Janni two small brass bells, such as the mules carry. I had tied these to the storm-strings of the tent, where their noise, no doubt, greatly contributed to our beasts’ safety from these ravenous, yet cautious animals, so that we never saw them; but the noise they made, and, perhaps, their smell, so terrified the

mules, that, in the morning, they were drenched in sweat as if they had been a long journey.

‘The brutish hyæna was not so to be deterred. I shot one of them dead on the night of the 31st of January, and, on the 2d of February, I fired at another so near, that I was confident of killing him. Whether the balls had fallen out, or that I had really missed him with the first barrel, I know not, but he gave a snarl and a kind of bark upon the first shot, advancing directly upon me as if unhurt. The second shot, however, took place, and laid him without motion on the ground. Yasmine and his men killed another with a pike; and such was their determined coolness, that they stalked round about us with the familiarity of a dog, or any other domestic animal brought up with man.

‘But we were still more incommoded by a lesser animal, a large, black ant, little less than an inch long, which, coming out from under the ground, demolished our carpets, which they cut all into shreds, and part of the lining of our tent likewise, and every bag or sack they could find. Their bite causes a considerable inflammation, and the pain is greater than that which arises from the bite of a scorpion; they are called *gundan*.’

He continues, ‘on the 4th of February, at half past nine in the morning, we left Addergey: hunger pressing upon us, we were prepared to do it earlier, and for this we had been up since five in the morning; but our loss of a mule obliged us, when we packed up our tent, to arrange our baggage differently. While employed in making ready for our departure, which was just at the dawn of day, a hyæna, unseen by any of us, fastened upon one of Yasmine’s asses, and had almost pulled his tail away. I was busied at gathering the tent-pins into a sack, and had placed my musket and bayonet ready against a tree, as it is at that hour, and the close of the evening, you are always to be on guard against banditti. A boy, who was servant to Yasmine, saw the hyæna first, and flew to my musket. Yasmine was disjoining the poles of the tent, and, having one half of the largest in his hand, he ran to the assistance of his ass, and in that moment the musket went off,

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luckily charged with only one ball, which gave Yasmine a flesh wound between the thumb and fore finger of his left hand. The boy instantly threw down the musket, which had terrified the hyæna and made him let go the ass; but he stood ready to fight Yasmine, who, not amusing himself with the choice of weapons, gave him so rude a blow with the tent-pole upon his head, that it felled him to the ground; others, with pikes, put an end to his life.

‘We were then obliged to turn our cares towards the wounded. Yasmine’s wound was soon seen to be a trifle; besides, he was a man not easily alarmed on such occasions. But the poor ass was not so easily comforted. The stump remained, the tail hanging by a piece of it, which we were obliged to cut off. The next operation was actual cautery; but, as we had made no bread for breakfast, our fire had been early out. We, therefore, were obliged to tie the stump round with whip-cord, till we could get fire enough to heat an iron.

‘What sufficiently marked the voracity of these beasts, the hyænas, was, that the bodies of their dead companions, which we hauled a long way from us, and left there, were almost entirely eaten by the survivors the next morning; and I then observed, for the first time, that the hyæna of this country was a different species from those I had seen in Europe, which had been brought from Asia or America.’

Mr. Bruce, and his attendants, by great resolution and boldness, escaped from the attempts of robbery made by the shun, who followed them from Addergey. They afterwards passed the mountains of Waldubba inhabited by monks and nuns, who are reported not to lead very chaste lives. This district is very unwholesome, and the inhabitants are all of the colour of a corpse. On the 9th, they arrived at Lamalmon, where all the caravans going to Gondar pay duty, which is levied with much rigour and violence.

‘The persons,’ says Bruce, ‘whose right it was to levy these contributions were two, a father and son; the old man was dressed very decently, spoke little, but smoothly, and had a very good carriage. He professed a violent hatred to all Mahometans, on account of their religion, a sentiment which

seemed to promise nothing favourable to our friend Yasine and his companions: but, in the evening, the son, who seemed to be the active man, came to our tent, and brought us a quantity of bread and bouza, which his father had ordered before. He seemed to be much taken with our fire-arms, and was very inquisitive about them. I gave him every sort of satisfaction, and, little by little, saw I might win his heart entirely; which I very much wished to do, that I might free our companions from bondage.

'The young man, it seems, was a good soldier; and, having been in several actions under Ras Michael, as a fusileer, he brought his gun, and insisted on shooting at marks. I humoured him in this; but as I used a rifle, which he did not understand, he found himself overmatched, especially by the greatness of the range: for he shot straight enough. I then shewed him the manner in which we shot flying, there being quails in abundance, and wild pigeons, of which I killed several on wing, which left him in the utmost astonishment. Having got on horseback, I next went through the exercise of the Arabs, with a long spear and a short javelin. This was more within his comprehension, as he had seen something like it; but he was wonderfully taken with the fierce and fiery appearance of my horse, and, at the same time, with his docility, the form of his saddle, bridle, and accoutrements. He threw at last the sandals off his feet, twisted his upper garment into his girdle, and set off at so furious a rate, that I could not help doubting whether he was in his sober understanding.

'It was not long till he came back, and with him a manservant, carrying a sheep and a goat, and a woman carrying a jar of honey-wine. I had not yet quitted the horse; and when I saw what his intention was, I put mirza to a gallop, and, with one of the barrels of the gun, shot a pigeon, and immediately fired the other into the ground. There was nothing after this that could have surprized him, and it was repeated several times at his desire; after which he went into the tent, where he invited himself to my house at Gondar. There I was to teach him every thing he had seen. We now swore perpetual friendship; and a horn or two of hydromel being

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emptied, I introduced the case of our fellow-travellers, and obtained a promise that we should have leave to set out together. He would, moreover, take no awide, and said he would be favourable in his report at Gondar.

‘Matters were so far advanced, when a servant of Michael’s arrived, sent by Petros (Janni’s brother), who had obtained him from Ozoro Esther. This put an end to all our difficulties. Our young soldier also kept his word, and a mere trifle of awide was given, rather by the Moor’s own desire, than from demand, and the report of our baggage, and dues thereon, were as low as could be wished. Our friend likewise sent his own servant to Gondar, with the billet to accompany the caravan. But the news brought by his servant were still better than all this. Ras Michael had actually beaten Fasil, and forced him to retire to the other side of the Nile, and was then in Maitsha, where it was thought he would remain with the army all the rainy season. This was just what I could have wished, as it brought me at once to the neighbourhood of the sources of the Nile, without the smallest shadow of fear or danger. On the 9th of February, at seven o’clock, we took leave of the friends whom we had so newly acquired at Lamalmon, all of us equally joyful and happy at the news.’

After passing the mountains, our traveller reached a plain country, very fruitful and populous. ‘It is wholly sown,’ says he, ‘with grain of different kinds, but more especially with wheat. For the production of this, they have everywhere extirpated the wood, and now labour under a great scarcity of fuel. Since we passed Lanialmon, the only substitute for this was cows and mules dung, which they gather, make into cakes, and dry in the sun. From Addergey hither, salt is the current money, in large purchases, such as sheep or other cattle; cohol, and pepper, for smaller articles, such as flour, butter, fowls, &c. At Shimbra Zuggan they first began to inquire after red Surat cotton cloth, for which they offered us 13 bricks of salt; four pecks of this red cloth are esteemed the price of a goat. We began to find the price of provisions augmented in a great proportion as we approached the capital.

' This day, the 13th, we met several caravans going to Tigre, a certain sign of Michael's victory; also vast flocks of cattle driven from the rebellious provinces, which were to pasture on Lamalmon, and had been purchased from the army. Not only the country was now more cultivated, but the people were cleaner, better dressed, and apparently better fed, than those in the other parts we had left behind us.

' On the 14th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we continued our journey; and, after having suffered, with infinite patience and perseverance, the hardships and danger of this long and painful journey, at 45 minutes past ten we were gratified, at last, with the sight of Gondar, according to my computation about 10 miles distant. The king's palace (at least the tower of it) is distinctly seen, but none of the other houses, which are covered by the multitude of wanzey-trees growing in the town, so that it appears one thick, black wood. Behind it is Azazo, likewise covered with trees. On a hill is the large church of *Tecla Haimanout*, and the river below it makes it distinguishable; still further on is the great lake *Tzana*, which terminates our horizon.

' On the 15th, ten minutes past seven, we began to ascend the mountain; and, at 20 minutes after seven, passed a village on our left. At seven and three quarters we passed Tiba and Mariam, two churches, the one on our right, the other on our left, about half a mile distant; and near them several small villages, inhabited by Falasha, masons and thatchers of houses, employed at Gondar. At half past eight we came to the village *Tocuteho*, and, in a quarter of an hour, passed the river of that name, and in a few minutes rested on the river *Angrab*, about half a mile from Gondar.

' *Tchagassa* is the last of the many little districts, which, together, compose *Woggora*, generally understood to be dependant on *Samen*, though often, from the turbulent spirit of its chiefs, struggling for independency, as at the present time, but sure to pay for it immediately after. In fact, though large, it is too near Gondar to be suffered to continue in rebellion; and, being rich and well cultivated, it derives its support

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from the capital, as being the mart of its produce. It is certainly one of the most fruitful provinces in Abyssinia, but the inhabitants are miserably poor, notwithstanding their three-fold harvest. Whereas, in Egypt, beholden to this country alone for its fertility, one moderate harvest gives plenty everywhere.

‘Woggora is full of large ants, and prodigious swarms of rats and mice, which consume immense quantities of grain; to these plagues may be added one still greater than them all, bad government, which speedily destroys all the advantages they reap from nature, climate, and situation.’

We have before adverted to the history of ras Michael, and will now relate some circumstances necessary to be known, in order to understand the subsequent allusions in Mr. Bruce's narrative.

The Galla are a barbarous and warlike race, between whom and the Abyssinians oceans of blood have been shed. In order to prevent the influence of great families in the court at Gondar, the queen-regent married her son, Yasous, to a woman belonging to the hated Galla. On his death, in 1753, his son by this marriage was proclaimed king. A number of promotions immediately followed; but, it was observed with great discontent by many, that the *iteghe's*, or queen's, family and relations were grown so numerous, that they were sufficient to occupy all the great offices of state without the participation of any of the old families, which were the strength of the crown in former reigns; and that no preferment was now to be expected unless through some relation to the queen-mother.

Welled Hawaryat, son to Michael, governor of Tigre, had married Ozoro Altash, the queen's third daughter, almost a child; and long before that, Netcho of Tcherkin had married Ozoro Esther, likewise very young. Ras Michael, old as he was, had made known his pretensions to Ozoro Welletta Israel, the queen's second daughter, immediately younger than Ozoro Esther. These proposals, from an old man, had been received with contempt and derision by Welletta Israel, and she persevered so long in the derision of Michael's courtship, that it left strong impressions on the hard heart of that old

warrior, which shewed themselves after in very disagreeable consequences to that lady all the time Michael was in power.

The attention of government was soon called to a complaint brought by the monks of Magwena, a ridge of rocks of small extent, not far from Tcherkin, the estate of Kasmati Netcho. These mountains, for a great part of the year almost calcined under a burning sun, have, in several months, violent and copious showers of rain, which, received in vast caves and hollows of the mountains, and out of the reach of evaporation, are the means of creating and maintaining all sorts of verdure, and all scenes of pleasure, in the hot season of the year, when the rains do not fall elsewhere; and, as the rocks have a considerable elevation above the level of the plain, they are at no season infected with those feverish disorders that lay the low country waste.

Netcho was a man of pleasure, and thought, since the monks, by retiring to rocks and deserts, meant to subject themselves to hardship and mortification, that these delightful and flowery scenes, the groves of Magwena, were much more suited to the enjoyment of happiness with the young and beautiful Ozoro Esther, than for any set of men, who, by their austerities, were at constant war with the flesh. Upon these principles, which it would be very difficult for the monks themselves to refute, he took possession of the mountain Magwena, and of those bowers that, though in possession of saints, did not seem to have been made for the solitary pleasures of one sex only. This piece of violence was, by the whole body of monks, called sacrilege. Violent excommunications, and denunciations of divine vengeance, were thundered out against Kasmati Netcho. An army was sent against him; he was defeated, and taken prisoner, and confined upon a mountain in Walkayt, where, soon after, he died, but not before the iteghe had shewn her particular mark of displeasure, by taking her daughter, Ozoro Esther, his wife, from him, that she, too, and her only son, Confu, might not be involved in the excommunications, and the imputed crime of sacrilege.

Shortly after Ozoro Esther was married to a young nobleman of great rank and talents, who was also made governor of Be-

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gondar. At this time, the household troops were composed of Galla, while the great favour they were in at court, encouraged many of their countrymen to follow them; and, by the king's desire, two of his uncles were sent for, and they not only came, but brought with them 1,000 horse. These were two young men, brothers of the queen Ozoro Wobit, a Galla, just now dead. The eldest was named Brulhé, the younger Lubo. In an instant, nothing was heard in the palace but Galla. The king himself affected to speak nothing else. He had entirely entrusted the care of his person to his two uncles; and, both being men of intrigue, they thought themselves sufficiently capable of making a party, supporting it, and placing the king at the head of it; and this they effected as soon as it was conceived, whilst the Abyssinians saw, with the utmost detestation and abhorrence, a Gallan and inimical government erected in the very heart or metropolis of their country.

The high degree of power to which the brothers and their Galla arrived; the great affection the king shewed to them, owing to their having early infected him with their bloody and faithless principles, gave great alarm to the queen and her relations, whose influence they were every day diminishing. The last stroke, the death of Welled de l'Oul, king of the Funge, seemed to be a fatal one, and to threaten the entire dissolution of her power. In order to counterbalance this, they associated to their party and council Mariam Barea, who had lately married Ozoro Esther, and was in possession of the second province in the state for riches and strength, and greatly increased in its importance by the officer that commanded it. Upon the death of Welled de l'Oul, the principal fear of the Galla was, that Mariam Barea should be brought to Gondar as ras. The union between him and Kasmati Eshte, formerly as strong by inclination as now it was by blood, put them in terror for their very existence, and a blow was to be struck at all hazards that was to separate these interests for ever.

Eshte was a brave man; but, while marching to Gondar, he was assassinated by a Galla, when Waragna Fasil was appointed governor in his stead; and this was thought to do

more than counterbalance the accession of strength the queen's party had received from the marriage of Ozoro Esther with Mariam Barea.

In order to confirm the ascendancy of the Galla, Brulhé, the king's uncle, marched to dispossess Mariam Barea of his government; but, in this attempt, he was defeated and killed. The king, in his rage, called in Michael and his veteran troops, who also he made ras. This politic general pretended to act in obedience to the king, though he disapproved of the war. He, however, insisted on the king marching with the troops. In a battle that followed, the gallant and noble Mariam Barea was defeated and taken prisoner. After being brought before the king in his tent, he was accused by Lubo as the murderer of his brother, and was killed, with many circumstances of private cruelty. Twelve other officers that were taken prisoners, were advised, by some of the king's people, to fly to the tent of Michael to implore his protection immediately. This they most willingly did, with the connivance of Woosheka, who had been intrusted with the care of them; and Lubo, having finished the unfortunate Mariam Barea, came to the king's tent to seek the other prisoners, whom he intended as victims to the memory of Brulhé likewise. Hearing, however, that they were fled to Michael's tent, he sent Woosheka to demand them; but that officer had scarce opened his errand, in the gentlest manner possible, when Michael, in a fury, cried out, "Cut him in pieces before the tent-door!" Woosheka was indeed lucky enough to escape; but we shall find this was not forgotten, for his punishment was more than doubled soon afterwards.

At seeing Mariam Barea's head in the hands of a Galla, after forbidding him to expose it in his tent, (for it had been carried to him), Michael is said to have made the following observation: "Weak and cowardly people are always in proportion cruel and unmerciful. If Brulhé's wife had done this, I could have forgiven her; but for Joas, a young man, and a king, whose heart should be opened and elated with a first victory, to be partaker with the Galla, the enemies of his country, in the murder of a nobleman such as Mariam Barea,

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it is a prodigy, and can be followed by no good to himself or the state; and I am much deceived, if the day is not at hand when he shall curse the moment that ever a Galla crossed the Nile, and look for a man such as Mariam Barea, but shall not find him." And, indeed, Michael was very much entitled to make this prophecy, for he knew his own heart, and the designs he had now ready to put in execution.

It is no wonder that these free communications gave the king reason to distrust Michael. And it was observed, that Waragna Fasil had insinuated himself far into his favour: his behaviour at a late engagement, had greatly increased his importance with the king; and the number of troops he had now with him, made Joas think himself independent of the ras. Fasil had brought with him near 30,000 men, about 20,000 of whom were horsemen, wild pagan Galla, from Bizamo and other nations south of the Nile. The terror which these savages occasioned in the country through which they passed, and the great disorders they committed, gave ras Michael a pretence to insist, that all those wild Galla should be sent back to their own country.

This was the first appearance of quarrel between Fasil and ras Michael. But other incidents followed fast that blew up the flame betwixt them; of which the following was by much the most remarkable, and the most unexpected.

Near the field of the battle of Nefas Musa, in which Mariam Barea was defeated and taken prisoner, was a house belonging to that unfortunate nobleman, where he used to retire when he was busy in wars with the neighbouring Galla. It was surrounded with meadows, perfectly well watered, and full of luxuriant grass. Fasil, for the sake of his cavalry, had encamped in these meadows; or, if he had other views, they are not known; and, though all the doors and entrances of the house were shut, yet, within was the unfortunate Ozoro Esther, by this time informed of her husband's death, and with her was Ayto Aylo, a nobleman of great credit, riches, and influence. He had been at the campaign of Sennaar, and was so terrified at the defeat, that, on his return, he had renounced the world, and turned monk. He was a man of no party, and

refused all posts and employments; but was so eminent for wisdom, that all sides consulted him, and were in some measure governed by him.

This person, a relation of the iteghe's, had, at her desire, attended Ozoro Esther to Nefas Musa, but, adhering to his vow, went not to battle with her husband. Hearing, however, of the bad disposition of the king, the cruelty of the Galla, and the power and ambition of Fasil, whose soldiers were encamped around the house, he told her that there was only one resolution which she could take to avoid sudden ruin, that of being made a sacrifice to one of the murderers of her husband.

The princess, under the fairest form, had the courage and decision of a Roman matron, worthy the wife of Mariam Barea, to whom she had borne two sons. Instructed by Aylo, early in the morning, all covered from head to foot, accompanied by himself, and many attendants and friends, their heads bare, and without the appearance of disguise, they presented themselves at the door of Michael's tent, and were immediately admitted. Aylo announced the princess to the ras, and she then threw herself at his feet on the ground.

As Michael was lame, though, in all respects, healthy and vigorous, and unprepared for so extraordinary an interview, it was some time before he could get upon his feet, and uncover himself before his superior. This being at last accomplished, and Ozoro Esther refusing to rise, Aylo, in a few words, told the ras her resolution was to give him instantly her hand, and throw herself under his protection, as that of the only man not guilty of Mariam Barea's death, who could save her and her children from the bloody cruelty and insolence of the Galla that surrounded her. Michael, sanguine as he was in his expectations of the fruit he was to reap from his victory, did not expect so soon so fair a sample of what was to follow.

To decide well, instantly upon the first view of things, was a talent Michael possessed superior to any in the kingdom. Though Ozoro Esther had never been part of his schemes, he immediately saw the great advantage which would accrue to him by making her so, and he seized it; and he was certain also that the king, in his present disposition, would soon in-

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terfere. He lifted Ozoro Esther, and placed her upon his seat; sent for Kefla Yasous and his other officers, and ordered them, with the utmost expedition, to draw up his army in order of battle, as if to review to ascertain his loss. At the same time, he sent for a priest, and ordered separate tents to be pitched for Ozoro Esther, and her household. All this was performed quickly; then meeting her with the priest, he was married to her at the door of his own tent, in the midst of the acclamations of his whole army. The occasion of these loud shouts was soon carried to the king, and was the first account he had of this marriage. He received the information with violent displeasure, which he could not stifle, nor refrain from expressing in the severest terms, all of which were carried to ras Michael by officious persons, almost as soon as they were uttered, and nothing softened.

The effects of the marriage of Ozoro Esther very soon appeared in an inveterate and determined hatred against the Galla. Esther, who could not save Mariam Barea, sacrificed herself that she might avenge his death, and live to see the loss of her husband expiated by hecatombs of his enemies and murderers. Mild, gentle, and compassionate, as she certainly was, her nature was totally changed when she reflected on the sufferings of her husband; nor could she ever be satisfied with vengeance for those sufferings, but constantly stimulated ras Michael, of himself much inclined to shed blood, to extirpate, by every possible means, that odious nation, by whom she had fallen from all her hopes of happiness.

Fasil, as being a Galla, the first man that broke through the horse of Begemder, and wounded and put to flight her husband Mariam Barea, was in consequence in the blackest list of her enemies. He, too, had murdered Kasmati Esthe, who was her favourite uncle, fast friend to Mariam Barca, and the man that had promoted her marriage with him.

The great credit of Fasil with the king had now given ras Michael violent jealousy. These causes of hatred accumulated every day, so that Michael had already formed a resolution to destroy Fasil, even though the king should perish with him. In these sentiments, too, was Gusho of Amhara, a man of

personal merit, whose father had filled successively all the great offices in the last reign. He was extremely rich; had married a daughter of ras Michael, and afterwards six or seven other women, being much addicted to the fair sex, and lately married to Ozoro Welleta Israel, the iteghe's daughter.

The dispute between the two chiefs soon broke out into open hostilities, in which Fasil with his Galla were totally defeated; and, because the king had favoured the enemies of the ras, he was ordered to be put to death. Hannes, one of the royal princes, past 70 years of age, was brought from the mountain Wechne, where the princes of Abyssinia are confined, and made king; but, as he refused to march against Fasil, he was poisoned by Michael's orders. He was succeeded by his son Tecla Haimanout, an accomplished and prudent prince. He immediately marched against Fasil, whom Michael again defeated with great slaughter. Among the prisoners was Woosheka mentioned before. When brought before ras Michael, the latter asked, if there was any one among the soldiers that could make a leather bottle? And being answered in the affirmative, he ordered one to be made of Woosheka's skin; but first to carry him to the king. The soldiers understood the command, though the miserable victim did not, (Michael having spoke in the language of Tigre); and he was brought to the king, who would not suffer him to speak, but waved with his hand to remove him; when they accordingly carried him to the river side, where they flayed him alive, and brought his skin, stuffed with straw, to ras Michael.

It was not doubted, that Ozoro Esther, then in the camp, had sealed the fate of this wretched victim. She appeared that night in the king's tent dressed in the habit of a bride, which she had never before done since the death of Mariam Barca. Two days after, having obtained her end, she returned triumphant to Gondar, where Providence visited her with distress in her own family, for the harshness of her heart to the sufferings of others.

Such was the state of Abyssinia when Mr. Bruce entered Gondar.

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'We were much surprized,' says he, 'at arriving on the Angrab, that no person had come to us from Petros, Janni's brother. We found afterwards, indeed, that he had taken fright upon some menacing words from the priests, at hearing a Frank was on his way to Gondar, and that he had, soon after, set out for Ibaba, where the ras was, to receive his directions concerning us. This was the most disagreeable accident could have happened me. I had not a single person to whom I could address myself for any thing. My letters were for the king and ras Michael, and could be of no use, as both were absent; and though I had others for Petros and the Greeks, they, too, were out of town.

'Many Mahometans came to the Angrab to meet the caravan. They all knew of my coming perfectly, and I soon explained my situation. I had Janni's letters to Negade ras Mahomet, the chief of the Moors at Gondar, and principal merchant in Abyssinia, who was absent likewise with the army. But one of his brethren, a sagacious, open-hearted man, desired me not to be discouraged; that, as I had not put off my Moorish dress, I should continue it; that a house was provided for Mahomet Gibberti, and those that were with him, and that he would put me immediately into possession of it, where I might stay, free from any intercourse with the priests, till Petros or the ras should return to Gondar. This advice I embraced with great readiness, as there was nothing I was so much afraid of as an encounter with fanatical priests before I had obtained some protection from government, or the great people in the country. After having concerted these measures, I resigned myself to the direction of my Moorish friend, Hagi Saleh.

'We moved along the Angrab, having Gondar on our right situated upon a hill, and the river on our left, proceeding down till its junction with a smaller stream, called the Kahha, that joins it at the Moorish town. The Moorish town at Gondar may consist of 3,000 houses, some of them spacious and good. I was put in possession of a very neat one, destined for Mahomet Gibberti. Flour, honey, and such-like food, Mahometans and Christians eat promiscuously, and so far I

was well situated. As for flesh, although there was abundance of it, I could not touch a bit of it, being killed by Mahometans, as that communion would have been looked upon as equal to a renunciation of Christianity.

By Jauni's servant, who had accompanied us from Adowa, his kind and friendly master had wrote to Ayto Aylo. He was the constant patron of the Greek, and had been so also of all the Catholics who had ventured into this country, and been forced after to leave it. Though no man professed greater veneration for the priesthood, no one privately detested more those of his own country than he did; and he always pretended that, if a proper way of going to Jerusalem could be found, he would leave his large estates, and the rank he had in Abyssinia, and, with the little money he could muster, live the remaining part of his days among the monks, of whom he had now accounted himself one, in the convent of the holy sepulchre. This perhaps was, great part of it, imagination; but, as he had talked himself into a belief that he was to end his days either at Jerusalem, which was a pretence, or at Rome, which was his inclination, he willingly took the charge of white people of all communions who had hitherto been unhappy enough to stray into Abyssinia.

It was about seven o'clock at night, on the 15th of February, when Hagi Saleh was much alarmed by a number of armed men at his door; and his surprize was still greater upon seeing Ayto Aylo, who, as far as I know, was never in the Moorish town before, descend from his mule, and uncover his head and shoulders, as if he had been approaching a person of the first distinction. I had been reading the prophet Enoch, which Jauni had procured me at Adowa; and Wemmer's and Ludolf's dictionaries were lying upon it. Yasine was sitting by me, and was telling me what news he had picked up: he was well acquainted with Ayto Aylo, from several commissions he had received for his merchants in Arabia. A contention of civilities immediately followed. I offered to stand till Aylo was covered, and he would not sit till I was seated. This being got over, the first curiosity was, What my books were? and he was very much astonished at seeing one of them

was Abyssinian, and understood it perfectly, and understood it, and spoke it, and spoke

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was Abyssinian, and the European helps that I had towards understanding it. He understood Tigre and Amharic perfectly, and had a little knowledge of Arabic; that is, he understood it when spoken, for he could neither read nor write it, and spoke it very ill, being at a loss for words.

'The beginning of our discourse was in Arabic, and embarrassed enough, but we had plenty of interpreters in all languages. The first bashfulness being removed on all sides, our conversation began in Tigre, now, lately since Michael had become ras, the language most used in Gondar. Aylo was exceedingly astonished at hearing me speak the language as I did, and said after, "The Greeks are poor creatures; Peter does not speak Tigre so well as this man." Then, very frequently, to Saleh and the bystanders, "Come, come, he'll do, if he can speak; there is no fear of him; he'll make his way."

'He told us that Welled Hawaryat had come from the camp ill of a fever, and that they were afraid it was the small pox: that Janni had informed them I had saved many young people's lives at Adowa, by a new manner of treating them: and that the iteghe desired I would come the next morning, when he should carry me to Koscam and introduce me to her. I told him that I was ready to be directed by his good advice; that the absence of the Greeks and Mahomet Gibberti at the same time, had very much distressed me, and especially the apprehensions of Petros. He said, smiling, That neither Petros nor himself were bad men, but that unfortunately they were great cowards, and things were not always so bad as they apprehended. What had frightened Petros, was a conversation of Abba Salama, whom they had met at Koscam, expressing his displeasure with some warmth, that a Frank, meaning me, was permitted to come to Gondar. "But," says Ayto Aylo, "we shall hear to-morrow or next day. Ras Michael and Abba Salama are not friends; and if you could do any good to Welled Hawaryat his son, I shall answer for it, one word of his will stop the mouths of a hundred Abba Salamas." I will not trouble the reader with much indifferent conversa-

tion that passed. He drank capillaire and water, and sat till past midnight.

‘ Abba Salama, of whom we shall often speak, at that time filled the post of *acab saat*, or guardian of the fire. It is the third dignity of the church, and he is the first religious officer in the palace. He had a very large revenue, and still a greater influence. He was a man exceedingly rich, and of the worst life possible; though he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity, it was said he had at that time above 70 mistresses in Gondar. His way of seducing women was as extraordinary as the number seduced. It was not by gifts, attendance, or flattery, the usual means on such occasions; when he had fixed his desires upon a woman, he forced her to comply, under pain of excommunication. He was exceedingly eloquent and bold, a great favourite of the iteghe's, till taken in to be a counsellor with Lubo and Brulhé. He had been very instrumental in the murder of Kasmati Eshte, of which he vaunted, even in the palace of the queen his sister. He was a man of a pleasing countenance, short, and of a very fair complexion: indifferent, or rather averse to wine, but a monstrous glutton, nice in what he had to eat, to a degree scarcely before known in Abyssinia; a mortal enemy to all white people, whom he classed under the name of Franks, for which the Greeks, uniting their interests at favourable times, had often very nearly overset him.

‘ The next morning, about 10 o'clock, taking Hagi Saleh and Yasine with me, and dressed in my Moorish dress, I went to Ayto Aylo, and found him with several great plates of bread, melted butter, and honey, before him, of one of which he and I ate; the rest were given to the Moors, and other people present. There was with him a priest of Koscam, and we all set out for that palace as soon as we had eaten breakfast. The rest of the company were on mules. I had mounted my own favourite horse. Aylo, before his fright at Sennaar, was one of the first horsemen in Abyssinia; he was short, of a good figure, and knew the advantage of such a make for a horseman: he had therefore a curiosity to see a tall man ride;

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but he was an absolute stranger to the great advantage of Moorish furniture, bridles, spurs, and stirrups, in the management of a violent, strong, high-mettled horse. It was with the utmost satisfaction, when we arrived in the plain called Aylo Meydan, that I shewed him the different paces of the horse. He cried out with fear when he saw him stand upright upon his legs, and jump forward, or aside, with all four feet off the ground.

‘ We passed the brook of St. Raphael, a suburb of Gondar, where is the house of the Abuna; and upon coming in sight of the palace of Koscam, we all uncovered our heads, and rode slowly. As Aylo was all-powerful with the iteghe, indeed her first counsellor and friend, our admittance was easy and immediate. We alighted, and were shewn into a low room in the palace. Ayto Aylo went immediately to the queen to inquire about Welled Hawaryat, and his audience lasted two long hours. He returned to us with these news, that Welled Hawaryat was much better, by a medicine a saint from Waldubba had given him, which consisted of some characters written with the common ink upon a tin plate, which characters were washed off by a medicinal liquor, and then given him to drink. It was agreed, however, that the complaint was the small-pox, and the good the medicine had done him was, he had ate heartily of brind, or raw beef, after it, though he had not ate before since his arrival, but called perpetually for drink. Aylo said, he was to remain at Koscam till towards evening, and desired me to meet him at his own house when it turned dark, and to bring Petros with me, if he was returned.

‘ Petros was returned when I arrived, and waited for me at Hagi Saleh's house. Although he shewed all the signs of my being welcome, yet it was easy to read in his countenance he had not succeeded to his wish, in his interview with Michael, or that he had met something that had ruffled and frightened him anew. And, indeed, this last was the case; for going to the ras's tent, he had seen the stuffed skin of the unfortunate Woosheka, with whom he was well acquainted, swinging upon a tree, and drying in the wind. He was so terrified, and

struck with such horror at the sight, that he was in a kind of hysteric fit, cried, started, laughed hideously, and seemed as if he had in part lost his senses.

‘ I was satisfied by the state I saw him in, though he had left Ibaba three days, that, as the first sight of Woosheka’s stuffed skin must have been immediately before he went to the ras, he could not have had any distinct, or particular conversation with him on my account; and it turned out after, that he had not spoken one word upon the subject from fear, but had gone to the tent of Negade ras Mahomet, who carried him to Kefla Yasous; that they, too, seeing the fright he was in, and knowing the cause, had gone without him to the ras, and told him of my arrival, and of the behaviour of Abba Salama, and my fear thereupon, and that I was then in the house of Hagi Saleli, in the Moorish town. The ras’s answer was, “ Abba Salama is an ass, and they that fear him are worse. Do I cominand in Gondar only when I stay there? My dog is of more consequence in Gondar than Abba Salama.” And then, after pausing a little, he said, “ Let Yagoube stay where he is in the Moors town; Saleh will let no priests trouble him there.” Negade ras Mahomet laughed, and said, “ We will answer for that;” and Petros set out immediately upon his return, haunted night and day with the ghost of his friend Woosheka, but without having seen ras Michael.

‘ I thought, when we went at night to Ayto Aylo, and Petros had told the story distinctly, that Aylo and he were equally afraid, for he had not, or he pretended he had not, till then heard that Woosheka was flayed alive. Aylo, too, was well acquainted with the unfortunate person, and only said, “ This is Esther, this is Esther; nobody knows her but I.” Then they went on to inquire particulars, and after, they would stop one another, and desire each other to speak no more; then they cried again, and fell into the same conversation. It was impossible not to laugh at the ridiculous dialogue. “ Sirs,” said I, “ you have told me all I want; I shall not stir from the Moors town till ras Michael arrives; if there was any need of advice, you are neither of you capable of giving it; now I would wish you would shew me you are

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capable of taking mine. You are both extremely agitated, and Peter is very tired; and will besides see the ghost of Woosheka shaking to and fro all night with the wind; neither of you eat supper, as I intend to do; and I think Peter should stay here all night, but you should not lie both of you in the same room, where Woosheka's black skin, so strongly impressed on your mind, will not fail to keep you talking all night in place of sleeping. Boil about a quart of gruel, I will put a few drops into it; go then to bed, and this unusual operation of Michael will not have power to keep you awake."

"The gruel was made, and a good large dose of laudanum put into it. I took my leave, and returned with Saleh; but, before I went to the door, Aylo told me he had forgot Welled Hawaryat was very bad, and the iteghe, Ozoro Altash, his wife, and Ozoro Esther, desired I would come and see him to-morrow. One of his daughters, by Ozoro Altash, had been ill some time before his arrival, and she too was thought in great danger. "Look," said I, "Ayto Aylo, the small-pox is a disease that will have its course; and, during the long time the patient is under it, if people feed them and treat them according to their own ignorant prejudices, my seeing him, or advising him, is in vain. This morning you said a man had cured him by writing upon a tin plate; and to try if he was well, they crammed him with raw beef. I do not think the letters that he swallowed will do him any harm, neither will they do him any good; but I shall not be surprized if the raw beef kills him, and his daughter Welleta Selasse, too, before I see him to-morrow.

"On the morrow Petros was really taken ill, and feverish, from a cold and fatigue, and fright. Aylo and I went to Koscam, and, for a fresh amusement to him, I shewed him the manner in which the Arabs use their firelocks on horse-back; but with this advantage of a double-barrelled gun, which he had never before seen. I shot also several birds from the horse; all which things he would have pronounced impossible if they had been only told him. He arrived at Koscam full of wonder, and ready to believe I was capable of doing every thing I undertook.

‘ We were just entering into the palace-door, when we saw a large procession of monks, with the priests of Koscam at their head, a large cross and a picture carried with them, the last in a very dirty, gilt frame. Aylo turned aside when he saw these; and, going into the chamberlain’s apartment, called Ayto ‘eikel, afterwards a great friend and companion of mine. He informed us, that three great saints from Waldubba, one of whom had neither ate nor drank for twenty years of his life, had promised him to come and cure Welled Hawaryat, by laying a picture of the Virgin Mary and the cross upon him, and, therefore, they would not wish me to be seen, or meddle in the affair. “ I assure you, Ayto Aylo,” said I, “ I shall strictly obey you. There is no sort of reason for my meddling in this affair with such associates. If they can cure him by a miracle, I am sure it is the easiest kind of cure of any, and will not do his constitution the least harm afterwards, which is more than I will promise for medicines in general; but, remember what I say to you, it will, indeed, be a miracle, if both the father and the daughter are not dead before to-morrow night.” We seemed all of us satisfied in one point, that it was better he should die, than I come to trouble by interfering.

‘ After the procession was gone, Aylo went to the iteghe, and, I suppose, told her all that happened since he had seen her last. I was called in, and, as usual, prostrated myself upon the ground. She received that token of respect without offering to excuse or to decline it. Aylo then said, “ This is our gracious mistress, who always gives us her assistance and protection. You may safely say before her whatever is in your heart.”

‘ Our first discourse was about Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary, the city of David, and the mountain of Olives, with the situations of which she was perfectly well acquainted. She then asked me to tell her truly if I was not a Frank? “ Madam,” said I, “ if I was a Catholic, which you mean by Frank, there could be no greater folly than my concealing this from you in the beginning, after the assurance Ayto Aylo has just now given; and, in confirmation of the truth I am now telling (she had a large bible lying on the table before her,

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upon which I laid my hand), I declare to you, by all those truths contained in this book, that my religion is more different from the Catholic than your's is: that there has been more blood shed between the Catholics and us, on account of the difference of religion, than ever was between you and the Catholics in this country; even at this day, when men are become wiser and cooler in many parts of the world, it would be full as safe for a Jesuit to preach in the market-place of Gondar, as for any priest of my religion to present himself as a teacher in the most civilized of Frank, or Catholic countries." "How is it then," says she, "that you don't believe in miracles?"

"I see, madam," said I, "Ayto Aylo has informed you of a few words that some time ago dropt from me. I do certainly believe the miracles of Christ and his apostles, otherwise I am no Christian; but I do not believe these miracles of latter times, wrought upon trifling occasions, like sports, and jugglers' tricks." "And yet," says she, "our books are full of them." "I know they are," said I, "and so are those of the Catholics: but I never can believe that a saint converted the devil, who lived, forty years after, a holy life as a monk; nor the story of another saint, who, being sick and hungry, caused a brace of partridges, ready roasted, to fly upon his plate that he might eat them." "He has been reading the Synaxar," says Ayto Aylo. "I believe so," says she, smiling: "but is there any harm in believing too much, and is not there great danger in believing too little?" "Certainly," continued I; "but what I meant to say to Ayto Aylo was, that I did not believe laying a picture upon Welled Hawaryat would recover him when delirious in a fever." She answered, "There was nothing impossible with God." I made a bow of assent, wishing heartily the conversation might end there.

"I returned to the Moors town, leaving Aylo with the queen. In the afternoon I heard Welletta Selasse was dead; and, at night, died her father, Welled Hawaryat. The contagion from Masuah and Adowa had spread itself all over Gondar. Ozoro Ayabdar, daughter of Ozoro Altash, was now sick, and a violent fever had fallen upon Koscam. The next

morning Aylo came to me, and told me, the faith in the saint, how he did not eat or drink for twenty years, was perfectly abandoned since Welled Hawaryat's death: that it was the desire of the queen, and Ozoro Esther, that I should transport myself to Koscam to the iteghe's palace, where all their children and grand-children, by the different men the queen's daughters had married, were under her care. I told him, "I had some difficulty to obey them, from the positive orders I had received from Petros to stay in the Moors town with Hagi Saleh till the ras should arrive; that Koscam was full of priests, and Abba Salama there every day; notwithstanding which, if Petros and he so advised me, I would certainly go to any possible service to the iteghe, or Ozoro Esther."

'He desired half an hour's absence before he gave me an answer, but did not return for three hours afterwards, and, without alighting, cried out at some distance, "Aya, come; you must go immediately." I told him, "that new and clean clothes in the Gondar fashion had been procured for me by Petros, and that I wished they might be sent to his house, where I would put them on, and then go to Koscam, with a certainty that I carried no infection with me; for I had attended a number of Moorish children, while at Hagi Saleh's house, most of whom happily went on doing well, but that there was no doubt there would be infection in my clothes." He praised me up to the skies for this precaution, and the whole was executed in the manner proposed. My hair was cut round, curled, and perfumed, in the Amharic fashion, and I was thenceforward, in all outward appearance, a perfect Abyssinian.

'My first advice, when arrived at Koscam, was, that Ozoro Esther, and her son by Mariam Barea, and a son by ras Michael, should remove from the palace, and take up their lodging in a house formerly belonging to her uncle, Basha Eusebius, and give the part of the family that were yet well a chance of escaping the disease. Her young son by Mariam Barca, however, complaining, the iteghe would not suffer him to remove, and the resolution was taken to abide the issue all in the palace together.

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‘ Before I entered upon my charge, I desired Petros (now recovered), Aylo, Abba Christophorus, a Greek priest, who acted as a physician before I came to Gondar, and Armaxikos, priest of Koscam, and favourite of the iteghe, to be all present. I stated to them the disagreeable task now imposed upon me, a stranger, without acquaintance or protection, having the language but imperfectly, and without power, or controul, among them. I professed my intention of doing my utmost, although the disease was much more serious and fatal in this country than in mine, but I insisted one condition should be granted me, which was, that no directions as to regimen, or management, even of the most trifling kind, as they might think, should be suffered, without my permission and superintendance, otherwise I washed my hand of the consequence, which I told them before would be fatal. They all assented to this, and Armaxikos declared those excommunicated that broke this promise; and I saw that the more scrupulous and particular I was, the more the confidence of the ladies increased. Armaxikos promised me the assistance of his prayers, and those of the whole monks, morning and evening; and Aylo said lowly to me, “ You’ll have no objection to this saint; I assure you he eats and drinks heartily, as I shall shew you when once these troubles are over.”

‘ I set the servants all to work. There were apartments enough. I opened all the doors and windows, fumigating them with incense and myrrh, in abundance, washed them with warm water and vinegar, and adhered strictly to the rules which my worthy and skilful friend, doctor Russel, had given me at Aleppo.

‘ The common and fatal regimen in this country, and in most parts in the East, has been to keep their patient from feeling the smallest breath of air; hot drink, a fire, and a quantity of covering are added in Abyssinia, and the doors shut so close as even to keep the room in darkness, whilst this heat is further augmented by the constant burning of candles.

‘ Ayabdar, Ozoro Altash’s remaining daughter, and the son of Mariam Barca, were both taken ill at the same time, and happily recovered. A daughter of Kasmati Boro, by a

daughter of Kasmati Esther, died, and her mother, though she survived, was a long time ill afterwards. Ayabdar was very much marked, as was Mariam Barea's son.

' At this time, Ayto Confu, son of Kasmati Netcho by Ozoro Esther, had arrived from Tcherkin, a lad of very great hopes, though not then fourteen. He came to see his mother without my knowledge or her's, and was infected likewise. Last of all, the infant child of Michael, the child of his old age, took the disease, and though the weakest of all the children, recovered best. I tell these actions for brevity's sake all together, not directly in the order they happened, to satisfy the reader about the reason of the remarkable attention and favour shewed to me afterwards, upon so short an acquaintance.

' The fear and anxiety of Ozoro Esther, upon smaller occasions, was excessive, and fully in proportion to the greater that now existed; many promises of Michael's favour, of riches, greatness, and protection, followed every instance of my care and attention towards my patients. She did not eat, or sleep, herself; and the ends of her fingers were all broke out into pustules, from touching the several sick persons. Confu, the favourite of all the queen's relations, and the hope of their family, had symptoms which all feared would be fatal, as he had violent convulsions, which were looked upon as fore-runners of immediate death; they ceased, however, immediately on the eruption. The attention which I shewed to this young man, which was more than overpaid by the return he himself made on many occasions afterwards, was greatly owing to a prepossession in his favour, which I took upon his first appearance. Policy, as may be imagined, as well as charity, alike influenced me in the care of my other patients; but an attachment, which Providence seemed to have inspired me with for my own preservation, had the greatest share in my care for Ayto Confu.

' Though it is not the place, I must not forget to tell the reader, that, the third day after I had come to Koscam, a horseman and a letter had arrived from Michael to Hagi Saleh, ordering him to carry me to Koscam, and likewise a short let-

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**AN ABYSSINIAN PRINCESS.**

*Published by Mackenzie & Dent*

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ter written to me by Negade ras Mahomet in Arabic, as from ras Michael, very civil, but containing positive orders and command, as if to a servant, that I should repair to the iteghe's palace, and not stir from thence till further orders, upon any pretence whatever.

' I cannot say but this positive, peremptory dealing, did very much shock and displease me. I shewed the letter to Petros, who approved of it much, said he was glad to see it in that style, as it was a sign the ras was in earnest. I shewed it to Aylo Ayto, who said not much to it either the one way or the other, only he was glad that I had gone to Koscam before it came; but he taxed Ozoro Esther with being the cause of a proceeding which might have been proper to a Greek, or slave, but was not so to a free man like me, who came recommended to their protection, and had, as yet, received no favour, or even civility. Ozoro Esther laughed heartily at all this, for the first time she had shewn any inclination to mirth; she confessed she had sent a messenger every day, sometimes two, and sometimes three, ever since Welled Hawaryaf had died, and by every one of them she had pressed the ras to enjoin me not to leave Koscam, the consequence of which was the order above mentioned; and, in the evening, there was a letter to Petros from Anthule, Janni's son-in-law, a Greek, and treasurer to the king, pretty much to the same purpose as the first, and in no softer terms, with directions, however, to furnish me with every thing I should want, on the king's account.

' On the morning, Aylo, in presence of the queen, speaking to Ozoro Esther of the style of the ras's letter to me, she confessed that her own anxiety was the cause, but added, " You have often upbraided me with being, what you call, an unchristian enemy, in the advices you suppose I frequently give Michael; but now, if I am not as good a friend to Yagoube, who has saved my children, as I am a steady enemy to the Galla, who murdered my husband, say then Esther is not a Christian, and I forgive you." Many conversations of this kind passed between her and me, during the illness of Ayto Confu. I removed my bed to the outer door of Confu's

chamber, to be ready whenever he should call; but his mother's anxiety kept her awake in his room all night, and propriety did not permit me to go to bed. From this frequent communication began a friendship between Ozoro Esther and me, which ever after subsisted without any interruption.

'Our patients, being all likely to do well, were removed to a large house of Kasmati Eshte, which stood still within the boundaries of Koscam, while the rooms underwent another lustration and fumigation, after which they all returned; and I got, as my fee, a present of the neat and convenient house formerly belonging to Basha Eusebius, which had a separate entry, without going through the palace. Still I thought it better to obey ras Michael's orders to the letter, and not stir out of Koscam, not even to Hagi Saleh's, or to Ayto Aylo's, though both of them frequently endeavoured to persuade me that the order had no such strict meaning. But my solicitude was in no way disagreeable to me. I had a great deal to do. I mounted my instruments, my barometer and the thermometer, telescopes, and quadrant. Again all was wonder. It occasioned me many idle hours before the curiosity of the palace was satisfied. I saw the queen once every day at her levee, sometimes in the evening, where many priests were always present. I was, for the most part, twice-a-day, morning and evening, with Ozoro Esther, where I seldom met with any.

'One day, when I went early to the queen, that I might get away in time, having some other engagements about noon, just as I was taking my leave, in came Abba Salama. At first he did not know me from the change of dress; but, soon after recollecting me, he said, as it were passing, "Are you here? I thought you was with ras Michael." I made him no answer, but bowed, and took my leave, when he called out, with an air of authority, "Come back!" and beckoned me with his hand.

'Several people entered the room at that instant, and I stood still in the same place where I was, ready to receive the iteghe's order: she said, "Come back, and speak to Abba Salama." I then advanced a few paces forward, and said,

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looking to the iteghe, "What has Abba Salama to say to me?" He began by directing his discourse to the queen, "Is he a priest? Is he a priest?" The iteghe answered very gravely, "Every good man is a priest to himself; in that sense, and no other, Yagoube is a priest."—"Will you answer a question that I will ask you?" says he to me with a very pert tone of voice. "I do not know but I may, if it is a discreet one," said I, in Tigre. "Why don't you speak Amharic?" says he to me in great haste, or seeming impatience. "Because I cannot speak it well," said I; "why don't you, on the other hand, speak Tigre to me? It is the language the Holy Scriptures are written in, and you, a priest, should understand it." "That is Geez," says he; I understand it, though I don't speak it."—"Then," replied I, "Ayto Heikel," the queen's chamberlain, who stood behind me, "shall interpret for us; he understands all languages."

"Ask him, Heikel," says he, "how many natures are there in Christ." Which being repeated to me, I said, "I thought the question to be put was something relating to my country, travels, or profession, in which I probably could instruct him; and not belonging to his, in which he should instruct me. I am a physician in the town, a horseman and soldier in the field. Physic is my study in the one, and managing my horse and arms in the other. This I was bred to; as for disputes and matters of religion, they are the province of priests and schoolmen. I profess myself much more ignorant in these than I ought to be; therefore, when I have doubts, I propose them to some holy man like you, Abba Salama [he bowed for the first time], whose profession these things are. He gives me a rule, and I implicitly follow it." "Truth! truth!" says he; "by St. Michael, prince of angels, that is right; it is answered well; by St. George, he is a clever fellow. They told me he was a Jesuit. Will you come to see me? Will you come to see me? You need not be afraid when you come to me." "I trust," said I, bowing, "I shall do no ill, in that case shall have no reason to fear." Upon this I withdrew from among the crowd, and went away, as an express then arrived from ras Michael.

' It was on the 8th or 9th of March I met him at Azazo. He was dressed in a coarse dirty cloth, wrapt about him like a blanket, and another like a table-cloth folded about his head: he was lean, old, and apparently much fatigued; sat stooping upon an excellent mule, that carried him speedily without shaking him; he had also sore eyes. As we saw the place where he was to alight, by four cross lances, and a cloth thrown over them like a temporary tent, upon an eminence, we did not speak to him till he alighted. Petros and the Greek priest, besides servants, were the only people with me; Francis (a Greek much attached to Michael, and a good soldier), had joined us upon our meeting the ras.

' We alighted at the same time he did, and afterwards, with anxiety enough, we deputed the Greek priest, who was a friend of Michael, to tell him who I was, and that I was come to meet him. The soldiers made way, and I came up, took him by the hand, and kissed it. He looked me broad in the face for a second, repeated the ordinary salutation in Tigre, "How do you do? I hope you are well;" and pointed to a place where I was to sit down. A thousand complaints, and a thousand orders came immediately before him, from a thousand mouths, and we were nearly smothered; but he took no notice of me, nor did he ask for one of his family. In some minutes after came the king, who passed at some distance to the left of him; and Michael was then led out of the shelter of his tent to the door, where he was supported on foot till the king passed by, having first pulled off the towel that was upon his head, after which he returned to his seat in the tent again.

' The king had been past about a quarter of a mile, when Kefa Yasous came from him with orders to the ras, or rather, as I believe, to receive orders from him. He brought with him a young nobleman, Ayto Engedan, who, by his dress, having his upper garment twisted in a particular manner about his waist, shewed that he was carrier of a special message from the king. The crowd by this time had shut us quite out, and made a circle round the ras, in which we were not included. We were upon the point of going away, when Kefa Yasous,

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who had seen Francis, said to him, "I think Engedan has the king's commands for you; you must not depart without leave." And, soon after, we understood that the king's orders were to obtain leave from the ras, to bring me, with Engedan, near, and in sight of him, without letting me know, or introducing me to him. In answer to this, the ras had said, "I don't know him; will people like him think this right? Ask Petros; or why should not the king call upon him and speak to him; he has letters to him as well as to me, and he will be obliged to see him to-morrow."

' Engedan went away on a gallop to join the king, and we proceeded after him, nor did we receive any other message either from the king or the ras. We returned to Koscam, very little pleased with the reception we had met with. All the town was in a hurry and confusion; 30,000 men were encamped upon the Kahha; and the first horrid scene Michael exhibited there, was causing the eyes of twelve of the chiefs of the Galla, whom he had taken prisoners, to be pulled out, and the unfortunate sufferers turned out to the fields, to be devoured at night by the hyæna. Two of these I took under my care, who both recovered, and from them I learned many particulars of their country and manners.

' The next day, which was the 10th, the army marched into the town in triumph, and the ras at the head of the troops of Tigre. He was bareheaded; over his shoulders, and down to his back, hung a pallium, or cloak, of black velvet, with a silver fringe. A boy, by his right stirrup, held a silver wand of about five feet and a half long, much like the staves of our great officers at court. Behind him all the soldiers, who had slain an enemy and taken the spoils from them, had their lances and firelocks ornamented with shreds of scarlet cloth, one piece for every man he had slain.

' Remarkable among all this multitude was Hagos, door-keeper of the ras. This man, always well-armed and well-mounted, had followed the wars of the ras from his infancy, and had been so fortunate in this kind of single combat, that his whole lance and javelin, horse and person, were covered over with the shreds of scarlet cloth. At the last battle he

was at, Hagos is said to have slain 11 men with his own hand. Indeed there is nothing more fallacious than judging of a man's courage by these marks of conquest. A good horseman, armed with a coat of mail, upon a strong, well-fed, well-winded horse, may, after a defeat, kill as many of these wretched, weary, naked fugitives, as he pleases, confining himself to those that are weakly, mounted upon tired horses, and covered only with goat's skins, or that are flying on foot.

‘ One thing remarkable in this cavalcade, which I observed, was the head-dress of the governor of provinces. A large broad fillet was bound upon their forehead, and tied behind their head. In the middle of this was a horn, or a conical piece of silver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called *kirn*, or horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory. This, I apprehend, like all other of their usage, is taken from the Hebrews, and the several allusions made in scripture to it arise from this practice:—“ I said unto fools, Deal not foolishly; and to the wicked, Lift not up the horn”——“ Lift not up your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck”——“ For promotion cometh,” &c.—“ But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of a unicorn”——“ And the horn of the righteous shall be exalted with honour.” And so in many other places throughout the Psalms.

‘ Next to these came the king, with a fillet of white muslin, about three inches broad, binding his forehead, tied with a large double knot behind, and hanging down about two feet on his back. About him were the great officers of state, such of the young nobility as were without command, and after the household troops.

‘ Then followed the *kanitz kitzera*, or executioner of the camp, and his attendants; and, last of all, amidst the king's and the ras's baggage, came a man bearing the stuffed skin of the unfortunate Woosheka upon a pole, which he hung upon a branch of the tree before the king's palace appropriated for public executions.

‘ It was now the 13th of March, and I had heard no word from Ozoro Esther, or the ras, though removed to a house in

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Gondar near to Petros. I had gone every day once to see the children at Koscam; at all which times I had been received with the greatest cordiality and marks of kindness by the iteghe, and orders given for my free admittance upon all occasions like an officer of her household. As to the rest, I never was in appearance more neglected, than in this present moment, by all but the Moors. These were very grateful for the successful attention I had shewed their children, and very desirous to have me again among them. Hagi Saleh, in particular, could not satiate himself with cursing the ingratitude of these caffres, or infidels, the Christians. He knew what had passed at Koscam, he saw what he thought likely to happen now, and his anger was that of an honest man, and which, perhaps, many former instances which he had been witness of might have justified; but in the present one he was mistaken.

‘ In the evening, Negade ras Mahomet came to my house; he said Mahomet Gibberti was arrivcd, had been twice on private business with the ras, but had not yet delivered him his presents; and he had not informed me of this, as he thought I was still at Koscam, and that Saleh his brother knew nothing of it, as he had not seen him since he came home. He also informed me that Ayto Aylo was with the ras twice, the day after he entered Gondar, and once with Mahomet Gibberti: all this was about me; and that, at Ayto Aylo’s proposal, it was agreed that I should be appointed *palambarus*, which is master of the king’s horse. It is a very great office, both for rank and revenue, but has no business attending it. I told Mahomet, that, far from being any kindness to me, this would make me the most unhappy of all creatures; that my extreme desire was to see the country, and its different natural productions; to converse with the people as a stranger, but to be nobody’s master nor servant; to see their books; and, above all, to visit the sources of the Nile; to live as privately in my own house, and have as much time to myself, as possible; and what I was most anxious about at present, was to know when it would be convenient for them to admit me to see the ras, and deliver my letters as a stranger.

‘ Mahomet went away, and returned, bringing Mahomet Gibberti, who told me, that, besides the letter I carried to ras Michael from Metical Aga, his master, he had been charged with a particular one, out of the ordinary form, dictated by the English at Jidda, who, all of them, and particularly my friends captain Thornhill, and captain Thomas Price of the Lion, had agreed to make a point with Metical Aga, devoted to them for his own profit, that his utmost exertion of friendship and interest, should be so employed in my recommendation as to engage the attention of ras Michael to provide in earnest for my safety and satisfaction in every point.

‘ This letter I had myself read at Jidda; it informed Michael of the power and riches of our nation, and that they were absolute masters of the trade on the Red sea, and strictly connected with the sheriffe, and in a very particular manner with him, Metical Aga; that any accident happening to me would be an infamy and disgrace to him, and worse than death itself, because, that knowing Michael’s power, and relying on his friendship, he had become security for my safety, after I arrived in his hands; that I was a man of consideration in my own country, servant to the king of it, who, though a Christian, governed his subjects, musselmen and pagans, with the same impartiality and justice as he did Christians; that all my desire was to examine springs and rivers, trees and flowers, and the stars in the heavens, from which I drew knowledge very useful to preserve man’s health and life; that I was no merchant, and had no dealings whatever in any sort of mercantile matters; and that I had no need of any man’s money, as he had told Mahomet Gibberti to provide for any call I might have in that country, and for which he would answer, let the sum be what it would, as he had the word of my countrymen to repay it, which he considered better than the written security of any other people in the world. He then repeated very nearly the same words used in the beginning of the letter; and, upon this particular request, Metical Aga had sent him a distinct present, not to confound it with other political and commercial affairs, in which they were concerned together.

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‘ Upon reading this letter, Michael exclaimed, “ Metical Aga does not know the situation of this country. Safety! where is that to be found? I am obliged to fight for my own life every day. Will Metical call this safety? Who knows, at this moment, if the king is in safety, or how long I shall be so? All I can do is to keep him with me. If I lose my own life, and the king’s, Metical Aga can never think it was in my power to preserve that of his stranger.”—“ No, no,” says Ayto Aylo, who was then present, “ you don’t know the man; he is a devil on horseback; he rides better, and shoots better, than any man that ever came into Abyssinia; lose no time, put him about the king, and there is no fear of him. He is very sober and religious; he will do the king good.”—“ Shoot!” says Michael, “ he won’t shoot at me as the Armenian did; will he? will he?” “ Oh,” continued Aylo, “ you know these days are over. What is the Armenian? a boy, a slave to the Turk. When you see this man, you’ll think of the Armenian.” It was finally agreed, that the letters the Greeks had received should be read to the king; that the letters I had from Metical Aga to the ras should be given to Mahomet Gibberti, and that I should be introduced to the king and the ras immediately after they were ready.

‘ The reader may remember that, when I was at Cairo, I obtained letters from Mark, the Greek patriarch, to the Greeks at Gondar; and particularly one, in form of a bull, or rescript, to all the Greeks in Abyssinia. In this, after a great deal of pastoral admonition, the patriarch said, that, knowing their propensity to lying and vanity, and not being at hand to impose proper penances upon them for these sins, he exacted from them, as a proof of their obedience, that they would, with good grace, undergo this mortification, than which there could be no gentler imposed, as it was only to speak the truth. He ordered them in a body to go to the king, in the manner and time they knew best, and to inform him that I was not to be confounded with the rest of white men, such as Greeks, who were all subject to the Turks, and slaves; but that I was a free man, of a free nation; and the best of them would be happy in being my servant, as one of their brethren, Michael,

then actually was. I will not say but this was a bitter pill; for they were high in office, all except Petros, who had declined all employment after the murder of Joas, his master, whose chamberlain he was. The order of the patriarch, however, was fairly and punctually performed; Petros was their spokesman; he was originally a shoemaker at Rhodes, clever, and handsome in his person, but a great coward, though on such an occasion as the present, forward and capable enough.

‘I think it was on the 14th that these letters were to be all read. I expected at the ordinary hour, about five in the afternoon, to be sent for, and had rode out to Koscam with Ayto Heikel, the queen’s chamberlain, to see the child, who was pretty well recovered of all its complaints, but very weak. In the interim I was sent for to the ras, with orders to dispatch a man with the king’s present, to wait for me at the palace, whither I was to go after leaving Michael. It was answered, that I was at Koscam, and the errand I had gone on mentioned; which disappointment, and the cause, did no way prejudice me with the ras. Five in the evening was fixed as the hour, and notice sent to Koscam. I came a little before the time, and met Ayto Ayto at the door. He squeezed me by the hand, and said, “Refuse nothing, it can be all altered afterwards; but it is very necessary, on account of the priests and the populace, you have a place of some authority, otherwise you will be robbed and murdered the first time you go half a mile from home: fifty people have told me you have chests filled with gold, and that you can make gold, or bring what quantity you please from the Indies; and the reason of all this is, because you refused the queen and Ozoro Esther’s offer of gold at Koscam, which you must never do again.”

‘We went in, and saw the old man sitting upon a sofa; his white hair was dressed in many short curls. He appeared to be thoughtful, but not displeased; his face was lean, his eyes quick and vivid, but seemed to be a little sore from exposure to the weather. He seemed to be about sixty high, though his lameness made it difficult to guess with accuracy. His air was perfectly free from constraint, what the French call *degagee*. In face and person he was liker my learned and worthy

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friend, the count de Buffon, than any two men I ever saw in the world. They must have been bad physiognomists that did not discern his capacity and understanding by his very countenance. Every look conveyed a sentiment with it: he seemed to have no occasion for other language, and indeed he spoke little. I offered, as usual, to kiss the ground before him; and of this he seemed to take little notice, stretching out his hand and shaking mine upon my rising.

‘ I sat down with Aylo, three or four of the judges, Petros, Heikel the queen’s chamberlain, and an azage from the king’s house, who whispered something in his ear, and went out; which interruption prevented me from speaking as I was prepared to do, or give him my present, which a man held behind me. He began gravely, “Yagoube, I think that is your name, hear what I say to you, and mark what I recommend to you. You are a man, I am told, who make it your business to wander in the fields in search after trees and grass in solitary places, and to sit up all night alone looking at the stars of the heavens: other countries are not like this, though this was never so bad as it is now. These wretches here are enemies to strangers; if they saw you alone in your parlour, their first thought would be how to murder you; though they knew they were to get nothing by it, they would murder you for mere mischief.”—“The devil is strong in them,” says a voice from a corner of the room, which appeared to be that of a priest. “Therefore,” says the ras, “after a long conversation with your friend Aylo, whose advice I hear you happily take, as indeed we all do, I have thought that situation best which leaves you at liberty to follow your own designs, at the same time that it puts your person in safety; that you will not be troubled with monks about their religious matters, or in danger from these rascals that may seek to murder you for money.”

‘ “What are the monks?” says the same voice from the corner; “the monks will never meddle with such a man as this.”—“Therefore the king,” continued the ras, without taking any notice of the interruption, “has appointed you *baalomaal*, (literally “keeper of the goods, or effects.” It is a post resembling that of our lords of the bed-chamber. The Koccob

horse are the cavalry in the guards;) and to command the Koccob horse, which I thought to have given to Francis, an old soldier of mine; but he is poor, and we will provide for him better, for these appointments have honour, but little profit." "Sir," says Francis, who was in presence, but behind, "it is in much more honourable hands than either mine or the Armenian's, or any other white man's, since the days of Hartze Menas, and so I told the king to-day." "Very well, Francis," says the ras; "it becomes a soldier to speak the truth, whether it makes for or against himself. Go then to the king, and kiss the ground upon your appointment. I see you have already learned this ceremony of ours; Aylo and Heikel are very proper persons to go with you. The king expressed his surprize to me last night he had not seen you; and there too is Tecla Mariam, the king's secretary, who came with your appointment from the palace to-day." The man in the corner, that I took for a priest, was this Tecla Mariam, a scribe. Out of the king's presence men of this order cover their heads, as do the priests, which was the reason of my mistake.

"I then gave him a present, which he scarce looked at, as a number of people were pressing in at the door from curiosity or business. Among these I discerned Abba Salama. Every body then went out but myself, and these people were rushing in behind me, and had divided me from my company. The ras, however, seeing me standing alone, cried, "Shut the door;" and asked me, in a low tone of voice, "Have you any thing private to say?" "I see you are busy, sir," said I; "but I will speak to Ozoro Esther." His anxious countenance brightened up in a moment. "That is true," says he, "Yagoube; it will require a long day to settle that account with you: will the boy live?" "The life of man is in the hand of God," said I, "but I should hope the worst is over;" upon which he called to one of his servants, "Carry Yagoube to Ozoro Esther."

"It is needless for me to take up the reader's time with any thing but what illustrates my travels; he may therefore guess the conversation that flowed from a grateful heart on that oc-

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casion. I ordered her child to be brought to her every forenoon, upon condition she returned him soon after mid-day. I then took a speedy leave of Ozoro Esther, the reason of which I told her when she was following me to the door. She said, "When shall I lay my hands upon that idiot Aylo? The ras would have done any thing; he had appointed you palambaras, but, upon conversing with Aylo, he had changed his mind. He says it will create envy, and take up your time. What signifies their envy? Do not they envy ras Michael; and where can you pass your time better than at court, with a command under the king?" "All is for the best; Aylo did well; all is for the best." I then left her unconvinced, and saying, "I will not forgive this to Ayto Aylo these seven years."

Mr. Bruce now obtained an audience with his majesty, which continued so long that the patience of the whole party was exhausted. 'We went all,' says our traveller, 'to Anthule's house (the king's treasurer) to supper, in a violent rage, such anger as is usual with hungry men. We brought with us from the palace three of my brother baalomaal's, and one who had stood to make up the number, though he was not in office; his name was Guebra Mascal; he was a sister's son of the ras, and commanded one-third of the troops of Tigre, which carried fire-arms, that is about 2,000 men. He was reputed the best officer of that kind that the ras had, and was a man about 30 years of age, short, square, and well made, with a very unpromising countenance; flat nose, wide mouth, of a very yellow complexion, and much pitted with the small-pox; he had a most uncommon presumption upon the merit of past services, and had the greatest opinion of his own knowledge in the use of fire-arms, to which he did not scruple to say ras Michael owed all his victories. Indeed it was to the good opinion that the ras had of him as a soldier that he owed his being suffered to continue at Gondar; for he was suspected to have been familiar with one of his uncle's wives in Tigre, by whom it was thought he had a child; at least the ras put away his wife, and never owned the child to be his.

' This man supped with us that night, and thence began one of the most serious affairs I ever had in Abyssinia. Guebra Mascal, as usual, vaunted incessantly his skill in fire-arms, the wonderful gun that he had, and feats that he had done with it. Petros said, laughing, to him, " You have a genius for shooting, but you have no opportunity to learn. Now Yagoube is come, he will teach you something worth talking of." They had all drunk abundantly, and Guebra Mascal had uttered words that I thought were in contempt of me. " I believe," replied I, peevishly enough " Guebra Mascal, I should suspect, from your discourse, you neither knew men nor guns; every gun of mine, in the hands of my servants, shall kill twice as far as yours; for my own, it is not worth my while to put a ball in it. When I compare with you, the end of a tallow-candle in my gun shall do more execution than an iron ball in the best of yours, with all the skill and experience you pretend too."

' He said I was a Frank, and a liar; and, upon my immediately rising up, he gave me a kick with his foot. I was quite blind with passion, seized him by the throat, and threw him on the ground, stout as he was. The Abyssinians know nothing of either wrestling or boxing. He drew his knife as he was falling, attempting to cut me in the face; but his arm not being at freedom, all he could do was to give me a very trifling stab, or wound, near the crown of the head, so that the blood trickled down over my face. I had tript him up, but till then had never struck him. I now wrested the knife from him with a full intention to kill him; but Providence directed better. Instead of the point, I struck so violently with the handle upon his face as to leave scars, which would be distinguished even among the deep marks of the small-pox. An adventure so new, and so unexpected, presently overcame the effects of wine. It was too late to disturb any body either in the palace, or at the house of the ras. A hundred opinions were immediately started; some were for sending us up to the king, as we were actually in the precincts of the palace, where lifting a hand is death. Ayto Heikel advised that I should go, late

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as it was, to Koscam; and Petros, that I should repair immediately to the house of Ayto Aylo, while the baalomaals were for taking me to sleep in the palace. Anthule, in whose house I was, and who was therefore most shocked at the outrage, wished me to stay in his house, where I was, from a supposition that I was seriously wounded, which all of them, seeing the blood fall over my eyes, seemed to think was the case; and he, in the morning, at the king's rising, was to state the matter as it happened. All these advices appeared good when they were proposed; for my part, I thought they only tended to make bad worse, and bore the appearance of guilt, of which I was not conscious.

'I now determined to go home, and to bed in my own house. With that intention, I washed my face and wound with vinegar, and found the blood to be already staunched. I then wrapt myself up in my cloak, and returned home without accident, and went to bed. But this would neither satisfy Ayto Hiekel nor Petros, who went to the house of Ayto Aylo, then past midnight, so that early in the morning, when scarce light, I saw him come into my chamber. Guebra Mascas had fled to the house of Kefla Yasous his relation; and the first news we heard in the morning, after Ayto Aylo arrived, were that Guebra Mascas was in irons at the ras's house.

'Every person that came afterwards brought up some new account; the whole people present had been examined, and had given, without variation, the true particulars of my forbearance, and his insolent behaviour. Every body trembled for some violent resolution the ras was to take on my first complaint. The town was full of Tigre soldiers, and nobody saw clearer than I did, however favourable a turn this had taken for me in the beginning, it might be my destruction in the end.

'I asked Ayto Aylo his opinion. He seemed at a loss to give it me; but said, in an uncertain tone of voice, he could wish that I would not complain of Guebra Mascas while I was angry, or while the ras was so inveterate against him, till some of his friends had spoken, and appeased, at least, his first resentment. I answered, "That I was of a contrary opinion,

and that no time was to be lost: remember the letter of Mahomet Gibberti; remember his confidence yesterday of my being safe where he was; remember the influence of Ozoro Esther, and do not let us lose a moment." "What," says Aylo to me in great surprize, "are you mad? Would you have him cut to pieces in the midst of 20,000 of his countrymen? Would you be dimmenia, that is, guilty of the blood of all the province of Tigre, through which you must go in your way home?" "Just the contrary," said I; "nobody has so great a right over the ras's anger as I have, being the person injured; and, as you and I can get access to Ozoro Esther when we please, let us go immediately thither, and stop the progress of this affair while it is not yet generally known. People that talk of my being wounded expect to see me, I suppose, without a leg or an arm. When they see me so early riding in the street, all will pass for a story, as it should do. Would you wish to pardon him entirely?" "That goes against my heart, too," says Aylo; "he is a bad man." "My good friend," said I, "be in this guided by me; I know we both think the same thing. If he is a bad man, he was a bad man before I knew him. You know what you told me yourself of the ras's jealousy of him. What if he was to revenge his own wrongs, under pretence of giving me satisfaction for mine? Come, lose no time, get upon your mule, go with me to Ozoro Esther, I will answer for the consequences."

'We arrived there; the ras was not sitting in judgment; he had drank hard the night before, on occasion of Powussen's marriage, and was not in bed when the story of the fray reached him. We found Ozoro Esther in a violent anger and agitation, which was much alleviated by my laughing. On her asking me about my wound, which had been represented to her as dangerous, "I am afraid," said I, "poor Guebra Mascal is worse wounded than I." "Is he wounded too?" says she; "I hope it is in his heart." "Indeed," replied I, "madam, there are no wounds on either side. He was very drunk, and I gave him several blows upon the face as he deserved, and he has already got all the chastisement he ought to have; it was all a piece of folly." "Prodigious!" says she,

"is this so? all by-and-by story."

'The ras on a stool, a belt or band could be of the most gh says he, "between him a said I, "I a Ayto Aylo? struck me. face; and I lifted my hand and drunk; spot, than to heart; fo relation is no "I order yo ship, to tell guise or con

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"is this so?" "It is so," says Aylo, "and you shall hear it all by-and-by; only let us stop the propagation of this foolish story."

'The ras in the instant sent for us. He was naked sitting on a stool, and a slave swathing up his lame leg with a broad belt or bandage. I asked him, calmly and pleasantly, if I could be of any service to him? He looked at me with a grin, the most ghastly I ever saw, as half displeased. "What," says he, "are you all mad? Aylo, what is the matter between him and that miscreant Guebra Mascal?"—"Why," said I, "I am come to tell you that myself; why do you ask Ayto Aylo? Guebra Mascal got drunk, was insolent, and struck me. I was sober and beat him, as you will see by his face; and I have not come to you to say I am sorry that I lifted my hand against your nephew; but he was in the wrong, and drunk; and I thought it was better to chastise him on the spot, than trust him to you, who might perhaps take the affair to heart; for we all know your justice, and that being your relation is no excuse when you judge between man and man." "I order you, Aylo," says Michael, "as you esteem my friendship, to tell me the truth, really as it was, and without disguise or concealment."

'Aylo began accordingly to relate the whole history, when a servant called me out to Ozoro Esther. I found with her another nephew of the ras, a much better man, called Welleta Selasse, who came from Kefla Yasous, and Guebra Mascal himself, desiring I would forgive and intercede for him, for it was a drunken quarrel without malice. Ozoro Esther had told him part. "Come in with me," said I, "and you shall see I never will leave the ras till he forgive him." "Let him punish him," says Welleta Selasse; "he is a bad man, but don't let the ras either kill or maim him." "Come," said I, "let us go to the ras, and he shall neither kill, maim, or punish him, if I can help it. It is my first request; if he refuses me, I will return to Jidda; come and hear."

'Aylo had urged the thing home to the ras in the proper light—that of my safety. "You are a wise man," says Michael, now perfectly cool, as soon as he saw me and Welleta

Selasse. "It is a man like you that goes far in safety, which is the end we all aim at. I feel the affront offered you more than you do, but will not have the punishment attributed to you; this affair shall turn to your honour and security, and in that light only I can pass over his insolence.—Wellela Selasse," says he, falling into a violent passion in an instant, "What sort of behaviour is this my men have adopted with strangers; and my stranger, too, and in the king's palace, and the king's servant? What! am I dead? or become incapable of governing longer?" Wellela Selasse bowed, but was afraid to speak, and indeed the ras looked like a fiend.

"Come," says the ras, "let me see your head." I shewed him where the blood was already hardened, and said it was a very slight cut. "A cut," continued Michael, "over that part, with one of our knives, is mortal." "You see, sir," said I, "I have not even clipt the hair about the wound; it is nothing. Now give me your promise you will set Guebra Mascal at liberty; and not only that, but you are not to reproach him with the affair further than that he was drunk, not a crime in this country." "No, truly," says he, "it is not; but that is, because it is very rare that peor'e fight with knives when they are drunk. I scarce ever herd of it, even in the camp." "I fancy," said I, endeavouring to give a light turn to the conversation, "they have not often wherewithal to get drunk in your camp." "Not this last year," says he, laughing, "there were no houses in the country." "But let me only merit," said I, "Wellela Selasse's friendship, by making him the messenger of good news to Guebra Mascal, that he is at liberty, and you have forgiven him." "At liberty!" says he, "where is he?" "In your house," said I, some where, in irons." "That is Esther's intelligence," continued the ras, "these women tell you all their secrets, but when I remember your behaviour to them I do not wonder at it; and that consideration likewise obliges me to grant what you ask. Go, Wellela Selasse, and free that dog from his collar, and direct him to go to Wellela Michael, who will give him his orders to levy the meery in Woggora; let him not see my face till he returns."

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‘Ozoro Esther gave us breakfast, to which several of the Greeks came. After which I went to Koscam, where I heard a thousand curses upon Guebra Mascal. The whole affair was now made up, and the king was acquainted with the issue of it. I stood in my place, where he shewed me very great marks of favour; he was grave, however, and sorrowful, as if mortified with what had happened. The king ordered me to stay and dine at the palace, and he would send me my dinner. I there saw the two sons of Kasmati Eshte, Aylo, and Engedan, and two Welleta Selasses; one the son of Tecla Mariam, the other the son of a great nobleman in Gojam, all young men, with whom I lived ever after in perfect familiarity and friendship. The two last were my brethren baalomaal, or gentlemen of the king’s bed-chamber.

‘They all seemed to have taken my cause to heart more than I wished them to do, for fear it should be productive of some new quarrel. For my own part, I never was so dejected in my life. The troublesome prospect before me presented itself day and night. I more than twenty times resolved to return by Tigre, to which I was more inclined by the loss of a young man who accompanied me through Barbary, and assisted me in the drawings of architecture which I made for the king there, part of which he was still advancing here, when a dysentery, which had attacked him in Arabia Felix, put an end to his life at Gondar. A considerable disturbance was apprehended upon burying him in a church-yard. Abba Salama used his utmost endeavours to raise the populace and take him out of his grave; but some exertions of the ras quieted both Abba Salama and the tumults.

‘I began, however, to look upon every thing now as full of difficulty and danger; and, from this constant fretting and despondency, I found my health much impaired, and that I was upon the point of becoming seriously ill. There was one thing that contributed in some measure to dissipate these melancholy thoughts, which was, that all Gondar was in one scene of festivity. Ozoro Ayabar, grand-daughter to Michael, was married to Powussen, now governor of Begemder. The king gave her large districts of land in that province, and ras

Michael a large portion of gold, muskets, cattle, and horses. All the town, that wished to be well looked upon by either party, brought something considerable as a present. The ras, Ozoro Esther, and Ozoro Altash, entertained all Gondar. A vast number of cattle was slaughtered every day, and the whole town looked like one great market; the common people, in every street, appearing loaded with pieces of raw beef, while drink circulated in the same proportion. The ras insisted upon my dining with him every day, when he was sure to give me a head-ache with the quantity of mead, or hydromel, he forced me to swallow, a liquor that never agreed with me from the first day to the last.

‘ After dinner we slept away to parties of ladies, where anarchy prevailed as completely as at the house of the ras. All the married women ate, drank, and smoked, like the men; and it is impossible to convey to the reader any idea of the bacchanalian scene in terms of common decency. I found it necessary to quit this riot for a short time, and get leave to breathe the fresh air of the country, at such a distance as that, once a day, or once in two days, I might be at the palace, and avoid the constant succession of those violent scenes of debauchery, of which no European can form any idea, and which it was impossible to escape, even at Koscam.

‘ Although the king’s favour, the protection of the ras, and my obliging, attentive, and lowly behaviour to every body, had made me as popular as I could wish at Gondar, and among the Tigrans fully as much as those of Amhara, yet it was easy to perceive, that the cause of my quarrel with Guebra Mascall was not yet forgot.

‘ One day, when I was standing by the king in the palace, he asked, in discourse, “ Whether I, too, was not drunk in the quarrel with Guebra Mascall, before we came to blows?” and, upon my saying that I was perfectly sober, both before and after, because Anthule’s red wine was finished, and I never willingly drank hydromel, or mead, he asked me with a degree of keenness, “ Did you then soberly say to Guebra Mascall, that an end of a tallow candle, in a gun in your hand, would do more execution than an iron bullet in his?”—“ Cer-

tainly, sir, says the king, observed, per reproach, have obtained to entitle himself, ho!” continuing speaking of me, that, w—“ Pardon will attempt to be convinced you are my your protection be great pleasure conversation fixed in.”—“ by no means before bad what I say to as if I had been master. Will an experiment what I shall Will piercing was of sycamore the length of I advance?” “ Ah, what you say do at that distance people; they one lie; but find worse; then said, “ I am but how, I with a tallow

tainly, sir, I did say so."—" And why did you say this?" says the king dryly enough, and in a manner I had not before observed. " Because," replied I, " it was truth, and a proper reproof to a vain man, who, whatever eminence he might have obtained in a country like this, has not knowledge enough to entitle him to the trust of cleaning a gun in mine." " O, ho!" continued the king, " as for his knowledge, I am not speaking of that, but about his gun. You will not persuade me, that, with a tallow candle, you can kill a man or a horse?"—" Pardon me, sir," said I, bowing very respectfully, " I will attempt to persuade you of nothing but what you please to be convinced of: Guebra Mascal is my equal, no more; you are my master, and, while I am at your court, under your protection, you are in place of my sovereign; it would be great presumption in me to argue with you, or lead to a conversation against an opinion that you profess you are already fixed in."—" No, no," says he, with an air of great kindness, " by no means; I was only afraid you would expose yourself before bad people; what you say to me is nothing."—" And what I say to you, sir, has always been as scrupulously true, as if I had been speaking to the king, my native sovereign and master. Whether I can kill a man with a candle, or not, is an experiment that should not be made. Tell me, however, what I shall do before you, that you may deem an equivalent? Will piercing the table, upon which your dinner is served (it was of sycamore, about three quarters of an inch thick), at the length of this room, be deemed a sufficient proof of what I advance?"

" Ah, Yagoube, Yagoube," says the king, " take care what you say. That is indeed more than Guebra Mascal will do at that distance; but take great care; you don't know these people; they lie themselves all day; nay, their whole life is one lie; but of you they expect better, or would be glad to find worse; take care." Ayto Engedan, who was then present, said, " I am sure if Yagoube says he can do it, he will do it; but how, I don't know. Can you shoot through my shield with a tallow candle?"—" To you, Ayto Engedan," said I,

"I can speak freely; I could shoot through your shield if it was the strongest in the army, and kill the strongest man in the army that held it before him. When will you see this tried?"—"Why now," says the king, "there is *nobody here*." "The sooner the better," said I; "I would not wish to remain for a moment longer under so disagreeable an imputation as that of lying, an infamous one in *my* country, whatever it may be in this. Let me send for my gun; the king will look out at the window."—"Nobody," says he, "knows any thing of it; *nobody will come*."

The king appeared to be very anxious, and, I saw plainly, incredulous. The gun was brought; Engedan's shield was produced, which was of a strong buffalo's hide. I said to him, "This is a weak one, give me one stronger." He shook his head, and said, "Ah! Yagoube, you'll find it strong enough; Engedan's shield is known to be no toy." Teela Mariam brought such a shield, and the Billetana Gueta Teela another, both of them were most excellent in their kind. I loaded the gun before them, first with powder, then upon it slid down one half of what we call a farthing candle; and, having beat off the handles of three shields, I put them close in contact with each other, and set them all three against a post.

"Now, Engedan," said I, "when you please say—Fire! but mind you have taken leave of your good shield for ever." The word was given and the gun fired. It struck the three shields, neither in the most difficult nor the easiest part for perforation, something less than half-way between the rim and the boss. The candle went through the three shields with such violence, that it dashed itself to a thousand pieces against a stone wall behind it. I turned to Engedan, saying very lowly, gravely, and without exultation or triumph, on the contrary, with absolute indifference, "Did not I tell you your shield was naught?" A great shout of applause followed from about a thousand people that were gathered together. The three shields were carried to the king, who exclaimed in great transport, "I did not believe it before I saw it, and I

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can scarce believe it now I have seen it! Where is Guebra Mascal's confidence now? But what do either he or we know? We know nothing." I thought he looked abashed.

"Ayto Engedan," said, "we must have a touch at that table. It was said, the piercing that was more than Guebra Mascal could do. We have one half of the candle left still; it is the thinnest, weakest half, and I shall put the wick foremost, because the cotton is the softest." The table being now properly placed, to Engedan's utmost astonishment, the candle, with the wick foremost, went through the table, as the other had gone through the three shields. "By St. Michael!" says Engedan, "Yabouge, hereafter say to me you can raise my father Eshte from the grave, and I will believe you." Some priests who were there, though surprized at first, seemed afterwards to treat it rather lightly, because they thought it below their dignity to be surprized at any thing. They said it was done by writing (*mucktoub*), by which they meant magic. Every body embraced that opinion, as an evident and rational one, and so the wonder with them ceased. But it was not so with the king: it made the most favourable and lasting impression upon his mind; nor did I ever after see, in his countenance, any marks of either doubt or diffidence, but always, on the contrary, the most decisive proofs of friendship, confidence, and attention, and the most implicit belief of every thing I advanced upon any subject from my own knowledge.

"The experiment was twice tried afterwards, in presence of ras Michael. But he would not risk his good shields, and always produced the table, saying, "Engedan and these foolish boys were rightly served; they thought Yagoube was a liar like themselves, and they lost their shields; but I believed him, and gave him my table for curiosity only, and I saved mine."

Mr. Bruce in this place relates several particulars of the manners and government of this country, some of the most peculiar of which we have selected.

"It is the constant practice in Abyssinia to beset the king's doors and windows within his hearing; and there, from early

morning to night, to cry for justice as loud as possible, in a distressed and complaining tone, and in all the different languages they are masters of, in order to their being admitted to have their supposed grievances heard. In a country so ill governed as Abyssinia is, and so perpetually involved in war, it may be easily supposed there is no want of people, who have real injuries and violence to complain of: but if it were not so, this is so much the constant usage, that when it happens (as in the midst of the rainy season) that few people can approach the capital, or stand without in such bad weather, a set of vagrants are provided, maintained, and paid, whose sole business it is to cry and lament, as if they had been really very much injured and oppressed; and this they tell you is for the king's honour, that he may not be lonely by the palace being too quiet. This, of all their absurd customs, was the most grievous and troublesome to me; and, from a knowledge that it was so, the king, when he was private, often permitted himself a piece of rather odd diversion to be a royal one.

'There would sometimes, while I was busy in my room in the rainy season, be four or five hundred people, who all at once would begin, some roaring and crying, as if they were that moment suffering, or if in the instant to be put to death; and some groaning and sobbing as if just expiring; and this horrid symphony was so artfully performed, that no ear could distinguish but that it proceeded from real distress. I was often so surprized as to send the soldiers at the door to bring in one of them, thinking him come from the country, to examine who had injured him; many a time he was a servant of my own, or some other equally known; or, if he was a stranger, upon asking him what misfortune had happened him, he would answer very composedly, "Nothing was the matter with him; that he had been sleeping all day with the horses; that, hearing from the soldiers at the door I was retired to my apartment, he and his companions had come to cry and make a noise under my window, to do me honour before the people, for fear I should be melancholy, by being too quiet when alone; and therefore hoped that I would order them drink, that they might continue with a little more spirit." The

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violent anger which this did often put me into, did not fail to be punctually reported to the king, at which he would laugh heartily; and he himself was often hid not far off, for the sake of being a spectator of my heavy displeasure.

‘In Abyssinia it is considered as a fundamental law of the land, that none of the royal family, who has any deformity, or bodily defect, shall be allowed to succeed to the crown; and, for this purpose, any of the princes, who may have escaped from the mountain of Wechne, and who are afterwards taken, are mutilated in some of their members, that thus they may be disqualified from ever succeeding.

‘The capital punishments are the cross, hanging, flaying alive, and stoning to death, to which may be added, plucking out the eyes. The dead bodies of criminals slain for high treason, murder, and violence, on the highway, at certain times, are seldom buried in Abyssinia. The streets of Gondar are strewed with pieces of their carcases, which bring the wild beasts in multitudes into the city as soon as it becomes dark; so that it is scarcely possible for any to walk in the night. Too many instances of this kind will be found throughout my narrative. The dogs used to bring pieces of human bodies into the house, and court-yard, to eat them in greater security. This was most disgustful to me, but so often repeated, that I was obliged to leave them in possession of such fragments.

‘In Abyssinia the women live, as it were, in common, and their enjoyments and gratification have no other bounds but their own will. They, however, pretend to have a principle, that, if they marry, they should be wives of one husband; and yet this principle does not bind, but, like most of the other duties, serves to reason upon, and to laugh at, in conversation.’

Mr. Bruce here notices again the Abyssinian custom of eating raw flesh, and contends, that it was an earlier and more general practice than by preparing it by fire—that it prevailed amongst the ancient Greek, the Jews, and other eastern nations, by whom it was considered a kind of religious sacrifice. Our author then proceeds to give the following account of this Polyphemus banquet.

‘ In the capital, where one is safe from surprize at all times, or in the country or villages, when the rains have become so constant that the vallies will not bear a horse to pass them, or that men cannot venture far from home through fear of being surrounded and swept away by temporary torrents, occasioned by sudden showers on the mountains; in a word, when a man can say he is safe at home, and the spear and shield are hung up in the hall, a number of people of the best fashion in the villages, of both sexes, courtiers in the palace, or citizens in the town, meet together to dine between twelve and one o'clock.

‘ A long table is set in the middle of a large room, and benches beside it for a number of guests who are invited. Tables and benches the Portuguese introduced among them; but bull hides, spread upon the ground, served them before, as they do in the camp and country now. A cow or a bull, one or more, as the company is numerous, is brought close to the door, and his feet strongly tied. The skin that hangs down under his chin and throat, which I think we call the dew-lap in England, is cut only so deep as to arrive at the fat, of which it totally consists, and, by the separation of a few small blood-vessels, six or seven drops of blood only fall upon the ground. They have no stone, bench, nor altar, upon which these cruel assassins lay the animal's head in this operation. I should beg his pardon indeed for calling him an assassin, as he is not so merciful as to aim at the life, but, on the contrary, to keep the beast alive till he be totally eaten up. Having satisfied the Mosaical law, according to his conception, by pouring these six or seven drops upon the ground, two or more of them fall to work; on the back of the beast, and on each side of the spine, they cut skin-deep; then putting their fingers between the flesh and the skin, they begin to strip the hide of the animal half way down his ribs, and so on to the buttock, cutting the skin wherever it hinders them commodiously to strip the poor animal bare. All the flesh of the buttocks is cut off then, and in solid, square pieces, without bones, or much effusion of blood; and the prodigious noise the animal makes is a signal for the company to sit down to table.

‘ There a round cake, pan-cake, a veined bread, and very ea different col bread. Th most, for t are placed. and of a bla fingers upon dinner.

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‘ There are then laid before every guest, instead of plates, round cakes, if I may so call them, about twice as big as a pan-cake, and something thicker and tougher. It is unleavened bread of a sourish taste, far from being disagreeable, and very easily digested, made of a grain called teff. It is of different colours, from black to the colour of the whitest wheat-bread. Three or four of these cakes are generally put uppermost, for the food of the person opposite to whose seat they are placed. Beneath these are four or five of ordinary bread, and of a blackish kind. These serve the master to wipe his fingers upon; and afterwards the servant for bread to his dinner.

‘ Two or three servants then come, each with a square piece of beef in their bare hands, laying it upon the cakes of teff, placed like bones down the table, without cloth or any thing else beneath them. By this time all the guests have knives in their hands, and the men have the large crooked ones, which they put to all sorts of uses during the time of war. The women have small clasped knives, such as the worst of the kind made at Birmingham, sold for a penny each.

‘ The company are so ranged that one man sits between two women; the man with his long knife cuts a thin piece, which would be thought a good beef-steak in England, while you see the motions of the fibres yet perfectly distinct, and alive in the flesh. No man in Abyssinia, of any fashion whatever, feeds himself, or touches his own meat. The women take the steak and cut it lengthwise like strings, about the thickness of your little finger, then crosswise into square pieces, something smaller than dice. This they lay upon a piece of the teff bread, strongly powdered with black pepper, or Cayenne pepper, and fossile-salt; they then wrap it up in the teff bread like a cartridge.

‘ In the mean time, the man having put up his knife, with each hand resting upon his neighbour's knee, his body stooping, his head forward, and mouth open, very like an idiot, turns to the one whose cartridge is first ready, who stuffs the whole of it into his mouth, which is so full that he is in constant

danger of being choked. This is a mark of grandeur. The greater the man would seem to be, the larger piece he takes in his mouth; and the more noise he makes in chewing it, the more polite he is thought to be. They have, indeed, a proverb that says, "Beggars and thieves only cut small pieces, or without making a noise." Having dispatched this morsel, which he does very expeditiously, his next female neighbour holds forth another cartridge, which goes the same way, and so on till he is satisfied. He never drinks till he has finished eating; and, before he begins, in gratitude to the fair ones that fed him, he makes up two small rolls of the same kind and form; each of his neighbours open their mouths at the same time, while with each hand he puts their portion into their mouths. He then falls to drinking out of a large handsome horn; the ladies eat till they are satisfied, and then all drink together, "*Vive la Voye et la Jeunesse!*" A great deal of mirth and joke goes round, very seldom with any mixture of acrimony or ill humour.

'All this time the unfortunate victim at the door is bleeding indeed, but bleeding little. As long as they can cut off the flesh from his bones, they do not meddle with the thighs, or the parts where the great arteries are. At last they fall upon the thighs likewise; and soon after the cannibals, who have the rest of it to eat, find very hard work to separate the flesh from the bones with their teeth like dogs.

'In the mean time, those within are very much elevated; love lights all its fires, and every thing is permitted with absolute freedom. There is no coyness, no delays, no need of appointments or retirement to gratify their wishes; there are no rooms but one, in which they sacrifice both to Bacchus and Venus. The two men nearest the vacuum a pair have made on the bench by leaving their seats, hold their upper garment like a screen before the two that have left the bench; and, if we may judge by sound, they seem to think it as great a shame to make love in silence as to eat. Replaced in their seats again, the company drink the happy couple's health; and their example is followed at different ends of the table, as each couple

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is disposed. All this passes without remark or scandal, not a licentious word is uttered, nor the most distant joke upon the transaction.

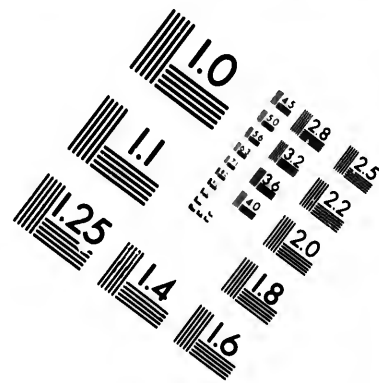
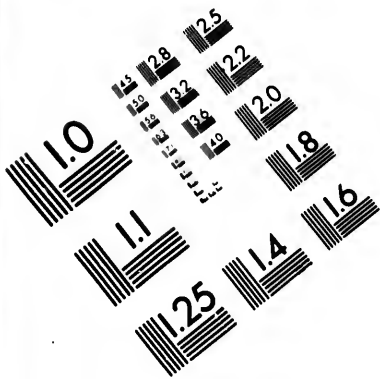
‘ There is no country in the world in which there are so many churches as in Abyssinia. Though the country is very mountainous, and consequently the view much obstructed, it is very seldom you see less than five or six churches; and if you are on a commanding ground, five times that number. Every great man that dies, thinks he has atoned for all his wickedness if he leaves a fund to build a church, or has built one in his life-time. The king builds many churches, ever a victory is gained, there a church is erected. In every field, stinking with the putrid bodies of the slain. Formerly this was only the case when the enemy was pagan or infidel; now the same is observed when the victories are over Christians.

‘ When you go to the church, you put off your shoes before your entering the outer precinct; but you must leave a servant there with them, or else they will be stolen, if good for any thing, by the priests and monks before you come out of the church. At entering you kiss the threshold, and two door-posts, go in and say what prayer you please; that finished, you come out again, and your duty is over.

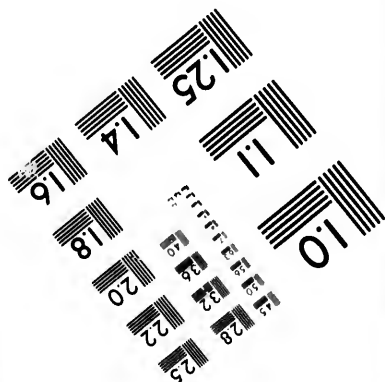
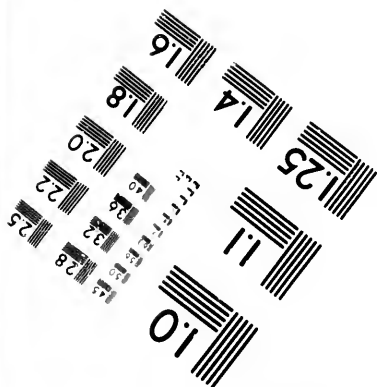
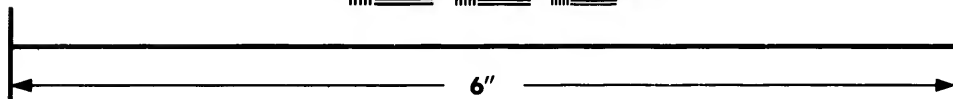
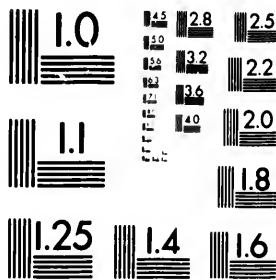
‘ Circumcision and excision are both used by the Abyssinians; but their doctrines of faith are very obscure and perplexed. The two natures of Christ, the two persons, their unity, their equality, the inferiority of the manhood, doctrines, and definitions of the time of St. Athanasius, are all wrapt up in tenfold darkness, and inextricable from amidst the thick clouds of heresy and ignorance of language. Nature is often mistaken for person, and person for nature; the same of the human substance. It is monstrous to hear their reasoning upon it. One would think, that every different monk, every time he talks, purposely broaches some new heresy.

‘ The Abyssinians are not all agreed about the state of souls before the resurrection of the body. The opinion which generally prevails is, that there is no third state: but that, after the example of the thief, the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision immediately upon the separation from the body.





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But I must here observe, that their practice and books do both contradict this; for, as often as any person dies, alms are given, and prayers are offered for the souls of those departed, which would be in vain did they believe they were already in the presence of God, and in possession of the greatest bliss possible, wanting nothing to complete it.

Mr. Bruce was now unexpectedly appointed governor of Ras el Feel, a hot, unwholesome tract of country, on the borders of Sennaar, inhabited by Mahometans. Yasmine, his faithful adherent, was made his deputy. At this time a dispute arose between a nobleman and the monks, the former having denied that Nebuchadnezzar was a saint. An insurrection was threatened, but the firmness of the ras restored tranquillity.

Immediately after news arrived that Fasil had again entered Abyssinia, the precautions against him suggested by the ras not having been adopted, and that the Agows, a loyal people, had been defeated in battle. The news were first brought by a son of Nanna Georgis, chief of the Agows, who escaped from the battle. Michael was at dinner, and I was present. It was one of his carousals for the marriage of Powussen, when young Georgis came into the room, in a torn and dirty habit, unattended, and almost unperceived, and presented himself at the foot of the table. Michael had then in his hand a cup of gold, it being the exclusive privilege of the governor of the province of Tigre to drink out of such a cup of gold; it was full of wine; before a word was spoken, and, upon the first appearance of the man, he threw the cup and wine upon the ground, and cried out, "I am guilty of the death of these people!" Every one arose, the table was removed, and Georgis told his misfortune, that Nanna Georgis his father, Zeegam Georgis, the next in rank among them, Ayamico the king's relation, and four other chiefs, were slain, and their race nearly extirpated by a victory gained by Fasil with much bloodshed, and after cruelly pursued in retaliation for that of Fagitta.

A council was immediately called, where it was resolved, that, though the rainy season was at hand, the utmost expe-

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dition should be made to take the field; that Gusho and Powussen should return to their provinces, and increase their army to the utmost of their power; that the king should take the low road by Foggora and Dara, there to join the troops of Begemder and Amhara, cross the Nile at the mouth of the lake, above the second cataract, as it is called, and march thence straight to Bure, which, by speedy marches, might be done in five or six days. No resolution was embraced with more alacrity; the cause of the Agows was the cause of Gondar, or famine would else immediately follow. The king's troops and those of Michael were all ready, and had just refreshed themselves by a week's festivity.

Gusho and Powussen, after having sworn to Michael that they never would return without Fasil's head, decamped next morning with different intentions in their hearts; for no sooner had they reached Begemder, than they entered into a conspiracy, in form, against Michael, which they had meditated and digested in their minds ever since the affront they had received from Michael, about Woosheka, after the battle of Fagitta: they had resolved to make peace with Fasil, and swear with him a solemn league, that they were but to have one cause, one council, and one interest, till they had deprived Michael of his life and dignity.

Mr. Bruce now resolved to go to Emfras in order to get a convenient tent made, a town about 20 miles from Gondar, before he joined the army. 'After having taken my leave,' says he, 'of the king and the ras, I paid the same compliment to the iteghe at Koscam: I had not for several days been able to wait upon her, on account of the riots during the marriage, where the ras required my attendance, and would admit of no excuse. That excellent princess endeavoured much to dissuade me from leaving Gondar. She treated the intention of going to the source of the Nile as a fantastical folly, unworthy of any man of sense or understanding; and very earnestly advised me to stay under her protection at Koscam, till I saw whether ras Michael and the king would return, and then take the first good opportunity of returning to my own



country through Tigre, the way that I came, before any evil should overtake me.

‘ I excused myself the best I could. It was not easy to do it with any degree of conviction, to people utterly unlearned, and who knew nothing of the prejudice of ages in favour of the attempt I was engaged in. I therefore turned the discourse to professions of gratitude for benefits that I had every day received from her, and for the very great honour that she then did me, when she condescended to testify her anxiety concerning the fate of a poor unknown traveller like me, who could not possibly have any merit but what arose from her own gracious and generous sentiments, and universal charity, that extended to every object in proportion as they were helpless. “ See! see!” says she, “ how every day of our life furnishes us with proofs of the perverseness and contradiction of human nature; you are come from Jerusalem, through vile Turkish governments, and hot unwholesome climates, to see a river and a bog, no part of which you can carry away were it ever so valuable, and of which you have in your own country a thousand larger, better, and cleaner; and you take it ill when I discourage you from the pursuit of this fancy, in which you are likely to perish, without your friends at home ever hearing when or where the accident happened. While I, on the other hand, the mother of kings, who have sat upon the throne of this country more than 30 years, have for my only wish, night and day, that, after giving up every thing in the world, I could be conveyed to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and beg alms for my subsistence all my life after, if I could only be buried at last in the street within sight of the gate of that temple where our blessed Saviour once lay.” This was said in the most melancholy tone possible; an unusual gloom hanging upon her countenance. Her desiring me, however, to stay at Koscam, till I knew whether the king and Michael would return or not, considering the large army they were to lead to the field, and the feebleness of the so-often defeated Fasil, made me from that instant apprehend that there was something behind with which I was yet unacquainted.

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‘ I confess I left the queen very much affected with the disposition I had found her in; and, if I had been of a temper to give credit to prognostics, and a safe way had been open through Tigre, I should at that time, perhaps, have taken the queen’s advice, and returned without seeing the fountains of the Nile, in the same manner that all the travellers of antiquity, who had ever as yet endeavoured to explore them, had been forced to do; but the prodigious bustle and preparation which I found was daily making in Gondar, and the assurances every body gave me that, safe in the middle of a victorious army, I should see, at my leisure, that famous spot, made me resume my former resolutions, awakened my ambition, and made me look upon it as a kind of treason done to my country, in which such efforts were then making for discoveries, to renounce, now it was in my power, the putting them in possession of that one which had baffled the courage and perseverance of the bravest men in all ages.’

On the 14th of May, Mr. Bruce joined the army, which in its march spread as much terror as would the approach of the day of judgment. Seeing the ras enter the king’s tent, he resolved to go to the tent of Ozoro Estler, ‘ where,’ he observes, ‘ I was sure at least of getting a good breakfast: nor was I disappointed. As soon as I shewed myself at the door of the tent of that princess, who was lying upon a sofa, the moment she cast her eyes upon me, she cried out, “ There is Yagoube! there is the man I wanted!” The tent was cleared of all but her women, and she then began to enumerate several complaints, which she thought, before the end of the campaign, would carry her to her grave. It was easy to see they were of the slightest kind, though it would not have been agreeable to have told her so, for she loved to be thought ill, to be attended, condoled with, and flattered; she was, however, in these circumstances, so perfectly good, so conversable, so elegant in all her manners, that her physician would have been tempted to wish never to see her well.

‘ She was then with child by ras Michael; and the late festival, upon her niece’s marriage with Powussen of Begemder, had been much too hard for her constitution, always weak

and delicate since her first misfortunes, and the death of Mariam Barca. After giving her my advice, and directing her women how to administer what I was to send her, the doors of the tent were thrown open; all our friends came flocking round us, when we presently saw, that the interval, employed in consultation, had not been spent uselessly, for a most abundant breakfast was produced in wooden platters upon the carpet. There were excellent stewed fowls, but so inflamed with Cayenne pepper as almost to blister the mouth; fowls dressed with boiled wheat, just once broken in the middle, in the manner they are prepared in India, with rice called *pillaw*, this, too, abundantly charged with pepper; Guinea hens, roasted hard with butter, or any sort of sauce, very white, but as tough as leather; above all, the never failing *brind*, for so they call the collops of raw beef, without which nobody could have been satisfied; but, what was most agreeable to me, a large quantity of wheat-bread, of Dambea flour, equal in all its qualities to the best in London or Paris.

‘The Abyssinians say, you must plant first and then water; nobody, therefore, drinks till they have finished eating; after this, the glass went cheerfully about; there was excellent red wine, but strong, of the nature of *cote-roti*, brought from Karoota, which is the wine country, about six miles south-east from the place where we then were; good new brandy; honey-wine, or hydromel, and a species of beer called bouza, both of which were fermented with herbs, or leaves of trees, and made very heady; they are disagreeable liquors to strangers. Our kind landlady, who never had quitted her sofa, pressed about the glass in the very briskest manner, reminding us that our time was short, and that the drum would presently give the signal for striking the tents. For my part, this weighed exceedingly with me the contrary way to her intentions, for I began to fear I should not be able to go home, and I was not prepared to go on with the army; besides, it was indispensably necessary to see both the king and ras Michael, and that I by no means chose to do when my presence of mind had left me; I therefore made my apology to Ozoro Esther, by a message delivered by one of her women, and slept out of the tent.’

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After an audience with the king, which was cut short by a message from the ras, the army decamped. On the 16th, Ozoro Welleta Israel, by a bold and hazardous effort, escaped from the camp; the old ras having threatened to put out her eyes, which were extremely beautiful, if Aylo, her son, did not join him. Shortly after, Gusho and Powussen appeared in open rebellion, and some of their officers robbed Bruce's servants, who were conducting his baggage. This, however, did not deter our traveller from visiting the cataract of Alata. 'This cataract itself,' says he, 'was the most beautiful sight that ever I beheld. The height has been rather exaggerated. The missionaries say, the fall is about 16 ells, or 50 feet. The measuring is, indeed, very difficult; but, by the position of long sticks, and poles of different lengths, at different heights of the rock, from the water's edge, I may venture to say, that it is nearer 40 feet than any other measure. The river had been considerably increased by rains, and fell in one sheet of water, without any interval, above half an English mile in breadth, with a force and noise that was truly terrible, and which stunned and made me, for a time, perfectly dizzy. A thick fume, or haze, covered the fall all round, and hung over the course of the stream both above and below, marking its track, though the water was not seen. The river, though swelled with rain, preserved its natural clearness, and fell, as far as I could discern, into a deep pool, or bason, in the solid rock, which was full, and in twenty different eddies to the very foot of the precipice; the stream when it fell, seeming part of it to run back with great fury upon the rock, as well as forward in the line of its course, raising a wave, or violent ebullition, by chafing against each other.'

On the 25th of May, 1770, Mr. Bruce and his companions overtook the army, which was in a state of disorder, from the defection of so many great men. On the next day, the army commenced its retreat towards Gondar; and, on the evening of the following day, it reached the Nile. 'From the time,' says our author, 'we decamped from the banks of the river Coga it poured incessantly the most continued rain we ever had yet seen; violent claps of thunder followed close one upon

another, almost without interval, accompanied with sheets of lightning, which ran on the ground like water; the day was more than commonly dark, as in an eclipse; and every hollow, or foot-path, collected a quantity of rain, which fell into the Nile in torrents. It would have brought into the dullest mind Mr. Home's striking lines on my native Carron—

Red came the river down, and loud and oft  
The angry spirit of the water shriek'd.

*Douglas.*

The Abyssinian armies pass the Nile at all seasons. It rolls with it no trees, stones, nor impediments; yet the sight of such a monstrous mass of water terrified me, and made me think the idea of crossing would be laid aside. It was plain, in the face of every one, that they gave themselves over for lost; an universal dejection had taken place, and it was but too visible that the army was defeated by the weather, without having seen an enemy. The Greeks crowded around me, all forlorn and despairing, cursing the hour they had first entered that country, and following these curses with fervent prayers, where fear held the place of devotion. A cold and brisk gale now sprung up at north-west, with a clear sun; and soon after four, when the army arrived on the banks of the Nile, these temporary torrents were all subsided, the sun was hot, and the ground again beginning to become dry.

Netcho, ras Michael's Fit Auraris, with about 400 men, had passed in the morning, and taken his station above us in little huts like bee-hives, which the soldiers, who carry no tents, make very speedily and artificially for themselves, of the long wild oats, each straw of which is at least eight feet long, and near as thick as an ordinary man's little finger. He had sent back word to the king, that his men had passed swimming, and with very great difficulty; that he doubted whether the horses, or loaded mules, could cross at any rate; but, if it was resolved to make the trial, they should do it immediately, without staying till the increase of the river. He said both banks were composed of black earth, slippery and

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miry, which would become more so when horses had puddled it; he advised, above all, the turning to the right immediately after coming ashore, in the direction in which he had fixed poles, as the earth there was hard and firm, besides having the advantage of some round stones which hindered the beasts from slipping or sinking. Instead, therefore, of resting there that night, it was resolved that the horse should cross immediately.

The first who passed was a young man, a relation of the king, brother to Ayamico, killed at the battle of Banja; he walked in with great caution, marking a tract for the king to pass. He had gone upon rather solid ground, about twice the length of his horse, when he plunged out of his depth, and swam to the other side. The king followed him immediately with a great degree of haste, ras Michael calling him to proceed with caution, but without success. Afterwards came the old ras on his mule, with several of his friends swimming both with and without their horses, on each side of him, in a manner truly wonderful. He seemed to have lost his accustomed calmness, and appeared to be a good deal agitated; forbade, upon pain of death, any one to follow him directly, or to swim over, as their custom is, holding their mules by the tail. As soon as these were safely on shore, the king's household and black troops, and I with them, advanced cautiously into the river, and swam happily over, in a deep stream of reddish-coloured water, which ran without violence almost upon a level.

Each horseman had a mule in his hand, which swam after him, or by his side, with his coat of mail and head-piece tied upon it. My horse was a very strong one, and in good condition, and a servant took charge of my mule and coat of mail, so that, being unembarrassed, I had the happiness to get safe and soon over, and up the path to the right without great difficulty, as had most others of the cavalry who swam along with us; but the ground now began to be broken on both sides of the passage, and it was almost as difficult to get in, as it was to scramble up the bank afterwards.

It is impossible to describe the confusion that followed; night was hard upon us, and, though it increased our loss, it in a great measure concealed it; a thousand men had not yet

passed, though on mules and horses; many, mired in the muddy landing-place, fell back into the stream, and were carried away and drowned. Of the horse belonging to the king's household, 180 in number, seven only were missing; with them Ayto Aylo, vice-chamberlain to the queen, and Tecla Mariam, the king's uncle, a great friend of ras Michael's, both old men.

• The Fit Auraris had left, ready made, two rafts for Ozoro Esther, and the other two ladies, with which she might have been easily conducted over, and without much danger; but the ras had made Ozoro Esther pass over in the same manner he had crossed himself, many swimming on each side of her mule. She would fain have stayed on the east side, but it was in vain to remonstrate. She was with child, and had fainted several times; but yet nothing could prevail with the ras to trust her on the other bank till morning. She crossed, however, safely, though almost dead with fright. It was said, he had determined to put her to death if she did not pass, from jealousy of her falling into the hands of Fasil; but this I will by no means vouch, nor do I believe it. The night was cold and clear, and a strong wind at north-west had blown all the afternoon.

• I was in the greatest distress for the good Ammonios, my lieutenant, who was missing, and did not join us till late in the morning, having been all night busy in seeking Ayto Aylo, the queen's chamberlain, and Tecla Mariam, who were his great companions, drowned probably at the first attempt to pass, as they were never after heard of.

Kefla Yasous, with the rear and all the baggage of the army, remained on the other side, when he discovered that they had been decoyed to this dangerous passage by Fasil's spies, in order that the army might be safely attacked when separated by the river. The king and the ras were immediately informed of this alarming circumstance, and Kefla Yasous, with great celerity and resolution, marched to a proper ford, and joined the main body of the army in time sufficient to prevent Fasil from availing himself of its exposed situations. After the ras had offered Fasil battle, who declined it, the

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king's army continued its retreat to Gondar. In the evening of the 29th, two horsemen arrived from Fasil to inform the king that he was returned to Bure, that Powussen and Gusho had acted treacherously to him, that he would never again appear in arms against his majesty, and requesting that the ras would give Fasil his grand-daughter, Welleta Selasse, in marriage, and that he would then come to Gondar without distrust.

'At the audience they had of the king the same night,' writes Mr. Bruce, 'they added, "That Fasil could not trust ras Michael, he broke his word so often, and had so many reservations and evasions in his promises."

'The ras, though he did not believe all this, made no difficulty in agreeing to every thing that they desired. He promised the grand-daughter; and, as an earnest of his believing the rest, the king's two nagareets were brought to the door of the tent, where, to our very great surprize, we heard it proclaimed, "Fasil is governor of the Agow, Maitsha, Gojam, and Damot; prosperity to him, and long may he live a faithful seryant to the king our master!"—This was an extraordinary revolution in so small a space of time. It was scarce 43 hours since Fasil had laid a scheme for drowning the greater part of the army in the Nile, and cutting the throats of the residue on both sides of it; it was not 24 hours since he had met us to fight in open field, and now he was become the king's lieutenant-general in four of the most opulent provinces of Abyssinia. This was produced, however, by the necessity of the times; and both parties were playing at the same game, who should over-reach the other. Fasil's messengers were magnificently clothed, and it was first intended they should have gone back to him; but, after reflection, another person was sent, these two choosing to go to Gondar with the king to remain hostages for Fasil's word, and to bring back his investiture from thence to Bure. The whole camp abandoned itself to joy.

'Late in the evening Ozoro Esther came to the king's tent. She had been ill, and alarmed, as she well might, at the passage of the Nile, which had given her a more delicate look



than ordinary; she was dressed all in white, and I thought I seldom had seen so handsome a woman. The king had sent 10 oxen to ras Michael, but he had given 20 to Ozoro Esther; and it was to thank him for this extraordinary mark of favour that she had come to visit him in his tent. I had for some time past, indeed, thought they were not insensible to the merit of each other. Upon her thanking the king for the distinction he had shewn her, "Madam," said he, "your husband ras Michael is intent upon employing, in the best way possible for my service, those of the army that are strong and vigorous; you, I am told, bestow your care on the sick and disabled, and by your attention, they are restored to their former health and activity; the strong active soldier eats the cows that I have sent to the ras: the enfeebled and sick recover upon yours, for which reason I sent you a double portion, that you may have it in your power to do double good." After this the room was cleared, and she had an audience alone for half an hour. I doubt very much whether ras Michael had any share in the conversation; the king was in the very gayest humour, and went to rest about twelve. The ras loved Ozoro Esther, but was not jealous.

The 3d of June the army encamped on the river Kahha, under Gondar. From the time we left Dingleber, some one or other of the ras's confidential friends had arrived every day. I did not perceive the news they brought increased the spirits either of the king or the ras; the soldiers, however, were all contented, because they were at home; but the officers, who saw farther, wore very different countenances, especially those that were of Amhara. I, in particular, had very little reason to be pleased; for, after having undergone a constant series of fatigues, dangers, and expences, I was returned to Gondar disappointed of my views in arriving at the source of the Nile, without any other acquisition than a violent ague.

Fasil's servants importuned Mr. Bruce to prescribe for Wellet, Yasous, Fasil's principal general, who had a cancer on his hip. Our traveller sent him a medicine; in return, Bruce requested the village of Geesh, and the source where the Nile rises, which was granted immediately. Fasil's officers now

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returned, but, as the ras could not trust to the treaty just formed with them, and, as he had certain intelligence, that the rebels intended to fall upon the royal army, when the rains should have swelled the rivers, and cut off its retreat, he lost no time in commencing his march to Tigre. Mr. Bruce, notwithstanding the entreaties of the king whose amiable character he admired, refused to accompany the army, being ill in health, and apprehensive that if he went to Tigre he would not have resolution to come again to Gondar, and thus lose the object of his journey.

After ras Michael's departure, the queen ordered her gates at Koscam to be shut. Ozoro Esther and her servants took refuge with her mother the iteghe; Gondar was like a town which had been taken by an enemy; every one that had arms in his hands did just what he pleased.

On the 10th of June, Gusho and Powussen entered Gondar; but the queen refused their invitation to come to the capital, and to take into her hands the reins of government, unless peace was first made with Fasil. On the 24th, Mr. Bruce waited upon Gusho and Powussen at Gondar for fear of giving umbrage. His reception was not very flattering, but Powussen promised to restore his double-barrelled gun and sword, which were found amongst his baggage when his servants were robbed. Accordingly, Mr. Bruce next morning went to Powussen's camp. 'After waiting,' says he, 'near an hour, I was admitted; two women sat by him; neither handsome, nor cleanly dressed; and he returned me my gun and sword, which was followed by a small present on my part. "This," says he, turning to the women, "is a man who knows every thing that is to come; who is to die, and who is to live; who is to go to the devil, and who not; who loves her husband, and who cuckolds him." "Tell me then, Yagoube," says one of the women, "will Tecla Haimanout and Michael ever come to Gondar again?"—"I do not know who you mean, madam," said I; "is it the king and the ras you mean?"—"Call him the king," says the other woman, in half a whisper; "he loves the king."—"Well, aye, come, let it be the king, then," says she; "will the king and ras Michael

ever come to Gondar?"—"Surely," said I, "the king is king, and will go to any part of his dominions he pleases, and when he pleases; do you not hear he is already on his way?"—"Aye, aye, by God," says Powussen, "no fear, he'll come with a vengeance; therefore I think it is high time that I was in Begemder." He then shrugged up his shoulders, and rose, pulling up his trowsers in a very clownish manner, upon which I took my leave. He had kept me standing all the time; and when I came to Koscam, I made my report as usual to the iteghe, who laughed very heartily, though the king's arrival, which was prophecied, was likely to be a very serious affair to her.

That very day, in the evening, came a servant from ras Michael, with taunts and severe threats to the queen, to Powussen, and Gusho; he said he was very quickly bringing the king back to Gondar; and being now old, intended to pass the rest of his life in Tigre; he therefore hoped they would wait the king's coming to Gondar, and choose a ras for his successor from among themselves, as he understood they were all friends, and would easily agree, especially as it was to oblige him.

On the 27th, Gusho and Powussen waited upon the queen to take their leave. They declared it was not their intention to stay at Gondar, merely to be alternately the subject of merriment and scoffing to Michael and to Fasil; and upon this they immediately set out on their way home, without drum or trumpet, or any parade whatever.

In the beginning of August, the queen came to Gondar, and sat on the throne all day: at night, a council of the principal officers fixed upon one, Welleta Girges for king, a young man of low life and manners, but whom his mother swore was begat by Yasous. He took the name Socinios, and declared his resolution of governing by the iteghe's advice. A few days after, a Galla, who had assisted in the murder of the late king Joas, was discovered. The body of Joas, from his information, was found, and thrown into a church just as he was dug up. No person durst approach the spot for fear of the vengeance of ras Michael, when he returned to Gondar. Mr.

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Bruce, however, shocked at the indecent manner in which the body was exposed, caused it to be laid on a carpet, and wrapped in a web of muslin which he bought for the purpose. This act of humanity was praised by all ranks, and greatly increased our traveller's popularity.

Ras Michael and the king, after their departure from Gondar, had proceeded with great celerity on their march to Tigre, which country was found in a very disturbed state. Netcho, who married ras Michael's daughter, had taken possession of a strong-hold on the mountain Aromata, which the ras in his younger day had taken, after a siege of 15 years. He now ordered the mountain to be surrounded by barracks, erected houses for himself and the king, and ordered the ground in the neighbourhood to be ploughed, as if he never intended to rise from hence until the mountain was reduced. Shortly after the ras lulled the besieged into security by opening a negotiation with them, when the fortress was taken by surprize. The ras also reconciled Tigre by remitting the taxes for one year, while he declared he would out of his own private fortune bear the expences of the campaign till he had seated the king on his throne at Gondar. These circumstances raised the spirits of the royal army to the highest pitch, and preparations were made with alacrity for their return to the capital.

These circumstances restored the confidence of Mr. Bruce, who, being, at the same time, apprehensive that a rupture between Fasil and Michael would follow the king's return to Gondar, and prevent his journey to the sources of the Nile, determined to set out without loss of time. On the 28th of October, he left Gondar; but, on the 30th, was surprized to find himself near to Fasil's army, which was moving towards Gondar. Our traveller thought this a fortunate circumstance, as he was led to expect the most effectual protection from this chief. He reached head-quarters in the evening. 'After announcing myself,' says Mr. Bruce, 'I waited about a quarter of an hour before I was admitted: Fasil was sitting upon a cushion, with a lion's skin upon it, and another stretched like a carpet, before his feet, and had a cotton cloth, something like a dirty towel, wrapped about his head; his upper cloak,

or garment, was drawn tight about him over his neck and shoulders, so as to cover his hands; I bowed, and went forward to kiss one of them, but it was so entangled in the cloth, that I was obliged to kiss the cloth instead of the hand. This was done either as not expecting I should pay him that compliment, (as I certainly should not have done, being one of the king's servants, if the king had been at Gondar) or else it was intended for a mark of disrespect, which was very much of a piece with the rest of his behaviour afterwards.

'There was no carpet or cushions in the tent, and only a little straw, as if accidentally, thrown thinly about it. I sat down upon the ground, thinking him sick, not knowing what all this meant; he looked stedfastly at me, saying, half under his breath, "*Endett nawwi? bogo nawwi?*" which, in Amharic, is, "How do you do? Are you very well?" I made the usual answer, "Well, thank God." He again stopt as for me to speak; there was only one old man present, who was sitting on the floor mending a mule's bridle. I took him at first for an attendant, but, observing that a servant, uncovered, held a candle to him, I thought he was one of his Galla; but then I saw a blue silk thread, which he had about his neck, which is a badge of Christianity all over Abyssinia, and which a Galla would not wear. What he was, I could not make out: he seemed, however, to be a very bad cobbler, and took no notice of us.

'Ayto Aylo's servant, who stood behind me, pushed me with his knee, as a sign that I should speak, which I accordingly began to do with some difficulty. "I am come," said I, "by your invitation, and the king's leave, to pay my respects to you in your own government, begging that you would favour my curiosity so far as to favour me to see the country of the Agows, and the source of the *Abay* (or Nile), part of which I have seen in Egypt." "The source of the *Abay!*" exclaimed he, with a pretended surprize, "do you know what you are saying? Why, it is God knows where, in the country of the Galla, wild, terrible people. The source of the *Abay!* Are you raving!" repeats he again: "Are you to go there, do you think, in a twelvemonth, or

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more, or when?" "Sir," said I, "the king told me it was near Sacala, and still nearer Geesh; both villages of the Agows, and both in your government." "And so you know Sacala and Geesh?" says he, whistling and half angry. "I can repeat the names that I hear," said I, "all Abyssinia knows the head of the Nile."—"Ay," says he, imitating my voice and manner, "but all Abyssinia won't carry you there, that I promise you."—"If you are resolved to the contrary," said I, "they will not; I wish you had told the king so in time, then I should not have attempted it; it was relying upon you alone I came so far, confident, if all the rest of Abyssinia could not protect me there, that your word singly could do it."

He now put on a look of more complacency. "Look you, Yagoube," says he, "it is true I can do it; and, for the king's sake, who recommended it to me, I would do it; but the Acab Saat, Abba Salania, has sent to me, to desire me not to let you pass further; he says it is against the law of the land to permit Franks, like you, to go about the country, and that he has dreamed something ill will befall me, if you go into Maitsha." I was as much irritated as I thought it possible for me to be. "So so," said I, "the time of priests, prophets, and dreamers, is coming on again."—"I understand you," says he, laughing for the first time; "I care as little for priests as Michael does, and for prophets too, but I would have you consider the men of this country are not like yours; a boy of these Galla would think nothing of killing a man of your country. You white people are all effeminate; you are like so many women; you are not fit for going into a province where all is war, and inhabited by men, warriors from their cradle."

"I saw he intended to provoke me; and he had succeeded so effectually, that I should have died, I believe, if I had not, imprudent as it was, told him my mind in reply. "Sir," said I, "I have passed through many of the most barbarous nations in the world; all of them, except this clan of yours, have some great men among them, above using a defenceless stranger ill. But the worst and lowest individual among the

most uncivilized people, never treated me as you have done to-day, under your own roof, where I have come so far for protection." He asked, "How?" "You have, in the first place," said I, "publicly called me Frank, the most odious name in this country, and sufficient to occasion me to be stoned to death without further ceremony, by any set of men, wherever I may present myself. By Frank, you mean one of the Romish religion, to which my nation is as adverse as yours; and again, without having ever seen any of my countrymen but myself, you have discovered, from that specimen, that we are all cowards and effeminate people, like, or inferior to, your boys or women. Look you, sir, you never heard that I gave myself out as more than an ordinary man in my own country, far less to be a pattern of what is excellent in it. I am no soldier, though I know enough of war, to see yours are poor proficients in that trade. But there are soldiers, friends and countrymen of mine, who would not think it an action in their lives to vaunt of, that with 500 men they had trampled all yon naked savages into dust." On this Fasil made a feigned laugh, and seemed rather to take my freedom amiss. It was, doubtless, a passionate and rash speech. "As to myself," continued I, "unskilled in war as I am, could it be now without further consequence, let me but be armed in my own country-fashion, on horseback, I should, without thinking myself over-matched, fight the two best horsemen you shall choose from this your army of famous men, who are warriors from their cradle; and if, when the king arrives, you are not returned to your duty, and we meet again, as we did at Limjour, I will pledge myself, with his permission, to put you in mind of this promise, and leave the choice of these men in your option." This did not make things better.

He repeated the word *duty* after me, and would have replied, but my nose burst out in a stream of blood; and, that instant, Aylo's servant took hold of me by the shoulder, to hurry me out of the tent. Fasil seemed to be a good deal concerned, for the blood streamed out upon my clothes. The old man likewise assisted me when out of the tent; I found he was Guebra Ehud, Ayto Aylo's brother, whose servant

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we had met on the road. I returned, then, to my tent, and the blood was soon staunch'd by washing my face with cold water. I sat down to recollect myself, and the more I calmed, the more I was dissatisfied at being put off my guard; but it is impossible to conceive the provocation without having proved it. I have felt but too often how much the love of our native soil increases by our absence from it; and how jealous we are of comparisons made to the disadvantage of our countrymen by people, who, all proper allowances being made, are generally not their equals, when they would boast themselves their superiors. I will confess further, in gratification to my critics, that I was, from my infancy, of a sanguine, passionate disposition; very sensible of injuries that I had neither provoked nor deserved; but much reflection, from very early life, continual habits of suffering in long and dangerous travels, where nothing but patience would do, had, I flattered myself, abundantly subdued my natural proneness to feel offences, which, common sense might teach me, I could only revenge upon myself.

‘ However, upon further consulting my own breast, I found there was another cause had co-operated strongly with the former in making me lose my temper at this time, which, upon much greater provocation, I had never done before. I found now, as I thought, that it was decreed, decisively, my hopes of arriving at the source of the Nile were for ever ended; all my trouble, all my expences, all my time, and all my sufferings, for so many years, were thrown away, from no greater obstacle than the whimsies of one barbarian, whose good inclinations, I thought, I had long before sufficiently secured; and, what was worse, I was now got within less than 40 miles of the place I so much wished to see; and my hopes were shipwrecked upon the last, as well as the most unexpected, difficulty I had to encounter.

‘ I was just going to bed, when Ayto Welleta Michael, ras Michael’s nephew, taken at Limjour, and a prisoner with Fasil, though now at large, came into the tent. I need not repeat the discourse that passed between us; it was all condolence upon the ill usage I had met with. He cursed Fasil,



called him a thousand opprobrious names, and said, ras Michael one day would shew me his head upon a polè: he hinted, that he thought Fasil expected a present, and imagined that I intended to pass the king's recommendation on him in the place of it. "I have a present," said I, "and a very handsome one; but I never thought that, while his nagareet was still beating, and when he had scarcely pitched his tent, when he was tired, and I no less so, that it was then a time to open baggage for this purpose; if he had waited till to-morrow, he should have had a gratification which would have contented him."

' "Well, well," said Welleta Michael, "as for your journey, I shall undertake for that, for I heard him giving orders about it when I came away, even though he expects no present. What does the gratifying your curiosity cost him? he would be ashamed to refuse you permission; his own vanity would hinder him." This assurance, more than all the quieting draughts in the world, composed my mind, and brought me to myself. I went to bed, and falling into a sound sleep, was waked near midnight by two of Fasil's servants, who brought each of them a lean live sheep; they said they had brought the sheep, and were come to ask how I was, and to stay all night to watch the house, for fear of the thieves in the army; they likewise brought their master's orders for me to come early in the morning to him, as he wanted to dispatch me on my journey before he gave the Galla liberty to return. This dispelled every doubt, but it raised my spirits so much, that, out of impatience for morning, I slept very little more that night.

' It was a time of year when it was not broad day till after six o'clock; I went to the camp, and saw Guebra Ehad, who confirmed what Welleta Michael had said, and that Fasil had given orders for bringing several of his own horses for me, to choose which he was to present me with; in effect, there were about twelve horses, all saddled and bridled, which were led by a master-groom. I was very indifferent about these horses, having a good one of my own, and there was none of these that would in this country have brought 7*l*. at a market; the

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servant, who seemed very officious, pitched upon a bright-bay poney, the fattest of the whole, but not strong enough in appearance to carry me; he assured me, however, the horse had excellent paces, was a great favourite of Fasil's, but too *dull* and *quiet* for him, and desired me to mount him, though he had no other furniture but the wooden part of a saddle, covered with thin, brown leather, and, instead of stirrups, iron rings. All the Abyssinians, indeed, ride bare-footed and legged, and put only their great toe into the iron ring, holding it betwixt their great and second toe, as they are afraid of being entangled by the stirrup if their horse falls, should they put their foot into it.

‘ I consented to try him very willingly. A long experience with the Moors in Barbary put me above fear of any horse, however vicious, which I had no reason to think this was; besides, I rode always with a Barbary bridle, broad stirrups, and short stirrup-leathers, after their fashion; the bridle is known to every scholar in horsemanship, and should be used by every light-horseman or dragoon, for the most vicious horse cannot advance a yard against this bridle, when in a strong hand. I ordered the *seis*, or groom, to change the saddle and bridle for mine, and I had on a pair of spurs with very long and sharp rowels. I saw presently the horse did not like the bit, but that I did not wonder at; my saddle was what is called a war saddle, high behind and before, so unless the horse fell, it was impossible to throw the rider. I had also a thick, knotty stick, or truncheon, of about three feet long, instead of a whip, and well was it for me I was so prepared for him.

‘ For the first two minutes after I mounted, I do not know whether I was most in the earth or in the air; he kicked behind, reared before, leaped like a deer, all four off the ground, and it was some time before I recollected myself; he then attempted to gallop, taking the bridle in his teeth, but got a check which staggered him; he, however, continued to gallop; and, finding I slacked the bridle on his neck, and that he was at ease, he set off and ran away as hard as he could, flinging out behind every ten yards; the ground was very favourable,

smooth, soft, and up-hill. We passed the post of the Fit-Auraris like lightning, leaving him exceedingly surprized at seeing me make off with his master's horse. He was then going to the head-quarters, but said nothing at passing; we went down one hill awkwardly enough; and, when we got to a small plain and a brook below, the horse would have gone easily enough either at a trot or walk up the other, but I had only to shake my stirrups to make him set off again at a violent gallop, and when he stopt he trembled all over. I was now resolved to gain a victory, and hung my upper cloak upon a tree, the attempting which occasioned a new battle; but he was obliged to submit. I then, between the two hills, half up the one and half up the other, wrought him so that he had no longer either breath or strength, and I began to think he would scarce carry me to the camp.

‘ I now found that he would walk very quietly; that a gentle touch of the spur would quicken him, but that he had not strength or inclination to gallop; and there was no more rearing or kicking up behind. I put my cloak, therefore, about me in the best manner possible, just as if it had never been ruffled or discomposed by motion, and in this manner, repassing the Fit-Auraris's quarters, came in sight of the camp, where a large field sown with teff, and much watered, was in front. I went out off the road into this field, which I knew was very soft and deep, and therefore favourable for me. Coming near Fasil's tent, the horse stopt upon gently straitening the bridle, as a horse properly broke would have done, on which my servant took the saddle and bridle, and returned the groom his own.

‘ The poor beast made a sad figure, cut in the sides to pieces, and bleeding at the jaws; and the seis, the rascal that put me upon him, being there when I dismounted, he held up his hands upon seeing the horse so mangled, and began to testify great surprize upon the supposed harm I had done. I took no notice of this, on<sup>y</sup> said, “ Carry that horse to your master; he may venture to ride him now, which is more than either he or you dared to have done in the morning.”

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‘As my own horse was bridled and saddled, and I found myself violently irritated, I resolved to ride to compose myself a little before another interview; for I thought this last piece of treachery, that might have cost me my legs and arms, was worse than what had passed in the tent the night before: it seemed to be aimed at my life, and to put a very effectual stop to the continuing my journey. My servant had in his hand, a short double-barrelled gun, loaded with shot, for killing any uncommon bird we might see by the way. I took the gun and my horse, and went up the side of the green hill about half way, in fair view of the camp, and considerably above it; I galloped, trotted, and made my horse perform every thing he was capable of. He was excellent in his movements, and sufficiently trained; this the Galla beheld at once with astonishment and pleasure; they are naturally fond of horses, sufficiently perfect in the useful part of horsemanship to be sensible of the beauty of the ornamental.

‘There was then, as there always is, a vast number of kites following the camp, which are quite familiar, and live upon the carrion; choosing two gliding near me, I shot first one on the right, then one on the left; they both fell dead on the ground; a great shout immediately followed from the spectators below, to which I seemingly paid no attention, pretending absolute indifference, as if nothing extraordinary had been done. I then dismounted from my horse, giving him and my gun to my servant, and, sitting down on a large stone, I began to apply some white paper to staunch a small scratch the first horse had given me on the leg, by rubbing it against a thorn tree: as my trowsers, indeed, were all stained with the blood of the first horse, much cut by the spur, it was generally thought I was wounded.

‘Fasil on this sent for me to come immediately to him, having just got up from a sleep after a whole night’s debauch. He was at the door of the tent when I began riding my own horse, and, having seen the shots, ordered the kites immediately to be brought him: his servants had laboured in vain to find the hole where the ball, with which I had killed the birds, had entered; for none of them had ever seen small shot, and

I did not undeceive them. I had no sooner entered his tent than he asked me, with great earnestness, to shew him where the ball had gone through. I gave him no explanation; "but, if you have really an inclination to kill me," said I, "you had better do it here, where I have servants that will bury me, and tell the king and the iteghe the kind reception you have given strangers whom they have recommended." He asked what I meant? What was the matter now? and I was going to answer, when Welleta Michael told him the whole story, greatly in my favour, indeed, but truly and plainly as to the trick about the horse. The Fit-Auraris Woldo said something to him in Galla, which plainly made the matter worse. Fasil now seemed in a terrible fury, and said three words to the Fit-Auraris, in Galla, who immediately went out; and, as my servants told me afterwards, after sending for the seis, or groom, who had brought me the horse, the first salutation that he gave him was a blow over the head with a bludgeon, which felled him to the ground, then a dozen more strokes, and ordered him to be put in irons, after which he returned into the tent.

'Fasil, who heard I was hurt, and saw the quantity of blood upon my trowsers, held up his hands with a shew of horror and concern, which plainly was not counterfeited: he protested, by every oath he could devise, that he knew nothing about the matter, and was asleep at the time; that he had no horses with him worth my acceptance, except the one that he rode, but that any horse known to be his, driven before me, would be a passport, and procure me respect among all the wild people whom I might meet, and for that reason only he had thought of giving me a horse. He repeated his protestations that he was innocent, and heartily sorry for the accident, which, indeed, he appeared to be: he told me the groom was in irons, and that, before many hours passed, he would put him to death. I was perfectly satisfied with his sincerity. I wished to put an end to this disagreeable conversation: "Sir," said I, "as this man has attempted my life, according to the laws of the country, it is I that should name the punishment." "It is very true," replied Fasil, "take him, Yagoube, and cut him in a thousand pieces, if you please, and give his body

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to the kites." "Are you really sincere in what you say," said I, "and will you have no after excuses." He swore solemnly he would not. "Then," said I, "I am a Christian: the way my religion teaches me to punish my enemies is by doing good for evil; and therefore I keep you to the oath you have sworn, and desire my friend, the Fit-Auraris, to set the man at liberty, and him in the place he held before, for he has not been undutiful to you."

'I need not say what were the sentiments of the company upon the occasion; they seemed to be most favourable to me: old Guebra Ehud could not contain himself, but got out of the dark corner, and squeezed both of my hands in his; and turning to Fasil, said, "Did not I tell you what my brother Aylo thought about this man?" Welleta Michael said "He was just the same all through Tigre." Fasil, in a low voice, replied, "A man that behaves as he does may go through any country." They then all begged that I would take care of my wound, looking at the blood upon my trowsers. I told them it was already staunched; and turning to Fasil, said, "We white people, you see, are not so terrified at seeing our own blood as you supposed we were." He then desired that the tent might be cleared for a short time, and we all went out.

'About ten minutes after, I was called in to partake of a great breakfast; honey and butter, and raw beef in abundance, as also some stewed dishes that were very good. I was very hungry, having tasted nothing since dinner the day before: and I had had much exercise of body as well as of mind. We were all very cheerful, every one saying something about the Agows, or of the Nile; and Fasil declaring, if it was peace, he would carry me to his country across the Nile as far as the kingdom of Narea. I thanked him. "You are at peace," said I, "with the king and the ras, and going to meet them at Gondar."—"At Gondar!" says he, "no; I hope not this time; the ras has work enough on his hands for the rest of his life." "What work?" said I. "Why, the mountain," replies he. "The mountain Aromata?" "The same," says he; "you never saw such a place; Lamalmon, and all the moun-

tains of Abyssinia, are nothing to it; he was, when at the prime of life, 15 years in taking it from this Neteho's father." "But he has been luckier this time," replied I, "by 14 years." "How!" says he, with some amazement. "Pardon me," said I, "if I have unawares told you unwelcome news, but the mountain is taken, the garrison put to the sword, and Za Menfus, after surrendering, slain in cold blood by Guebra Mascal, in revenge for the death of his father." Fasil had in his hand a blue cut-glass goblet, gilt round the edges with gold. I had bought it at Cairo, with several other articles of the same kind, from a merchant who procured them from Trieste. I had given it to the king, who drank out of it himself, and had sent it as an honourable token to Fasil from Dingleber, the day when they made peace, after the battle of Limjour. Upon hearing what I said, he threw it violently upon the ground, and broke it into a thousand pieces. "Take care what you say, Yagoube," says he; "take care this be not a lie; tell me it again." I told him the whole circumstances from beginning to end; how the news had come to the iteghe---who had brought the intelligence---how it had come from the ras to Ozoro Esther---and how Kefla Yasous had surprized the mountain by treachery, having first lulled the besieged asleep by a negociation, and a proposed mediation of the priests and hermits. On this Fasil observed, it was the very way Michael took it last time; and, putting his forefinger in his mouth, bit it very hard, crying, "Fool, fool, was he not warned?" We all were again dismissed from the tent, and staid out about a quarter of an hour, when we were again called in.

"I cannot say but I enjoyed heartily the fright I had visibly given him; it seemed to me that Aylo's brother, Guebra Ehud, was the only person whom he consulted; for it was he alone that remained with him in his tent when we entered; he had changed his dress; a man was combing his hair, and perfuming it; and he had a new, white, fine cotton cloth thrown about his middle loosely, which covered his legs and feet, his breasts, neck, and shoulders, being quite naked; he rose half up his seat when I came in, made me sit down on a cushion

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beside him, and was going to speak, when I resolved to have the first word, for fear he should engage me in more discussions. "Your continual hurry," said I, "all the times I have seen you, has put it out of my power till now to make you the acknowledgment it is ordinary for strangers to present when they visit great men in their own country, and ask favours of them." I then took a napkin, and opened it before him; he seemed to have forgot the present altogether; but from that moment I saw his countenance changed, he was like another man. "O Yagoube," says he, "a present to me! you should be sensible that is perfectly needless; you were recommended to me by the king and the ras; you know," continued he, "we are friends, and I would do twenty times as much for yourself without recommendation from either; besides, I have not behaved to you like a great man."

'It was not a very hard thing to conquer these scruples; he took the several pieces of the present, one by one, in his hands, and examined them; there was a crimson silk sash, made at Tunis, about five yards long, with a silk fringe of the same colour; it was as beautiful a web of silk as ever I saw; it had a small waved pattern wrought in it; the next was a yellow, with a red narrow border, or stripe, and a silver-wrought fringe, but neither so long nor so thick as the other; the next were two Cyprus manufactured sashes, silk and cotton, with a satin stripe, the one broader than the other, but five yards long each; the next was a Persian pipe, with a long pliable tube, or worm, covered with Turkey leather, with an amber mouth-piece, and a crystal vase for smoking tobacco through water, a great luxury in the eastern countries; the next were two blue bowls, as fine as the one he had just then broken, and of the same sort. He shoved them from him, laughing, and said, "I will not take them from you, Yagoube; this is downright robbery; I have done nothing for this, which is a present for a king." "It is a present to a friend," said I, "often of more consequence to a stranger than a king; I always except your king, who is the stranger's best friend."----Though he was not easily disconcerted, he seemed at this time, to be very nearly so.----"If you will not receive



them," continued I, "such as they are offered, it is the greatest affront ever was put upon me; I can never, you know, receive them again."

By this he was convinced, received the presents, and assured Mr. Bruce he should proceed to Geesh in peace. While conversing with Fasil in his tent, the latter spoke thus, says our author:----' "Hear me what I say; you see these seven people (I never saw more thief-like fellows in my life),---these are all leaders and chiefs of the Galla---savages, if you please; they are all your brethren." I bowed. "You may go through their country as if it were your own, without a man hurting you: you will be soon related to them all; for it is their custom that a stranger of distinction, like you, when he is their guest, sleeps with the sister, daughter, or near relation of the principal men among them. I dare say," adds he archly, "you will not think the customs of the Galla contain greater hardships than those of Amhara." I bowed, but thought to myself, I shall not put them to the trial. He then jabbered something to them in Galla, which I did not understand.--- They all answered by the wildest howl I ever heard, and struck themselves upon the breast, apparently assenting.

"When ras Michael," continued he, "came from the battle of Fagitta, the eyes of forty-four, brethren and relations of these people present, were pulled out at Gondar, the day after he arrived, and they were exposed upon the banks of the Angrab to starve, where most of them I believe were devoured by the hyæna: you took three of them up to your house; nourished, clothed, protected, and kindly treated them."--- "They are now in good health," said I, "and want nothing: the iteghe will deliver them to you. The other thing I have done to them was, I got them baptised: I do not know if that will displease them; I did it as an additional protection to them, and to give them a title to the charity of the people of Gondar." "As for that," says he, "they don't care the least about baptism; it will neither do them good nor harm; they don't trouble themselves about these matters; give them meat and drink, and you will be very welcome to baptise them all from morning to night; after such good care, these Galla are all

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your brethren, they will die for you before they see you hurt." He then said something to them in Galla again, and they all gave another assent, and made a shew of kissing my hand.'

Mr. Bruce then mounted on horseback, and Shalaka Woldo, his guide, followed. This person was not, to all appearance, a man to protect a stranger in the middle of a retreating army, disbanded as this was, and returning to very distant countries, perhaps never to be assembled again; yet this man was chosen by one that perfectly knew he was, above all others, capable of the trust he had reposed in him; he was about 55 years of age, was by birth an Agow, and had served Fasil's father from his infancy, when Kasmati Eshte succeeded to the government of Damot, upon old Fasil's death; he had been his servant likewise, as had young Fasil, so they were both at one time fellow-domestics of Kasmati Eshte.

When Fasil had slain this nobleman, and succeeded to his father's government of Damot, Shalaka Woldo was taken into his service as an old servant of his father; it seemed his merit had not entitled him to further advancement; he had no covering on his head, except long, bushy, black hair, which just began to be mingled with grey, but no beard, the defect of all his countrymen. He had a cotton cloth thrown about his shoulders in many different forms occasionally, as his fancy suggested to him; but, unless at night, laid it generally upon one of his mules, and walked himself, his body naked, his shoulders only covered with a goat's skin in form of what the women call a tippet; he had also a pair of coarse cotton trowsers that reached to the middle of his thigh, and these were fastened at the waistband by a coarse cotton sash, or girdle, which went six or seven times about his waist, and in which he stuck a crooked knife, the blade about 10 inches long, and three inches where broadest, which was the only weapon he wore, and served him to cut his meat, rather than for any offence or defence; for a man of consequence, as he was, could not suppose a possibility of danger while he was in the territory of his master. Sometimes he had a long pipe in his hand, being a great smoker; at other times, a stick of about three feet long, something thicker than one's thumb, with

which he dealt about him very liberally, either to man, woman, or beast, upon the slightest provocation; he was bare-legged and footed, and went without any mule, but kept up with the company easily at whatever pace they went. With all this he was exceedingly sagacious and cunning, and seemed to penetrate the meaning of any discourse, though in a language of which he did not understand a syllable.

Mr. Bruce travelled as expeditiously as possible, in order to avoid Fasil's Galla, who were pursuing the same route. Having arrived at the river Kelti, he prepared to encamp, when he was ordered to pass the river by a chief, called the Jumper, a famous partisan and robber, who commanded the advanced posts of the Galla. This chief sent Mr. Bruce a bull; and, next morning, our traveller waited upon his honour. 'He seemed very much embarrassed,' says our author, 'at the visit, was quite naked, and had been washing himself in the Kelti, to very little purpose, as I thought, for he was then rubbing his arms and body over with melted tallow; his hair had been abundantly anointed before, and a man was then finishing his head-dress, by plaiting it with some of the long and small-guts of an ox, which I did not perceive had ever been cleaned; and he had already put about his neck two rounds of the same, in the manner of a necklace, or rather a solitaire, one end of them hanging down to the pit of his stomach. Our conversation was neither long nor interesting; I was overcome with the disagreeable smell of blood and carrion. He did not understand one word of Amharic, Geez, or any other language but Galla; he asked no questions, and shewed no sort of curiosity. Woldo, on the other hand, informed himself from him of every thing he wanted to know.

'This Jumper was tall and lean, very sharp faced, with a long nose, small eyes, and prodigious large ears; he never looked you in the face, but was rolling his eyes constantly round and round, and never fixing them upon any thing: he resembled very much a lean keen greyhound; there was no sternness nor command in his countenance, but a certain look that seemed to express a vacancy of mind, like that of an idiot. With this, he was allowed, on all hands, to be the most cruel,

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merciless murderer and spoiler, of all the Galla. He was very active on horseback, and very indifferent about food or sleep. I made him a small present, which he took with great indifference; only told Woldo, that if I meant it to pay for the bull he had sent me, it was needless, for it was given me by Fasil's order, and cost him nothing.'

Immediately after this interview, Mr. Bruce received a message from Ozoro Esther, who, being apprehensive of falling into Fasil's hands, had been seized by a nervous fever, and now entreated our traveller to return, pledging herself to send him in safety to the head of the Nile. This request involved him in the greatest perplexity, but he finally resolved to proceed on his journey.

Next day our traveller fell in with one of the Jumper's brothers, called the Lamb, and plainly of the same family. Neither he nor his Galla paid much attention to Mr. Bruce, 'but it was remarkable,' says he, 'to see the respect they shewed Fasil's horse. The greatest part of them, one by one, gave him handfuls of barley, and the Lamb himself had a long and serious conversation with him. Woldo told me it was all spent in regretting the horse's ill fortune, and Fasil's cruelty, in having bestowed him upon a white man, who would not feed him, nor ever let him return to Bizamo. Bizamo is a country of Galla south of the Nile, after it makes its southmost turn, and has surrounded the kingdom of Gojam. I was better pleased with this genuine mark of kindness to the horse, than with all the proofs of humanity Woldo had attributed to his chieftain in not frequently putting to death pregnant women. When I remarked this, "Bad men! bad men! all of them!" says Woldo; "but your ras Michael will be among them one of these days, and pull all their eyes out again; and so much the better."

Mr. Bruce afterwards found that the Lamb, in executing his orders, had a discernment, punctuality, activity, and sense of duty, highly honourable.

Our traveller pushed forward as diligently as possible 'Having asked Woldo,' says he, 'what became of those 44 Galla who had their eyes pulled out, after the battle of Fagit-

ta, by Michael, on his return to Gondar. "Not one of them," said he, "ever came into his own country. It was reported the hyæna ate them upon the Angrab, where they were turned out to starve." "I saved three of them," said I. "Yes," answered he, "and others might have been saved too:" and then added, in a low voice, "the hyænas eating them at the Angrab, was a story contrived for the Galla; but we, that are Fasil's servants, know they were made away with by his order in Maitsha and the Agow country, that none of them might be seen in their own provinces to terrify the rest of their clans by the mangled appearance they then bore; for this was ras Michael's intention in disfiguring them, and yet leaving them alive. To prevent, therefore, the success of this scheme, Fasil put them to death in their way, before they reached their own country." I confess I was struck at this finesse, which completed Waragna Fasil's character in my mind. "What," said I, "kill his own people taken prisoners whilst fighting for him, merely because their enemies had cruelly deprived them of their sight! indeed, Woldo, that is not credible."—"O ho!" answered he, "but it is true; your Galla are not like other men, they do not talk about what is cruel and what is not; they do just what is for their own good, what is reasonable, and think no more of the matter. Ras Michael," says he, "would make an excellent Galla; and do not you believe that he would do any cruel action which my master Fasil would not perpetrate on the same provocation, and to answer the same purpose?"

'It now occurred to me why the three Galla, whom I had maintained at Gondar, had constantly refused to return into their own country with the many safe opportunities which at times had been presented to them, especially since the king's retreat to Tigre. Neither had I observed any desire in Fasil's servants, who occasionally came to Gondar, of helping to restore these unfortunate men to their country, because they knew the fate that awaited them.'

Having arrived at the Nile, the natives would not permit Bruce and his companions to ride across the stream, or any one to enter it, without taking off his shoes. Our traveller,

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happy to find the remnants of veneration for that ancient deity subsisting, crossed over, with one servant, as instructed, leaving Woldo and the servants, who now began to shew his authority in the following whimsical manner:---

‘There were between twenty and thirty of the Agows, old and young, some of them armed with lances and shields, and all of them with knives. Woldo took his small stick in one hand, sat down upon a green hillock by the ford, with his lighted pipe in the other; he ranged my people behind him, leaving the baggage by itself, and began bravely to exhort the Agows to lose no time in carrying over our baggage upon their shoulders. This proposal was treated with a kind of ridicule by the foremost of the Agows, and they began plainly to insinuate, that he should first settle with them a price for their trouble. He continued, however, smoking his pipe in seeming leisure, and much at his ease, and, putting on an air of great wisdom, in a tone of moderation, he appealed to them, whether they had not, of their own accord, insisted on our crossing the river on foot, had unloaded our baggage, and sent the mules to the other side without our consent. The poor people candidly declared, that they had done so, because none are permitted in any other manner to cross the Nile, but that they would likewise carry our baggage safely and willingly over for pay. This word was no sooner uttered, when, apparently in a most violent passion, he leapt up, laid by his pipe, took his stick, and ran into the midst of them, crying out, with violent execrations, “And who am I? and who am I, then? a girl, a woman, or a pagan dog like yourselves; and who is Waragna Fasil? are you not his slaves? or to whom else do you belong, that you are to make me pay for the consequences of your devilish idolatries, and superstitions? But you want payment, do ye? here is your payment:” he then tucked his clothes tight about his girdle, began leaping two or three feet high, and laying about him with his stick over their heads and faces, or wherever he could strike them.

‘After this, Woldo wrested a lance from a long awkward fellow that was next him, standing amazed, and levelled the point at him in a manner, that I thought to see the poor peas-

ant fall dead in an instant. The fellow fled in a trice; so did they all to a man; and no wonder, for in my life I never saw any one play the furious devil so naturally. Upon the man's running off, he cried out to my people to give him a gun; which made these poor wretches run faster, and hide themselves among the bushes. Lucky, indeed, was it for Woldo, that my servants did not put him to the trial, by giving him the gun as he demanded, for he would not have ventured to fire it, perhaps to have touched it, if it had been to have made him master of the province.

'I, who was a spectator on the other side, thought we were now in a fine scrape, the evening coming on at a time of the year when it is not light at six, my baggage and servants on one side of the river, myself and beasts on the other, crippled absolutely in the feet by the stones, and the river so full of pits and holes, that, had they been all laden on the other side and ready, no one could have been bold enough to lead a beast through without a guide. The difficulty was not imaginary, I had myself an instant before made proof of it; and all difficulties are relative, greater or less, as you have means in your hands to overcome them. I was clearly satisfied that Woldo knew the country, and was provided with a remedy for all this; I conceived, that this pacific behaviour, while they were unloading the mules, and driving them across the river, as well as his fury afterwards, was part of some scheme, with which I was resolved in no shape to interfere; and nothing convinced me more of this, than his resolute demand of a gun, when no persuasion could make him stay within ten yards of one, if it was discharged, even though the muzzle was pointed a contrary direction. I sat still, therefore, to see the end; and it was with some surprize, that I observed him to take his pipe, stick, and my servants along with him, and cross the river to me, as if nothing had happened, leaving the baggage on the other side, without any guard whatsoever; he then desired us all to get on horseback, and drive the mules before us, which we did accordingly; and, I suppose, we had not advanced above a hundred yards, before we saw a greater number of people than formerly run down to where our baggage was

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lying, and, while one crossed the river, to desire us to stay where we were, the rest brought the whole over in an instant.

'This, however, did not satisfy our guide; he put on a sulky air, as if he had been grievously injured; he kept the mules where they were, and would not send one back to be loaded at the river side, alledging it was unlucky to turn back upon a journey; he made them again take the baggage upon their shoulders, and carry it to the very place where our mules had halted, and there lay it down. On this they all flocked about him, begging that he would not report them to his master, as fearing some fine, or heavy chastisement, would fall upon their villages. The guide looked very sulky; said but very little, and that all in praise of himself, of his known mildness and moderation; as an instance of which, he appealed (impudently enough) to his late behaviour towards them. "If such a one," says he, naming a man that they knew, "had been in my place, what a fine reckoning he would have made with you! why your punishment would not have ended in seven years." They all acknowledged the truth of his observation, as well as his moderation, gave him great commendations, and I believe, some promises when he passed there on his return.

'Here I thought our affair happily ended, to the satisfaction of all parties. I mounted my horse, and Woldo went to a large silk bag, or purse, which I had given him full of tobacco, and he had his match and pipe in his hand, just as if he was going to fill it before he set out; he then unloosed the bag, felt it on the outside, putting first his three fingers, then his whole hand, pinching and squeezing it both within and without; at last he broke out in a violent transport of rage, crying that his gold was gone, and that they had robbed him of it. I had not till this spoken one word: I asked him what he meant by his gold. He said he had about two ounces (value about 5*l.*) in his tobacco purse, and that some person had laid hold of it when the baggage lay on the other side of the water; that the Agows had done it, and that they must pay him for it. The despair and anguish that he had counterfeited, quickly appeared in true and genuine colours in the



faces of all the poor Agows; for his part, he disdained to speak but in monosyllables----So, so, and very well, and no matter, you shall see---and shook his head. We now proceeded on our journey; but two of the eldest among the Agows followed him to our quarters at night, where they made their peace with Woldo, who, I doubt not, dealt with them according to his usual mildness, justice, and moderation; a specimen of which we have already seen.'

This complicated piece of roguery gave our traveller some serious reflections on his own situation. Strates, the Greek, was too great a coward to be of much service in a time of danger, and Ayto Aylo's servant seemed disgusted with the journey. However, Mr. Bruce continued his rout over the mountains of the Moon. On the 4th of November, after reaching the top of a very steep and rugged mountain, he obtained a view of the mountain and church of Geesh, the objects so long desired. 'We saw,' says he, 'immediately below us, the Nile itself, strangely diminished in size, and now only a brook that had scarcely water to turn a mill. I could not satiate myself with the sight, revolving in my mind all those classical prophecies that had given the Nile up to perpetual obscurity and concealment. The lines of the poet came immediately into my mind, and I enjoyed here, for the first time, the triumph which already, by the protection of Providence, and my own intrepidity, I had gained over all that were powerful, and all that were learned, since the remotest antiquity:---

"Arcanum natura caput non prodidit ulli,  
Nec licuit populis parvum te, Nile, videre;  
Amovitque sinus, et gentes maluit ortus  
Mirari, quam nosse tuos.-----"

*Lucan.*

After having, with great discernment and courage, managed a piece of roguery played off by Woldo, and this artful man had obtained the present of a sash which he wanted, he conducted Mr. Bruce out of the grove where they had been conversing, and said, "Look at that hillock of green sod in the

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middle of that watery spot ; it is in that the two fountains of the Nile are to be found ; Geesh is on the face of the rock where yon green trees are. If you go the length of the fountains, pull off your shoes, as you did the other day, for these people are all pagans, worse than those that were at the ford ; and they believe in nothing that you believe, but only in this river, to which they pray every day, as if it were God ; but this perhaps you may do likewise." Half undressed as I was by the loss of my sash, and throwing my shoes off, I ran down the hill, towards the little island of green sods, which was about 200 yards distant ; the whole side of the hill was thick grown over with flowers, the large bulbous roots of which appearing above the surface of the ground, and their skins coming off on treading upon them, occasioned me two very severe falls before I reached the brink of the marsh ; I after this came to the island of the green turf, which was in form of an altar, apparently the work of art, and I stood in rapture over the principal fountain which rises in the middle of it.

‘ It is easier to guess than to describe the situation of my mind at that moment—standing in that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and inquiry, of both the ancients and moderns, for the course of near 3,000 years. Kings had attempted this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last, only by the difference of the numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the disappointment which had uniformly, and without exception, followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour, had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprize and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography. Though a mere private Briton, I triumphed here, in my own mind, over kings and their armies ; and every comparison was leading nearer and nearer to presumption, when the place itself where I stood, the object of my vain-glory, suggested what depressed my short-lived triumph. I was but a few minutes arrived at the sources of the Nile, through numberless

dangers and sufferings, the least of which would have overwhelmed me, but for the continual goodness and protection of Providence; I was, however, but then half through my journey, and all those dangers which I had already passed, awaited me again on my return. I found a despondency gaining ground fast upon me, which blasted the crown of laurels I had too rashly woven for myself. I resolved, therefore, to divert it, till I could, on more solid reflection, overcome its progress.

"I saw Strates expecting me on the side of the hill.—"Strates," said I, "faithful squire! come and triumph with your Don Quixote, at that island of Barataria, where we have most wisely and fortunately brought ourselves! come, and triumph with me over all the kings of the earth, all their armies, all their philosophers, and all their heroes!" "Sir," says Strates, "I do not understand a word of what you say, and as little what you mean: you very well know I am no scholar. But you had much better leave that bog; come into the house, and look after Woldo; I fear he has something further to seek than your sash, for he has been talking with the old devil-worshipper ever since we arrived." "Did they speak secretly together," said I. "Yes, sir, they did, I assure you." "And in whispers, Strates?" "Every syllable; but for that," replied he, "they need not have been at the pains; they understood one another, I suppose, and the devil, their master, understands them both; but as for me, I comprehend their discourse no more than if it was Greek, *as they say*. Greek!" says he, "I am an ass; I should know well enough what they said if they spoke Greek." "Come," said I, "take a draught of this excellent water, and drink with me a health to his majesty king George III. and a long line of princes." I had in my hand a large cup made of a cocoa-nut shell, which I procured in Arabia, and which was brim-full, (this shell was brought home by Mr. Bruce, and is still preserved). He drank to the king speedily and cheerfully, with the addition of, "Confusion to his enemies," and tossed up his cap with a loud huzza. "Now, friend," said I, "here is to a more humble, but still a sacred name, here is to—Maria!" He asked if that was to the Virgin Mary? I answered,

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“in faith, I believe so, Strates.” He did not speak, but only gave a humph of disapprobation.

‘The day had been very hot, and the altercation I had with Woldo had occasioned me to speak so much, that my thirst, without any help from curiosity, led me to these frequent libations at this long-sought for spring, the most ancient of all altars. “Strates,” said I, “here is to our happy return. Come, friend, you are yet two toasts behind me; can you ever be satiated with this excellent water?” “Look you, sir,” says he, very gravely, “as for king George, I drank to him with all my heart, to his wife, to his children, to his brothers and sisters, God bless them all! Amen;—but as for the Virgin Mary, as I am no papist, I beg to be excused from drinking healths which my church does not drink. As for our happy return, God knows, there is none that wishes it more sincerely than I do, for I have been long weary of this beggarly country. But you must forgive me if I refuse to drink any more water. They say these savages pray over that hole every morning to the devil, and I am afraid I feel his horns in my belly already, from the great draught of that hellish water I drank first.” It was, indeed, as cold water as ever I tasted. “Come, come,” said I, “don’t be peevish, I have but one toast more to drink.” “Peevish or not peevish,” replies Strates, “a drop of it shall never again cross my throat: there is no honour in this, no joke; shew us something pleasant as you used to do; but there is no jest in meddling with devil-worshippers, witchcraft, and enchantments, to bring some disease upon one’s self here, so far from home in the fields. No, no; as many toasts in wine as you please, or better in brandy, but no more water for Strates. I am sure I have done myself harm already with these follies—God forgive me!” “Then,” said I, “I will drink it alone, and you are henceforth unworthy of the name of Greek; you do not even deserve that of a Christian.” Holding the full cup then to my head, “Here is to Catherine, empress of all the Russias, and success to her heroes at Paros; and hear my prediction from this altar to-day; ages shall not pass, before this ground,

whereon I now stand, shall become a flourishing part of her dominions."

"He leaped on this a yard from the ground. "If the old gentleman has whispered you this," says he, "out of the well, he has not kept you long waiting; tell truth and shame the devil, is indeed the proverb, but truth is truth, wherever it comes from; give me the cup; I will drink that health though I should die." He then held out both his hands. "Strates," said I, "be in no such haste; remember the water is enchanted by devil-worshippers; there is no jesting with these, and you are far from home, and in the fields, you may catch some disease, especially if you drink the Virgin Mary; God forgive you. Remember the horns the first draught produced; they may with this come entirely through and through." "The cup, the cup," says he, "and fill it full; I defy the devil, and trust in St. George and the dragon. Here is to Catharine, empress of all the Russias; confusion to her enemies, and damnation to all at Paros." "Well, friend," said I, "you was long in resolving, but you have done it at last to some purpose; I am sure I did not drink damnation to all at Paros." "Ah!" says he, "but I did, and will do it again—Damnation to all at Paros, and Cyprus, and Rhodes, Crete, and Mytilene, into the bargain: here it goes with all my heart. Amen, so be it." "And who do you think," said I, "are at Paros?" "Pray, who should be there," says he, "but Turks and devils, the worst race of monsters and oppressors in the Levant. I have been at Paros myself; was you ever there?" "Whether I was ever there or not, is no matter, said I; "the empress's fleet, and an army of Russians, are now possibly there; and here you, without provocation, have drank damnation to the Russian fleet and army, who have come so far from home, and are at this moment sword in hand, to restore you to your liberty, and the free exercise of your religion; did not I tell you, you was no Greek, and scarcely deserved the name of Christian?" "No, no, sir, cries Strates, "for God's sake do not say so; I would rather die. I did not understand you about Paros; there was

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no malice in my heart against the Russians, God will bless them, and my folly can do them no harm—Huzza, Catharine and victory !” whilst he tossed his cap into the air.

‘ A number of the Agows had appeared upon the hill, just before the valley, in silent wonder what Strates and I were doing at the altar. Two or three only had come down to the edge of the swamp, had seen the grimaces and action of Strates, and heard him huzza ; on which they had asked Woldo, as he entered into the village, what was the meaning of all this ? Woldo told them, that the man was out of his senses, and had been bit by a mad dog ; which reconciled them immediately to us. They, moreover, said, he would be infallibly cured by the Nile ; but the custom, after meeting with such a misfortune, was to drink the water in the morning fasting. I was very well pleased both with this turn Woldo gave the action, and the remedy we stumbled upon by mere accident, which discovered a connection believed to subsist at this day, between this river and its ancient governor the dog-star.’

Mr. Bruce says that the mountain of Geesh is high and beautiful, and quite detached from others, like a pyramid, which it resembles in its elegant and regular form. It is about 4,870 feet high, measured in the slope. In the middle of a marsh, at the bottom of this mountain, (and about 40 yards from each side of it), arises a hillock of a circular form, about three feet from the surface of the marsh, built firmly of sod, and surrounded by a shallow trench, which collects the water, and voids it eastward. In the middle of this hillock, or altar, is a hole, kept clear of grass, or other aquatic plants, and about three feet in diameter, in which the water rises pure and limpid. Two other fountains are within a short distance. The latitude of this place he found, by repeated observation, to be 10 deg. 59 min. 25 sec., and the longitude 36 deg. 55 min. 30 sec. east from the meridian of Greenwich.

‘ The night of the 4th of November,’ continues our traveller, ‘ that very night of my arrival, melancholy reflections upon my present state, the doubtfulness of my return in safety, were I permitted to make the attempt, and the fears that even this would be refused, according to the rule observed in Abyss-

sinia with all travellers who have once entered the kingdom ; the consciousness of the pain that I was then occasioning to many worthy individuals, expecting daily that information concerning my situation which it was not in my power to give them ; some other thoughts, perhaps, still nearer the heart than those, crowded upon my mind, and forbade all approach of sleep.

‘ I was, at that very moment, in possession of what had, for many years, been the principal object of my ambition and wishes : indifference, which, from the usual infirmity of human nature, follows, at least for a time, complete enjoyment, had taken place of it. The marsh, and the fountains, upon comparison with the rise of many of our rivers, became now a trifling object in my sight. I remembered that magnificent scene in my own native country, where the Tweed, Clyde, and Annan, rise in one hill ; three rivers, as I now thought, not inferior to the Nile in beauty, preferable to it in the cultivation of those through which they flow ; superior, vastly superior to it in the virtues and qualities of the inhabitants, and in the beauty of its flocks crowding its pastures in peace, without fear of violence from man or beast. I had seen the rise of the Rhine and Rhone, and the more magnificent sources of the Soane ; I began, in my sorrow, to treat the inquiry about the source of the Nile as a violent effort of a distempered fancy :—

‘ “ What’s Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba,  
That he should weep for her ? ”

Grief, or despondency, now rolled upon me like a torrent ; relaxed, not refreshed, by unquiet and imperfect sleep, I started from my bed in the utmost agony ; I went to the door of my tent ; every thing was still ; the Nile, at whose head I stood, was not capable either to promote or to interrupt my slumbers, but the coolness and serenity of the night braced my nerves, and chased away those phantoms that, while in bed, had oppressed and tormented me.

‘ It was true, that numerous dangers, hardships, and sorrows, had beset me through this half of my excursion ; but it

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was still as true, that another Guide, more powerful than my own courage, health, or understanding, if any of these can be called man's own, had uniformly protected me in all that tedious half; I found my confidence not abated, that still the same Guide was able to conduct me to my now wished-for home: I immediately resumed my former fortitude, considering the Nile indeed as no more than rising from springs, as all other rivers do, but widely different in this, that it was the palm for 3000 years held out to all the nations in the world as a *detur dignissimo*, which, in my cool hours, I had thought was worth the attempting at the risk of my life, which I had long either resolved to lose, or lay this discovery, a trophy in which I could have no competitor, for the honour of my country, at the feet of my sovereign, whose servant I was.

Mr. Bruce estimated that the sources of the Nile were more than two miles above the level of the sea. The surrounding country is very beautiful, and covered with thick verdure. The sky is perpetually clear, the sun being never for a moment overcast with clouds. In this delightful spot our bold and persevering traveller enjoyed the most exquisite sensations of pleasure, and stepped fifty times over this celebrated stream. After running about 4 miles, it escapes from the mountainous place of its nativity, and, by its windings, in the plains of Goutta, very much resembles the links of the Forth, near Stirling.

Our adventurer now found that Woldo had acted with great propriety. 'The miserable Agows, who reside at the sources of the Nile,' says he, 'assembled all around him, were too much interested in the appearance we made, not to be exceedingly inquisitive how long our stay was to be among them. They saw, by the horse driven before us, that we belonged to Fasil, and suspected, for the same reason, that they were to maintain us, or, in other words, that we should live at discretion upon them as long as we chose to tarry there; but Woldo, with great address, had dispelled these fears almost as soon as they were formed. He informed them of the king's grant to me of the village of Geesh; that Fasil's tyranny and avarice would end that day, and another master, like Negade



Ras Georgis, was come to pass a cheerful time among them, with a resolution to pay for every labour they were ordered to perform, and purchase all things for ready money : he added, moreover, that no military service was further to be exacted from them, either by the king or governor of Damot, nor from their present master, as he had no enemies. We found these news had circulated with great rapidity, and we met with a hearty welcome upon our arrival at the village.'

The shum surrendered his house to Mr. Bruce, and scarcely was he settled until a servant from Fasil arrived, ordering him also to give up the property and sovereignty of Geesh to the stranger. Fasil likewise sent several necessary articles as a present, which caused the whole party to spend a very happy evening. The shum was struck with the appearance of the wealth, and the generosity of the new governor, and insisted that since such strangers were in his house they would take his daughters for housekeepers. 'The proposal,' our traveller observes, 'was a most reasonable one, and readily accepted. He accordingly sent for three in an instant, and we delivered them their charge. The eldest took it upon her readily ; she was about 16 years of age, of a stature above the middle size, but she was remarkably genteel, and, colour apart, her features would have made her a beauty in any country in Europe; she was, besides, very sprightly ; we understood not one word of her language, though she comprehended very easily the signs that we made. This nymph of the Nile was called by nickname *Irepone*, which signifies some animal that destroys mice, but whether of the ferret or snake kind I could not perfectly understand ; sometimes it was one and sometimes another, but which it was I thought of no great importance.

'The first and second day, after disposing of some of our stock in purchases, she thought herself obliged to render us an account, and give back the residue at night to Woldo, with a protestation that she had not stolen or kept any thing to herself. I looked upon this regular accounting as an ungenerous treatment of our benefactress. I called on Woldo and made him produce a parcel that contained the same with the first commodities we had given her ; this consisted of beads,

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antimony, small scissors, knives, and large needles; I then brought out a packet of the same that had not been broken, and told her they were intended to be distributed among her friends, and that we expected no account from her; on the contrary, that, after she had bestowed these, to buy us necessaries, and for any purposes she pleased, I had still as many more to leave her at parting, for the trouble she had given herself. I often thought the head of the little savage would have turned with the possession of so much riches, and so great confidence, and it was impossible to be so blinded, as not to see that I had already made great progress in her affections. To the number of trifles I had added one ounce of gold, value about fifty shillings sterling, which I thought would defray our expences all the time we staid; and having now perfectly arranged the economy of our family, nothing remained but to make the proper observations.'

Mr. Bruce then describes the mode of sacrifice, used once a year, on the first appearance of the dog-star, upon the principal fountain and altar of the Nile. The shum said they prayed to the Everlasting God, whose spirit resided in the river, whom the priest affirmed he had seen, and that he was of a very graceful figure and appearance. Serpents are also the objects of worship, and, in return, are said to indicate the coming of good or evil. The shum, or priest of the river, was a man about 70 years of age, infirm, with a long white beard, and was dressed in an ox's hide. He had had 84 or 85 children, and imagined that the priesthood had been in his family from the beginning of the world. The Agows, who inhabit this country, are one of the most considerable nations in Abyssinia, and can bring 4,000 horsemen and a number of foot into the field.

Here Mr. Bruce passed his time in perfect harmony. 'The address of Woldo,' says he, 'and the great attachment of our friend Irepone, had kept our house in a cheerful abundance. We had lived, it is true, too magnificently for philosophers, but neither idly nor riotously: and, I believe, never will any sovereign of Geesh be again so popular, or reign over his subjects with greater mildness. I had practised medicine gratis,

and killed, for three days successively, a cow each day, for the poor and the neighbours. I had clothed the high priest of the Nile from head to foot, as also his two sons, and had decorated two of his daughters with beads of all the colours of the rainbow, adding every other little present they seemed fond of, or what we thought would be agreeable. As for our amiable Irepone, we had reserved for her the choicest of our presents, the most valuable of every article we had with us, and a large proportion of every one of them; we gave her, besides, some gold; but she, more generous and noble in her sentiments than us, seemed to pay little attention to these that announced to her the separation from her friends; she tore her fine hair, which she had every day before braided in a newer and more graceful manner; she threw herself upon the ground in the house, and refused to see us mount on horseback, or take our leave, and came not to the door till we were already set out, then followed us with her good wishes and her eyes, as far as she could see or be heard.

‘I took my leave of Keffa Abay, the venerable priest of the most famous river in the world, who recommended me, with great earnestness, to the care of his god, which, as Strates humourously enough observed, meant nothing else than that he hoped the devil would take me. All the young men in the village, with lances and shields, attended us to Saint Michael Sacala, that is, to the borders of their country, and end of my little sovereignty.’

On the 11th of November, 1770, our traveller halted, at the house of Shalaka Welled Amlac. When attending the royal family at Koscam this man, and his servant, were taken ill of the intermitting fever. Mr. Bruce, by the advice of Ayto Aylo, took both him and his servant into his house, and, after curing them both, clothed them at his own expence. He was the most resolute, powerful, and best attended robber in all Maitsha.

‘Shalaka Welled Amlac was,’ continues our traveller, ‘however, from home, but his wife, mother, and sisters, received us kindly, knowing us by report; and without waiting for our landlord, a cow was instantly slaughtered.

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‘The venerable mistress of this worthy family, Welled Amlac’s mother, was a very stout cheerful woman, and bore no signs of infirmity or old age : his wife was, on the contrary, as arrant a hag as ever acted the part on the stage ; very active, however, and civil, and speaking very tolerable Amharic. His two sisters, about sixteen or seventeen, were really handsome ; but Fasil’s wife, who was there, was the most beautiful and graceful of them all ; she seemed not to be past eighteen, tall, thin, and of a very agreeable carriage and manners.— The features of her face were very regular ; she had fine eyes, mouth, and teeth, and dark-brown complexion ; at first sight, a cast of melancholy seemed to hang upon her countenance, but this soon vanished, and she became very courteous, cheerful, and most conversible of the whole, or, at least, seemed to wish to be so ; for, unfortunately, she spoke not a word of any language but Galla, though she understood a little Amharic. Our conversation did not fail to give great entertainment to the whole family ; and for her part, she laughed beyond all measure.

‘The two sisters had been out helping my servants in disposing of the baggage ; but when they had pitched my tent, and were about to lay the mattress for sleeping on, the eldest of these interrupted them, and not being able to make herself understood by the Greeks, she took it up, and threw it out of the tent-door ; whilst no abuse, or opprobrious names, were spared by my servants ; one of whom came to tell me her impudence, and that, if they understood her, she said I was to sleep with her this night, and they believed we were got into a house of thieves and murderers. To this I answered by a sharp reproof, desiring them to conform to every thing the family ordered them. I saw the fair nymph was in a violent passion ; she told her tale to the matrons with great energy, and a volubility of tongue past imagination ; and they all laughed. Fasil’s wife called me to sit by her, and began to instruct me, drolly enough, as they do children ; but of what she said I had not the smallest guess. I endeavoured always to repeat her last words ; and this occasioned another vehem-

ment laugh, in which I joined as heartily as any, to keep up the joke, for the benefit of the company, as long as possible.

‘Immediately after this Welled Amlac arrived, and another cow was killed, great plenty of hydromel produced, and he prepared to regale us as sumptuously as possible, after the manner of the country. We were there, as often before, obliged to overcome our repugnance to eating raw flesh. Shalaka Welled Amlac set us the example, entertained us with the stories of his hunting elephants, and feats in the last wars, mostly roguish ones. The room where we were, (which was indeed large, and contained himself, mother, wife, sisters, his horses, mules, and servants, night and day) was all hung round with the trunks of these elephants, which he had brought from the neighbouring Kolla, near Guesgue, and killed with his own hands; for he was one of the boldest and best horseman in Abyssinia, and perfectly master of his arms.

‘This Polyphemus feast being finished, the horn of hydromel went briskly about. Welled Amlac’s eldest sister, whose name was Melectanea, took a particular charge of me, and I began to find the necessity of retiring and going to bed while I was able. Here the former story came over again; the invariable custom of all Maitsha and the country of the Galla, of establishing a relationship by sleeping with a near of kin, was enlarged upon; and, as the young lady herself was present, and presented every horn of drink during this polite dispute concerning her person, I do not know whether it will not be thought a greater breach of delicacy to have refused than to have complied:—

But what success Vanessa met  
Is to the world a secret yet;  
Can never to mankind be told  
Nor shall the concious muse unfold.

Fye upon the concious muse, says lord Orrery; and fye, too, say I:—A man of honour and gallantry should not permit himself such a hint as this, though the red sea was between him and his mistress.

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‘It was impossible to sleep; the whole night was one continued storm of thunder, rain, and lightning; the morning was clearer, and my people very urgent to go away; but I had still to settle with Zor Woldo, who had been kept by his mistress, Fasil’s wife, notwithstanding his master’s orders, till he had told her the whole circumstances of our expedition, and made her laugh heartily at the oddity of our sentiments and customs. This she repaid to him by plentiful horns of mead and bouza, as also large collops of raw meat, which made him a very eloquent historian; whether or not he was a faithful one, I cannot possibly judge.

‘After having settled with him to his perfect satisfaction, and canceled entirely the memory of some disagreeable things passed, he consigned us very solemnly to Ayto Aylo’s servant, in presence of Welled Amlac, and had taken his leave, when a very fine white cow was brought to the door of the tent, from Fasil’s wife, who insisted, as a friend of her husband, that I should stay that day for her sake; and I should either learn her my language, or she would teach me Galla. The party was accepted as soon as offered; the morning was fresh and cool, nor had last night’s libation any way disordered my stomach. Strates himself, though afraid of Welled Amlac, and exceedingly exasperated at the impudent behaviour, as he called it, of Melectanea, was, however, a little pacified at the approach of the white cow. “Brother,” says he to Michael, “we have nothing to do with people’s manners, as long as they are civil to us: as to this house, there is no doubt but the men are robbers and murderers, and their women wh—es; but if they use us well while we are now here, and we are so lucky as to get to Gondar alive, let the devil take me if ever I seek again to be at Welled Abea Abbo.” It was agreed to relax that day, and dedicate it to herborizing, as also to the satisfying the curiosity of our female friends, by answering all their questions; and thus the forenoon passed as agreeably as possible.’

At dinner Mr. Bruce says his host eat equal to four ordinary men. ‘I, for the most part,’ says he, ‘eat venison, which was made into an excellent dish, only too much stuffed with

all kinds of spices. Fasil's wife alone seemed to have a very poor appetite; notwithstanding her violent fits of laughter, and outward appearance of cheerfulness a melancholy gloom returned upon her beautiful face, that seemed to indicate a mind not at ease. She was of a noble family of Galla, which had conquered and settled in the low country of Narea. I wondered that Fasil, her husband, had not carried her to Gondar. She said her husband had twenty other wives besides her, but took none of them to Gondar; which was a place of war, where it was the custom to marry the wives of their enemies that they had forced to fly: Fasil will be married therefore to Michael's wife, Ozoro Esther. I could not help being startled at this declaration, remembering that I was here losing my time, and forgetting my word of returning as soon as possible; but we had, for many months, lived in such constant alarms, that it was absolutely as needful to seize the moment in which we could repose our mind, as to give rest to the body.

'In the afternoon we distributed our presents among the ladies. Fasil's wife was not forgot; and the beautiful Melectanea was covered with beads, handkerchiefs, and ribbons of all colours. Fasil's wife, at my first request, gave me a lock of her fine hair from the root, which has ever since, and at this day does suspend a plummet of an ounce and half at the index of my three-feet quadrant.'

After this Welled Amlac set Mr. Bruce forward on his journey, during which, he told several stories illustrative of the cruel and ferocious pursuits of his life. In one place our traveller found the people almost wholly ill of a fever, that prevails in low and marshy grounds; but their conduct was so savage and inhospitable that he refused to relieve them. 'On November 19,' says he, 'I sent my servants and baggage on to Abba Samuel at Gondar, where they arrived at one o'clock in the afternoon, and finished our long-projected expedition, or journey, to the fountains of the Nile, having, in our return home, made as it were the chord of the arch of our former journey, or about 93 miles, with which we found our points, as settled by observation, did very nearly agree.

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Two things chiefly occupied my mind, and prevented me from accompanying my servants and baggage into Gondar. The first was my desire of instantly knowing the state of Ozoro Esther's health: the second was, to avoid Fasil, till I knew a little more about ras Michael and the king. Taking one servant along with me, I left my people at Azazo, and turning to the left, up a very craggy steep mountain, I made the utmost diligence I could till I arrived at the gate of Koscam, near two o'clock, without having met any one from Fasil, who was encamped opposite to Gondar, on the Kahha, on the side of the hill, so that I had passed obliquely behind him. He had, however, seen or heard of the arrival of my servants at Gondar, and had sent for me to wait upon him in his camp; and when he was informed I had gone forward to Koscam, it was said he had uttered some words of discontent.

I went straight to the iteghe's apartment, but was not admitted, as she was at her devotions. In crossing one of the courts, however, I met a slave of Ozoro Esther, who, instead of answering the question I put to her, gave a loud shriek and went to inform her mistress. I found that princess greatly recovered, as her anxiety about Fasil had ceased. She had admitted him to an audience, and he had communicated to her the engagement he was under to her husband, as also the conduct he intended to pursue in order to keep Gusho and Powussen from taking any effectual measures which might frustrate, or at least delay, the restoration of the king, and arrival of ras Michael.

The day after Mr. Bruce had left Gondar, it was entered by Asahel, a robber bred up in woods and deserts, in exercise of every crime. This man was made the king's lieutenant-general by Socinios, which honour so turned his head, that he betrayed the secrets of his patron Fasil, but the king was too weak to prevent the execution of the plot. Fasil himself also entered Gondar immediately after, with a chosen guard. Socinios, in order to flatter Fasil, appointed him ras, upon which, this enterprising chief began to exercise his authority, and elected several officers. Socinios was disappointed, and



refused to comply with these appointments, so that when these noblemen came to do homage for their respective places, he absolutely refused to receive them. This involved the king in still greater difficulties; for he thereby broke his word with Fasil, who had done nothing more than Socinios gave him authority to do.

Socinios continued obstinate in rejecting Fasil's appointment, and all fell immediately into confusion. Troops flocked in from every quarter, as upon a signal given. Ayto Engedan, in discontent, with 1,000 men, sat down near Gondar on the river Mogetch; his brother Aylo, at Emfras, about 15 miles further, with double that number; Ayto Confu, his cousin-german, with about 600 horse, lay above Koscam for the protection of Ozoro Esther, his mother, and the iteghe his grandmother; all were in arms, though upon the defensive. Such was the state of public affairs, when Mr. Bruce again entered Gondar, on the 19th of November, 1770.

'On my arrival at Gondar,' says he, 'I could not see the queen, she having retired to her apartment under pretence of devotion, but rather from disgust and melancholy, at seeing that every thing, however the contrary might be intended, seemed to conspire to bring about the return of ras Michael, the event in the world she most dreaded. I found with Ozoro Esther the acab saat, Abba Salama, who had excommunicated her uncle Kasmati Eshte, and afterwards contrived his murder, and had also had a very principal share in that of Joas himself. It was he that Fasil said had sent to him to desire that I might not be allowed to proceed to the head of the Nile, and that from no other reason but a hatred to me as a Frank. We bowed to each other as two not very great friends; and he immediately began a very dry ill-natured, admonitory discourse, addressed, for the greatest part, to Ozoro Esther, explaining to her the mischief of suffering Franks to remain at liberty in the country and meddle in affairs. I interrupted him by a laugh, and by saying, "If it be me, father, you mean by the word Frank, I have, without your advice, gone where I intended, and returned in

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safety ; and as for your country, I will give you a very handsome present to put me safely out of it, in any direction you please, to-morrow ; the sooner the better."

' At this instant Ayto Confu came into his mother's apartment, caught the last words which I said, and asked of me, in a very angry tone of voice, " Who is he that wishes you out of the country ?"—" I do sincerely and heartily," said I, " for one ; but what you last heard was in consequence of a friendly piece of advice that Abba Salama here has been giving me." " Father, father," says Confu, turning to him very sternly, " do you not think the measure of your good deeds is yet near full ; Do you not see this place, Kasmati Esthe's house, surrounded by the troops of my father Michael, and do you still think yourself in safety, when you have so lately excommunicated both the king and the ras ? Look you," continues he, turning to his mother, " what dogs the people of this country are ; that pagan there, who calls himself a Christian, did charitably recommend it to Fasil to rob or murder Yagoube, a stranger offending nobody, when he got him among his Galla in Damot : this did not succeed. He then persuaded Woodage Asahel to send a party of robbers from Samseen to intercept him in Maitsha. Coque Abou Barea himself told me it was at that infidel's desire that he sent Welleta Selasse of Guesgue with a party to cut him off, who missed him narrowly at Degwassa : and all this for what ? I shall swear they should not have found ten ounces of gold upon him, except Fasil's present, and that they dared not touch."—" But God," said Ozoro Esther, " saw the integrity of his heart, and that his hands were clean ; and that is not the case with the men in this country."—" And therefore," replied Confu, " He made Fasil his friend and protector. Woodage Asahel's party fell in with an officer of Welleta Yasous, who cut them all to pieces while robbing some Agows." Then rising up from the place where he was sitting at his mother's feet, with a raised voice, and countenance full of fury, turning to Abba Salama, he said, " And I, too, am now nobody ; a boy ! a child ! a mockery to three such pagan infidels as

you, Fasil, and Abou Barea, because ras Michael is away !” —Says the acab saat, with great composure, or without any seeming anger, “ You are excommunicated, Confu ; you are excommunicated if you say I am an infidel or pagan ; I am a Christian priest.” —“ A priest of the devil,” says Confu, in a great passion —“ wine and women, gluttony, lying, and drunkenness — these are your gods ! Away !” cries he, putting his hand to his knife ; “ by saint Michael I swear, ten days shall not pass before I teach both Coque Abou Barea and you your duty. Come, Yagoube, come and see my horses ; when I have put a good man upon each of them, we shall together hunt your enemies to Sennaar.” He swang hastily out of the door, and I after him, and left Abba Salama dying with fear, as Ozoro Esther told me afterwards, saying only to her, as he went out, “ Remember I did not excommunicate him.”

‘ I left Confu with his men and horses ; and, though it was now late, I went to the camp to pay my compliments to Fasil. Having no arms, I was very much molested, both in going and coming, under various pretences : I was afterwards kept waiting about half an hour in the camp without seeing him ; he only sent me a message that he would see me on the morrow. However, we met several friends we had seen at Bamba ; and from them we learned at length what we shortly had heard from Ayto Confu, that Woodage Asahel had sent a party to intercept and rob us : and it was that party which was called the five Agows, who had passed Fasil’s army the night after we left Kelti. They told us, that the Lamb the night after he left us, had got upon their track by information from three countrymen, whom they had robbed of some honey, surrounded them, and, in the morning, had attacked them west of Geesh, and, though inferior in number, had slain and wounded the whole party, as dexterously as he had promised to us at our last interview.

‘ I sent a small present to our friend the Lamb, in token of gratitude to him, and delivered it to three people, that I might be sure one of them would not steal it, and took Fasil’s guarantee to see it delivered ; but this was upon a following day.

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I resolved to remain at Koscam in the house that the iteghe had given me; as it was easy to see things were drawing to a crisis, which would inevitably end in blood.

'It was not till the 23d of November I first saw the iteghe. She sent for me early in the morning, and had a large breakfast prepared: Ayto Confu and Ayto Engedan were there; she looked very much worn out, and indisposed. When I came first into her presence, I kneeled, with my forehead to the ground. She put on a very serious countenance, and, without desiring me to rise, said gravely to her people about her, "There, see that madman, who, in times like these, when we, the natives of the country, are not safe in our own houses, rashly, against all advice, runs into the fields to be hunted like a wild beast by every robber, of which this country is full."

'She then made me a sign to rise, which I did, and kissed her hand. "Madam," said I, "if I did this, it was in consequence of the good lessons your majesty deigned to give me."—"Me!" says she, with surprize, "was it I that advised you, at such a time as this, to put yourself in the way of men like Coque Abou Barea, and Woodage Asahel, to be ill-used, robbed, and probably murdered?"—"No," said I, "madam, you certainly never did give me such advice; but you must own, that every day I have heard you say, when you was threatened by a multitude of powerful enemies, that you was not afraid, you was in God's hands, and not in theirs. Now, madam, Providence has hitherto protected you: I have, in humble imitation of you, had the same Christian confidence, and I have succeeded. I knew I was in God's hands, and therefore valued not the bad intentions of all the robbers in Abyssinia."—"Madam," says Ayto Confu, "is not Guesgue yours? does it pay you any thing?"—"It was mine," says the queen, "while any thing was mine; but Michael took it and gave it to Coque Abou Barea, and since it has paid me nothing. Fasil has sent for him about the affair of Yagoube, as he says, and has ordered him to come in the same manner that he himself is come, in private; but forbid him to bring his army with him, in order that no means of relief may be

possible to this devoted country." Large tears flowed down her venerable face at saying these words, and shewed the deep-rooted fear in her heart, that Michael's coming was decreed without possibility of prevention. "I wonder," says Ayto Engedan, laughing, to divert her, "if Coque Abou Barea is the same good Christian that you and Yagoube are; if he is not, nothing else will save him from the hands of Confu and me; for we both want horses and mules for our men, and he has good ones, and arms too, that belonged to my father."—"And both of you," says the queen, "are as bad men as either Woodage Asahel or Coque Abou Barea." At this moment the arrival of Fasil was announced, and we were all turned out, and went to breakfast. I saw him afterwards going out of the palace. He saluted me slightly, and seemed much pre-occupied in mind. He only desired me to come to Gondar next morning, and he would speak to me about Coque Abou Barea; but this the iteghe refused to permit me to do, so I remained at Koscam.

'Fasil, although he did not deny that he had made peace with ras Michael, yet, to quiet the minds of the people, always solemnly protested, that, so far from coming to Gondar, he never would consent to his crossing the Tacazze: and this had, with most people, the desired effect; for all Gondar loved Tecla Haimanout as much as they detested Socinios; but the bloodshed and cruelty that would certainly attend Michael's coming, made them wish for any government that would free them from the terror of that event. On the other hand, Socinios, though now perfectly persuaded of Fasil's motives, had not deserted his own cause; he had sent Woodage Asahel, fortified with all his authority, into Maitsha, in order to raise a commotion there; ordered it to be proclaimed to the whole body of Galla in that province, that if they would come to Gondar, and prevent the arrival of ras Michael, and bring their *bouco* (or sceptre) along with them, they should have the election of their own governor, and not pay any thing to the king for seven years to come; and, besides, he had ordered Powussen of Begemder to endeavour, by a forced march, to surprize Fasil, then at Gondar, attended by a few troops.

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Mean time, he dissembled the best he could; but, as he had very shrewd people to deal with, it was more than probable his secret was early discovered.

‘Every hand being now armed, and all measures taken, as far as human foresight could reach, it was impossible to defer any longer the coming to blows in some part or other. On the 23d, at night, advice was received from Adera Tacca Georgis, an officer of Fasil in Maitsha, that he had attacked Woodage Asahel, who had collected a number of troops, and was endeavouring to raise commotions; and, after an obstinate combat, he had defeated him, and slain or wounded most of his followers: that Asahel himself, wounded twice with a lance, had, by the goodness of his horse, escaped, and joined Powussen in Begemder.

‘This news occasioned Fasil to throw off the mask: he now publicly avowed it was his intention to restore Tecla Haimanout to the throne, and that, rather than fail in it, he would replace ras Michael in all his posts and dignities. He said that Socinios was created for mockery only; and publicly asserted, that he was not son of Yasous, but of one Mercurius, a private man at Degwassa: and, indeed, he bore not, in his features or carriage, any resemblance to the royal family, from which he pretended to be descended.

‘In the mean time Powussen had not disregarded the request of Socinios. He had attempted to surprize Fasil, but could not pass Aylo, who was at Emfras, without falling upon him first, which he did, dispersing his troops with little resistance. Upon the first intelligence of this, Fasil proclaimed Tecla Haimanout king; and, striking his tents, sat down at Abba Samuel, a collection of villages about two miles from Gondar, inviting all people, that would escape the vengeance of ras Michael, to come and join him, and leave Gondar.— From this he retreated near to Dingleber, on the side of the lake, and intercepted all provisions coming to Gondar, which occasioned a very great famine, and many poor people died.

‘Hitherto I had no intercourse with Socinios, never having been in his presence, but when the Galla, the murderer of Joas, was tried; nor had I any reason to think he knew me,

or cared for me more than any Greek that was in Gondar; but I had a good friend at court, who waked when I slept, and did not suffer me to pass unknown; this was the acab saat, Salama, who had instigated the king, on the 5th of December, in one of his drunken fits, to set out from the palace in the night, attended by a number of banditti, mostly Mahometans, to plunder several houses; he slew one man, as it was said, with his own hand: among these devoted houses mine happened to be one, but I was then happily at Koscam. The next was Metical Aga's, one of whose servants escaped into a church-yard, the other being slain. The leader of this unworthy mob was Confu, brother to Guebra Mehedin. Every thing that could be carried away was stolen or broken; among which was a reflecting telescope, a barometer, and thermometer; a great many papers and sketches of drawings, first torn, then burnt by Confu's own hand, with many curses and threats against me.

'The next day, about nine o'clock, I had a message to come to the palace, where I went, and was immediately admitted. Socinios was sitting, his eyes half closed, red as scarlet with last night's debauch; he was apparently at that moment much in liquor; his mouth full of tobacco, squirting his spittle out of his mouth to a very great distance; with this he had so covered the floor, that it was with very great difficulty I could choose a clean place to kneel, and make my obeisance. He was dressed like the late king; but, in every thing else, how unlike! My mind was filled with horror and detestation, to see the throne on which he sat so unworthily occupied.

'When I got up and stood before him, he seemed to be rather disconcerted, and not prepared to say any thing to me. There were few people there besides servants, most men of consideration having left Gondar, and gone with Fasil. After two or three squirts through his teeth, and a whisper from his brother Chremation, whom I had never before seen—"Wherefore is it," says he, "that you, who are a great man, do not attend the palace? you were constantly with Tecla Haimanout, the exile, or usurper, in peace and war; you used to ride with him, and divert him with your tricks on horseback, and, I

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believe, ate and drank with him. Where is all that money you got from Ras el Feel, of which province, I am told, you are still governor, though you conceal it? How dare you keep Yasmine in that government, and not allow Adb el Jelleel, who is my slave, appointed to enter and govern that province?" I waited patiently till he had said all he had to say, and made a slight inclination of the head. I answered, "I am no great man, even in my own country; one proof of this is my being here in yours. I arrived in the time of the late king, and I was recommended to him by his friends in Arabia. You are perfectly well informed as to the great kindness he did all along shew me, but this was entirely from his goodness, and no merit of mine. I never did eat or drink with him; it was an honour I could not have been capable of aspiring to. Custom has established the contrary; and for me, I saw no pleasure or temptation to transgress this custom, though it had been in my option, as it does not. I have, for the most part, seen him eat and drink, and the honour I enjoyed in common with his confidential servants, as being an officer of his household. The gold you mention, which I have several times got from the late king and Ras el Feel, I constantly spent for his service, and for my own honour. But at present I am neither governor of Ras el Feel, nor have I any post under heaven, nor do I desire it. Yasmine, I suppose, holds his from Ayto Confir, his superior, who holds it from the king by order of ras Michael; but of this I know nothing. As for tricks on horseback, I know not what you mean. I have for many years been in constant practice of horsemanship among the Arabs. Mine too, is a country of horsemen; and I profess to have attained to a degree not common, the management both of the lance and of fire-arms; but I am no buffoon, to shew tricks. The profession of arms is my birthright, derived from my ancestors; and with these, at his desire, I have often diverted the king, as an amusement worthy of him, and by no means below me."—"The king!" says he in a violent passion, "and who then am I? a slave! Do you know, with a stamp of my foot I can order you to be hewn in pieces in an instant? You are a Frank, a dog, liar, and a slave! Why did you



tell the iteghe that your house was robbed of 50 ounces of gold? Any other king but myself would order your eyes to be pulled out in a moment, and your carcase to be thrown to the dogs."

"What he said was true; bad kings have most executioners. I was not however dismayed; I was in my own mind, stranger and alone, superior to such a beast upon the throne. "The iteghe," said I, "is at present at Koscam, and will inform you if I told her of any gold that was stolen from me, except a gold-mounted knife, which the late king gave me at Dingleber, the day after the battle of Limjour, and which was accidentally left in my house, as I had not worn it since he went to Tigre." He squirted at this moment an arch of tobacco-spittle towards me, whether on purpose or not I do not know. I felt myself very much moved: it narrowly missed me. At this instant an old man, of a noble appearance, who sat in a corner of the room next him, got up, and, in a firm tone of voice, said, "I can bear this no longer; we shall become a proverb, and the hatred of all mankind. What have you to do with Yagoube, or why did you send for him? he was favoured by the late king, but not more than I have seen Greeks or Armenians in all the late reigns; and yet these very people confess, in their own country, they are not worthy of being his servants. He is a friend, not only to the king, but to us all: the whole people love him. As for myself, I never spoke to him twice before; when he might have gone to Tigre with Michael, his friend, he staid at Gondar with us: so you, of all others, have least reason to complain of him, since he has preferred you to the ras, though you have given him nothing. As for riding, I wish Yagoube had just rode with you as much as with Tecla Haimanout, and you spent as much time with him as your predecessor did; last night's disgrace would not then have fallen upon us, at least would have been confined to the limits of your own kingdom; you would have neither disobliged Fasil nor the iteghe; and, when the day of trial is at hand, you would have been better able to answer it, than, by going on at this rate, there is any appearance you will be." This person, I understood, was ras Senuda, nephew to the

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iteghe, and son of ras Welled de l'Oul; he had been banished to Kuara in the late king's time, so I had no opportunity of knowing him.

'All the time of his harangue Socinios's eyes were mostly shut, and his mouth open, and slavering tobacco; he was rolling from side to side, scarcely preserving his equilibrium. When Sanuda stopt, he began with an air of drollery, "You are very angry to-day, Baba." And turning to me, said, "To-morrow, see you bring me that horse which Yasine sent you to Koscam; and bring me Yasine himself, or you will hear of it; slave and Frank as you are, enemy to Mary the Virgin, bring me the horse!" Sanuda took me by the hand, saying, in a whisper, "Don't fear him, I am here; but go home; next time you come here you will have horses enough along with you." He, too, seemed in liquor; and, making me a sign to withdraw, I left the king and his minister together with great willingness, and returned to Koscam to the iteghe, to whom I told what had passed, and who ordered me to stay near Ozoro Esther, as in her service, and go no more to the palace.

'At this time certain intelligence was received that ras Michael had forded the Tacazze, on the 15th of December, and turned a little to the left, as if he intended to pass through the middle of Begemder, though he had really no such design, but only to bring Powussen to an engagement. Seeing this was not likely, and only tended to waste time, he pursued his journey straight towards Gondar, not in his usual way, burning and destroying, but quietly, correcting abuses, and regulating the police of the country through which he passed, for he was yet in fear.

'The news of his having passed the Tacazze determined Socinios, and the iteghe to fly; and they set out accordingly. Socinios directed his flight first towards Begemder, but, the next day, turned to the right, through Dembea, and joined the queen at Azazo, where great altercations and disputes followed between them. The queen had engaged the abuna to attend her, and that prelate had consented, upon receiving

15 mules and 30 ounces of gold, which were paid accordingly ; but when the queen sent, the morning of her departure, to put the Abuna in mind of his promise, his servants stoned the iteghe's messenger, without suffering him to approach the house, but they kept the mules and the gold. Confu and Sanuda having joined, entered Gondar, and took possession of the king's house, and put a stop to these excesses and robberies, which had become very frequent since the iteghe's flight.

'In the mean time the unfortunate Socinios continued his flight, in company with the queen, till they came to the borders of Kuara, her native country. Those who had made Socinios a king had never made him a friend. It was here suggested, that his presence would infallibly occasion a pursuit which might endanger the queen, her country, and all her friends. Upon this it was resolved to abandon the unworthy Socinios to the soldiers, who stript him naked, giving him only a rag to cover him, and a good horse, and with these they dismissed him to seek his fortune.

'After a short stay in Kuara, the queen returned to the left towards Bure. All Maitsha assembled to escort her to Fasil, while he led her through Damot to the frontiers of Gojam, where she was received in triumph by her daughter Ozoro Welleta Israel, and Aylo her grandson, to whom half of that province belonged, and with them she rested at last in safety, after a long and anxious journey.

'On the 21st of December, a message came to me from Ozoro Esther, desiring I would attend her son Confu to meet the king, as his fit-auraris had marked out the camp at Mariam-Ohha. Observing that I had a very indifferent knife, or dagger, in my girdle (that which I had received from the king being stolen, when my house was plundered), with her own hands she made me a present of a magnificent one, mounted with gold, which she had chosen with that intention, and laid upon the seat beside her. She told me she had already sent to acquaint her husband, ras Michael, how much she had been obliged to me in his absence, both for my attention to

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her and her eldest son, who had been several times sick since his departure, and that I might expect to receive a kind reception.'

Next day Mr. Bruce proceeded to join the royal army. 'My first business,' says he, 'was to wait on ras Michael, who, though very busy, admitted me immediately upon being announced. This was a compliment I was under no necessity of paying him, as the king's servant; but I was resolved to take nothing upon me, but appear in all the humility of a private stranger. This he quickly perceived; so that, when he saw me approaching near him to kiss the ground, he made an effort as if to rise, which he never did, being lame, nor could do without help; stretching out his hand as if to prevent me, he repeated the words in a hurry, *be gzeir! be gzeir!* or, for God's sake, don't, for God's sake, don't! However, the compliment was paid. As soon as I arose, without desiring me to sit down, he asked aloud, Have you seen the king? I said, Not yet. Have you any complaint to make against any one, or grace to ask? I answered, None, but the continuance of your favour. He answered, That I am sure I owe you; go to the king. I took my leave. I had been jostled and almost squeezed to death attempting to enter, but large room was made me for retiring.

'The reception I had met with was the infallible rule according to which the courtiers were to speak to me from that time forward. Man is the same creature every where, although different in colour; the court of London and that of Abyssinia are, in their principles, one. I then went immediately to the king, in the presence-chamber. His largest tent was crowded to a degree of suffocation; I resolved, therefore, to wait till this throng was over, and was going to my own tent, which my servants pitched near that of Keffa Yasous, by that general's own desire, but before I could reach it, I was called by a servant from the king. Though the throng had greatly decreased, there was still a very crowded circle.

'The king was sitting upon an ivory stool, such as are represented upon ancient medals; he had got this as a present from Arabia, since he went to Tigre; he was plainly, but

very : tly, dressed, and his hair combed and perfumed.— When I kissed the ground before him, “There,” says he, “is an arch rebel; what punishment shall we inflict upon him?” “Your majesty’s justice,” said I, “will not suffer you to inflict any punishment upon me that can possibly equal the pleasure I feel this day at seeing you sit there.” He smiled with great good nature, giving me first the back, and then the palm of his hand to kiss. He then made me a sign to stand in my place, which I immediately did for a moment; and, seeing he was then upon business, which I knew nothing of, I took leave of him, and could not help reflecting, as I went, that, of all the vast multitude then in my sight, I was, perhaps, the only one destitute either of hope or fear.

‘All Gondar, and the neighbouring towns and villages, had poured out their inhabitants to meet the king upon his return. The fear of ras Michael was the cause of all this; and every one trembled, lest, by being absent, he should be thought a favourer of Socinios.

‘The side of the hill, which slopes gently from Belessen, is here very beautiful; it is covered with thick herbage, down to near the foot, where it ends in broken rocks. The face of this hill is of great extent, and an infinite number of people spread themselves all over it, covered with cotton garments as white as snow. The number could not be less than 50 or 60,000 men and women, all strewed upon the grass promiscuously. Most of these had brought their victuals with them, others trusted to their friends and acquaintances in the army; the soldiers had plenty of meat; as soon as the king had crossed the Tacazze, all was lawful prize; and though they did not murder or burn, as was Michael’s custom in his former marches, yet they drove away all the cattle they could seize, either in Begemder or Belessen. Besides this, a great quantity of provisions of every sort poured in from the neighbourhood of Gondar, in presents to the king and great men, though there was really a famine in that capital, by the roads being every way obstructed; there was plenty, however, in the camp.

‘It was then the month of December, the fairest time of the year, when the sun was in the southern tropic, and no

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danger from rain in the day, nor in the night from dew; so that, if the remembrance of the past had not hung heavy on some hearts, it was a party of pleasure, of the most agreeable kind, to convoy the king to his capital. The priests from all the convents for many miles round, in dresses of yellow and white cotton, came, with their crosses and drums, in procession, and greatly added to the variety of the scene. Among these were 300 of the monks of Koscam, with their large crosses, and kettle-drums of silver, the gift of the iteghe in the days of her splendour; at present it was very doubtful what their future fate was to be, after their patroness had fled from Koscam. But what most drew the attention of all ranks of people, was the appearance of the abuna and itchegue, whose character, rank, and dignity, exempted them from leaving Gondar to meet the king himself; but they were then in great fear, and in the form of criminals, and were treated with very little respect or ceremony by the soldiers, who considered them as enemies.

‘It will be remembered, upon a report being spread just after the election of Socinios, that ras Michael’s affairs were taking an adverse turn, while besieging the mountain Haramat; that the abuna, itchegue, and acab saat, had solemnly excommunicated the king, ras Michael, and all their adherents, declaring them accursed, and absolving all people from their allegiance to Tecla Haimanout. But as soon as the king began his march from Tigre, application for pardon was made through every channel possible, and it was not without difficulty that ras Michael could be brought to pardon them, chiefly by the entreaty of Ozoro Esther. But this mortification was prescribed to them as a condition of forgiveness, that they should meet the king at Marian-Ohho, not with drums and crosses, or a retinue, but in the habit and appearance of supplicants. Accordingly, they both came by the time the king had alighted; but they brought no tent with them, nor was any pitched for them, nor any honour shewn them.

‘Ras Michael had brought with him from Tigre about 20,000 men, the best soldiers of the empire; about 6,000 of them were musketeers, the remainder being armed with lances

and shields, and about 6,000 men had joined them from Gondar; a large proportion of these were horsemen, who were scouring the country in all directions, bringing with them such unhappy people as deserved to be, and were therefore destined for public example.

‘Although ras Michael had been in council all night, the signal was made to strike the tents at the first dawn of day, and soon after, the whole army was in motion; the council had been in the ras’s tent, not in presence of the king, with whom I had staid the most part of the evening, indeed, till late in the night; he seemed to have lost all his former gaiety, and to be greatly troubled in mind; inquired much about the iteghe, and Fasil; told me he had sent his assurance of peace to the iteghe, and desired her not to leave Koscam: but she had returned for answer, that she could not trust Michael, after the threatenings he had sent against her from Tigre. It was observed also, in this day’s march, that, contrary to his custom before crossing the Tacazze, he received all that came out to meet him with a sullen countenance, and scarce ever answered or spake to them. Michael also, every day since the same date, had put on a behaviour more and more severe and brutal. He had enough of this at all times.

‘It was on the 23d of December when we encamped on the Mogetch, just below Gondar. This behaviour was so conspicuous to the whole people, that no sooner were the tents pitched (it being about 11 o’clock), than they all stole home to Gondar in small parties without their dinner, and presently a report was spread, that the king and ras Michael came determined to burn the town, and put the inhabitants all to the sword. This occasioned the utmost consternation, and caused many to fly to Fasil.

‘As for me, the king’s behaviour shewed me plainly all was not right, and an accident in the way confirmed it. He had desired me to ride before him, and shew him the horse I had got from Fasil, which was then in great beauty and order, and which I had purposely kept for him. It happened that, crossing the deep bed of a brook, a plant of the kantuffa hung across it. I had upon my shoulders a white goat-skin, of

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which it did not take hold; but the king, who was dressed in the habit of peace, his long hair floating all around his face, wrapt up in his mantle, or thin cotton cloak, so that nothing but his eyes could be seen, was paying more attention to the horse than to the branch of kantuffa beside him; it took first hold of his hair, and the fold of the cloak that covered his head, then spread itself over his whole shoulder in such a manner, that notwithstanding all the help that could be given him, and that I had, at first seeing it, cut the principal bough asunder with my knife, no remedy remained but he must throw off the upper garment, and appear in the under one, or waistcoat, with his head and face bare before all the spectators.

'This is accounted great disgrace to a king, who always appears covered in public. However, he did not seem to be ruffled, nor was there any thing particular in his countenance more than before, but with great composure, and in rather a low voice, he called twice, Who is the shum of this district? Unhappily he was not far off. A thin old man of sixty, and his son about thirty, came trotting, as their custom is, naked to their girdle, and stood before the king, who was, by this time, quite clothed again. What had struck the old man's fancy, I know not, but he passed my horse laughing, and seemingly wonderfully content with himself. I could not help considering him as a type of mankind in general, never more confident and careless than when on the brink of destruction. The king asked if he was shum of that place? he answered in the affirmative, and added, which was not asked of him, that the other was his son.

'There is always near the king, when he marches, an officer called *kanitz kitzera*, the executioner of the camp; he has upon the tore of his saddle a quantity of thongs made of bull hide, rolled up very artificially; this is called the *tarade*. The king made a sign with his head, and another with his hand, without speaking; and two loops of the tarade were instantly thrown round the shum and his son's neck, and they were both hoisted upon the same tree, the tarade cut, and the end made fast to a branch. They were both left hanging, but I thought so awkwardly, that they would not die for some



minutes, and might surely have been saved had any one dared to cut them down; but fear had fallen upon every person who had not attended the king to Tigre.

'This cruel beginning seemed to me an omen that violent resolutions had been taken, the execution of which was immediately to follow; for though the king had certainly a delight in the shedding of human blood in the field, yet till that time I never saw him order an execution by the hands of the hangman; on the contrary, I have often seen him shudder and express disgust, lowly and in half words, at such executions ordered every day by ras Michael. In this instance he seemed to have lost that feeling; and rode on sometimes conversing about Fasil's horse, or other indifferent subjects, to those who were around him, without once reflecting upon the horrid execution he had then so recently occasioned.

'In the evening of the 23d, when encamped upon Mogetch, came Sanuda, the person who had made Socinios king, and who had been ras under him; he was received with great marks of favour, in reward of the treacherous part he had acted. He brought with him prisoners, Guebra Denghel, the ras's son-in-law, one of the best and most amiable men in Abyssinia, but who had unfortunately embraced the wrong side of the question; and with him Sebaat Laab and Keffa Mariam, both men of great families in Tigre. These were, one after the other, thrown violently on their faces before the king. I was exceedingly distressed for Guebra Denghel; he prayed the king, with the greatest earnestness, to order him to be put to death, before the door of his tent, and not delivered to his cruel father-in-law. To this the king made no answer, nor did he shew any signs of pity, but waved his hand, as a sign to carry them to ras Michael, where they were put in custody and loaded with irons.

'About two hours later came Ayto Aylo, son of Kasmati Eshte, whom the king had named governor of Begemder; he brought with him Chremation, brother to Socinios, and Abba Salama the acab saat, who had excommunicated his father, and been instrumental in his murder by Fasil. I had a great curiosity to see how they would treat the acab saat; for my

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head was full of what I had read in the European books, of exemption that churchmen had in this country from the jurisdiction of the civil power.

‘Aylo had made his legs to be tied under the mule’s belly, his hands behind his back, and a rope made fast to them, which a man held in his hand on one side, while another led the halter of the mule on the other, both of them with lances in their hands. Chremation had his hands bound, but his legs were not tied, nor was there any rope made fast to his hands by which he was held. While they were untying Abba Salama, I went into the presence chamber, and stood behind the king’s chair. Very soon after Aylo’s men brought in their prisoners, and, as is usual, threw them down violently with their faces to the ground; their hands being bound behind them, they had a very rude fall upon their faces.

‘The acab saat rose in a violent passion; he struggled to get loose his hands, that he might be free to use the act of denouncing excommunication, which is by lifting the right hand, and extending the forefinger; finding that impossible, he cried out, “Unloose my hands, or you are all excommunicated.” It was with difficulty he could be prevailed upon to hear the king, who with great composure, or rather indifference, said to him, “You are the first ecclesiastical officer in my household, you are the third in the whole kingdom; but I have not yet learned you ever had power to curse your sovereign, or exhort his subjects to murder him. You are to be tried for this crime by the judges to-morrow, so prepare to shew in your defence, upon what precepts of Christ, or his apostles, or upon what part of the general councils, you found your title to do this.”

‘“Let my hands be unloosed,” cried Salama violently; “I am a priest, a servant of God; and they have power, says David, to put kings in chains, and nobles in irons. And did not Samuel hew king Agag to pieces before the Lord? I excommunicate you, Tecla Haimanout.” And he was going on, when Tecla Mariam, son of the king’s secretary, a young man, struck the acab saat so violently on the face, that it made his mouth gush out with blood, saying, at the same time, “What!

suffer this in the king's presence?" Upon which both Chre-  
mation and the acab saat were hurried out of the tent without  
being suffered to say more; indeed the blow seemed to have  
so much disconcerted Abba Salama, that it deprived him for  
a time of the power of speaking.

'In Abyssinia it is death to strike, or lift the hand to strike,  
before the king; but in this case the provocation was so great,  
so sudden, and unexpected, and the youth's worth and the  
insolence of the offender so apparent to every body, that a  
slight reproof was ordered to be given Tecla Mariam (by his  
father only); but he lost no favour for what he had done,  
either with the king, Michael, or the people.

'On the 24th the drum beat, and the army was on their  
march by dawn of day; they halted a little after passing the  
rough ground, and then doubled their ranks, and formed into  
close order of battle, the king leading the centre; a few of his  
black horse were in two lines immediately before him, their  
spears pointed upwards, his officers and nobility on each side,  
and behind him the rest of the horse, distributed in the wings,  
excepting prince George and Ayto Confu, who, with two  
small bodies, not exceeding a hundred, scoured the country,  
sometimes in front, and sometimes in the flank. I do not re-  
member who commanded the rest of the army; my mind was  
otherwise engaged; they marched close and in great order,  
and every one trembled for the fate of Gondar. We passed  
the Mahometan town, and encamped upon the river Kahha,  
in front of the market-place. As soon as we had turned our  
faces to the town, our kettle-drums were brought to the front,  
and, after beating some time, two proclamations were made.  
The first was, "That all those who had flour or barley in  
quantities, should bring it that very day to a fair market, on  
pain of having their houses plundered; and that all people,  
soldiers, or others, who attempted by force to take any provi-  
sions without having first paid for them in ready money, should  
be hanged upon the spot." A bench was quickly brought,  
and set under a tree in the middle of the market; a judge ap-  
pointed to sit there; a strong guard, and several officers placed  
round him; behind him an executioner, and a large coil of

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ropes laid at his feet. The second proclamation was, "That every body should remain at home in their houses, otherwise the person flying, or deserting the town, should be reputed as a rebel, his goods confiscated, his house burnt, and his family chastised at the king's pleasure for seven years." So far all was well and politic.

' There was at Gondar a sort of mummers, being a mixture of buffoons and ballad-singers, and posture-masters. These people, upon all public occasions, run about the streets; and on private ones, such as marriages, come to the court-yards before the houses, where they dance, and sing songs of their own composing in honour of the day, and perform all sorts of antics: many a time, on his return from the field with victory, they had met ras Michael, and received his bounty for singing his praises, and welcoming him upon his return home. The day the abuna excommunicated the king, this set of vagrants made part of the solemnity; they abused, ridiculed, and traduced Michael in lampoons and scurrilous rhymes, calling him crooked, lame, old, and impotent, and several other opprobrious names, which did not affect him nearly so much as the ridicule of his person: upon many occasions after, they repeated this, and particularly in a song they ridiculed the horse of Sire, who had run away at the battle of Limjour, where Michael cried out, "Send these horse to the mill." It happened that these wretches, men and women, to the number of about thirty and upwards, were then, with very different songs, celebrating ras Michael's return to Gondar. The king and ras, after the proclamation, had just turned to the right to Aylo Meidan, below the palace, a large field where the troops exercise. Confu and the king's household troops were before, and about 200 of the Sire horse were behind; on a signal made by the ras, these horse turned short and fell upon the singers, and cut them all to pieces. In less than two minutes they were all laid dead upon the field, excepting one young man, who, mortally wounded, had just strength enough to arrive within twenty yards of the king's horse, and there fell dead without speaking a word.

“All the people present, most of them veteran soldiers, and consequently inured to blood, appeared shocked and disgusted at this wanton piece of cruelty. For my part, a kind of faintishness, or feebleness, had taken possession of my heart, ever since the execution of the two men on our march, about the kantuffa; and the second act of cruelty occasioned such a horror, joined with an absence of mind, that I found myself unable to give an immediate answer, though the king had spoken twice to me.

‘It was about nine o’clock in the morning when we entered Gondar; every person we met on the street wore the countenance of a condemned malefactor; the ras went immediately to the palace with the king, who retired, as usual, to a kind of cage or lattice-window, where he always sits unseen when in council. We were then in the council-chamber, and four of the judges seated; none of the governors of provinces were present but ras Michael, and Kasmati Tcsfos of Sire. Abba Salama was brought to the foot of the table without irons, at perfect liberty. The accuser for the king (it is a post in this country in no great estimation) began the charge against him with great force and eloquence. He stated, one by one, the crimes committed by him at different periods; the sum of which amounted to prove Salama to be the greatest monster upon earth; among these were various kinds of murder, especially by poison; incest, with every degree collateral and descendant. He concluded this black, horrid list, with the charge of high treason, or cursing the king, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance, which he stated as the greatest crime human nature was capable of, as involving, in its consequences, all sorts of other crimes. Abba Salama, though he seemed under very great impatience, did not often interrupt him, further than ‘You lie,’ and, ‘It is a lie,’ which he repeated at every new charge. His accuser had not said one word of the murder of Joas, but passed it over without the smallest allusion to it.

‘In this, however, Abba Salama did not follow his example: being desired to answer in his own defence, he entered

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upon it with great dignity, and an air of superiority, very different from his behaviour in the king's tent the day before: he laughed and made extremely light of the charges on the article of women, which he neither confessed nor denied; but said these might be crimes among the Franks (looking at me), or other Christians, but not the Christians of that country, who lived under a double dispensation, the law of Moses and the law of Christ: he said the Abyssinians were *Beni Israel*, as indeed they call themselves, that is, children of Israel; and that in every age, the patriarchs had acted as he did, and were not less beloved of God. He went roundly into the murder of Joas, and of his two brothers, Adigo and Aylo, on the mountain of Wechne, and charged Michael directly with it, as also with the poisoning the late Hatze Hannes, father of the present king.

'The ras seemed to avoid hearing, sometimes by speaking to people standing behind him, sometimes by reading a paper; in particular, he asked me, standing directly behind his chair, in a low voice, "What is the punishment in your country for such a crime?" It was his custom to speak to me in his own language of Tigre, and one of his greatest pastimes to laugh at my faulty expressions. He spoke this to me in Amharic, so I knew he wanted my answer should be understood: I therefore said, in the same low tone of voice he spoke to me, "High treason is punished with death in all the countries I have ever known."—This I owed to Abba Salama, and it was not long before I had my return.

'Abba Salama next went into the murder of Kasmati Eshte, which he confessed he was the promoter of. He said the iteghe, with her brothers and Ayto Aylo, had all turned Franks, so had Gusho of Amhara; and that, in order to make the country Catholic, they had sent for priests, who lived with them in confidence, as that Frank did, pointing to me: that it was against the law of the country that I should be suffered here; that I was accursed, and should be stoned as an enemy to the Virgin Mary. There the ras interrupted him, by saying, "Confine yourself to your own defence; clear yourself first, and then accuse any one you please: it is

the king's intention to put the law in execution against all offenders, and it is only as believing you the greatest, that he has begun with you."

'This calmness of the ras seemed to disconcert the acab saat; he lost all method; he warned the ras, that it was owing to his excommunicating Kasmati Eshte that room was made for him to come to Gondar; without that event, this king would never have been upon the throne; so that he had still done them as much good by his excommunications as he had done them harm: he told the ras, and the judges, that they were all doubly under a curse, if they offered either to pull out his eyes, or cut out his tongue; and prayed them, bursting into tears, not so much as to think of either, if it was only for old fellowship, or friendship, which had long subsisted between them.

'There is an officer, named *kal hatze*, who stands always upon steps at the side of the lattice-window, where there is a hole covered in the inside with a curtain of green taffeta; behind this curtain the king sits, and through this hole he sends what he has to say to the Board, who rise, and receive the messenger standing: he had not interfered till now, when the officer said, addressing himself to Abba Salama, "The king requires of you to answer directly, why you persuaded the abuna to excommunicate him? The abuna is a slave of the Turks, and has no king; you are born under a monarchy; why did you, who are his inferior in office, take upon you to advise him at all? or why, after having presumed to advise him, did you advise him wrong, and abuse his ignorance in these matters?" This question, which was a home one, made him lose all his temper; he cursed the abuna, called him Mahometani, pagan, Frank, and infidel; and was going on in this wild manner, when Tecla Haimanout, the eldest of the judges, got up, and, addressing himself to the ras, said, "It is no part of my duty to hear this railing; he has not so much as offered one fact material to his exculpation."

'The king's secretary sent up to the window the substance of his defence, the criminal was carried at some distance to the other end of the room, and the judges deliberated whilst the

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king was reading. Very few words were said among the rest; the ras was all the time speaking to other people: after he had ended this, he called upon the youngest judge to give his opinion; and he gave it, "He is guilty, and should die;" the same said all the officers, and after them the judges; and the same said Kasmati Tesfos after them. When it came to ras Michael to give his vote, he affected moderation; he said, "That he was accused for being his enemy and accomplice; in either case, it is not fair that he should judge him." No superior officer being present, the last voice remained with the king, who sent the kal hatze to the Board with his sentence; "He is guilty, and *shall die the death.*—The hangman *shall* hang him upon a tree *to-day.*" The unfortunate acab saat was immediately hurried away by the guards to the place of execution, which is a large tree before the king's gate; where uttering, to the very last moment, curses against the king, the ras, and the abuna, he suffered the death he very richly deserved, being hanged in the very vestments in which he used to sit before the king, without one ornament of his civil or sacerdotal pre-eminence having been taken from him before the execution. In going to the tree, he said he had 400 cows, which he bequeathed to some priests to say prayers for his soul; but the ras ordered them to be brought to Gondar, and distributed among his soldiers.

"I have entered into a longer detail of this trial, at the whole of which I assisted, the rather that I might ask this question of those that maintain the absolute independence of the Abyssinian priesthood, "Whether, if the many instances already mentioned have not had the effect, this one does not fully convince them, that all ecclesiastical persons are subject to the secular power in Abyssinia, as much as they are in Britain, or any European state whatever?"

Chremation, Socinius's brother, was next called; he seemed half dead with fear; he only denied having any concern in his brother being elected king. He said he had no post, and in this he spoke the truth, but confessed that he had been sent by Abba Salama to bring the itchegue and the abuna to meet him the day of excommunication at Dippabye. It was further



unluckily proved against him, that he was present with his brother at plundering the houses in the night-time when the man was killed; and upon this he was sentenced to be immediately hanged. The court then broke up, and went to breakfast. All this had passed in less than two hours; it was not quite eleven o'clock when all was over; but ras Michael had sworn he would not taste bread till Abba Salama was hanged; and on such occasions he never broke his word.

‘Immediately after this last execution, the kettle-drums beat at the palace-gate, and the crier made this proclamation, “That all the lands and villages, which are now, or have been given to the abuna by the king, shall revert to the king’s own use, and be subject to the government, or the Cantiba of Dember, or such officers as the king shall afterwards appoint in the provinces where they are situated.”

‘I went home, and my house being but a few yards from the palace, I passed the two unfortunate people hanging upon the same branch; and, full of the cruelty of the scene I had witnessed, which I knew was but a preamble to much more, I determined firmly, at all events, to quit this country.

‘The next morning came on the trial of the unfortunate Guebra Denghel, Sebast Laab, and Keffa Mariam; the ras claimed his right of trying these three at his own house, as they were all three subjects of his government of Tigre. Guebra Denghel bore his hard fortune with great unconcern, declaring, that his only reason of taking up arms against the king was, that he saw no other way of preventing Michael’s tyranny and monstrous thirst of money and of power: that the ras was really king, had subverted the constitution, annihilated all difference of rank and persons, and transferred the efficient parts of government into the hands of his own creatures. He wished the king might know this was his only motive for rebellion, and that, unless it had been to make this declaration, he would not have opened his mouth before so partial and unjust a judge as he considered Michael to be.

But Welleta Selasse, his daughter, hearing the danger her father was in, broke suddenly out of Ozoro Esther’s apartment, which was contiguous and, coming into the court-

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room at the instant her father was condemned to die, threw herself at the ras's feet with every mark and expression of the most extreme sorrow. I cannot, indeed, repeat what her expressions were, as I was not present, and I thank God that I was not; I believe they are ineffable by any mouth but her own; but they were perfectly unsuccessful. The old tyrant threatened her with immediate death, spurning her away with his foot, and in her hearing ordered her father to be immediately hanged. Welleta Selasse, in a fit, or faint, which resembled death, fell speechless to the ground. The father, forgetful of his own situation, flew to his daughter's assistance, and they were both dragged out at separate doors, the one to death, the other to after-sufferings, greater than death itself.

Fortune seemed to have taken delight, from very early life, constantly to traverse the greatness and happiness of this young lady. She was first destined to be married to Joas, and the affair was nearly concluded, when the fatal discovery, made at the battle of Azazo, that the king had sent his household troops privately to fight for Fasil against Michael, prevented her marriage, and occasioned his death. She was then destined to old Hatze Hannes, Tecla Haimanout's father: Michael, who found him incapable of being a king, judged him as incapable of being a husband to a woman of the youth and charms of Welleta Selasse, and therefore deprived him at once of his life, crown, and bride. She was now not seventeen, and it was designed she should be married to the present king; Providence put a stop to a union that was not agreeable to either party. She died some time after this, before the battle of Serbraxos; being strongly pressed to gratify the brutal inclinations of the ras, her grandfather, whom when she could not resist or avoid, she took poison: others said it was given her by Ozoro Esther from jealousy; but this was certainly without foundation. I saw her in her last moments, but too late to give her any assistance, and she had told her women-servants and slaves, that she had taken arsenic, having no other way to avoid committing so monstrous a crime as incest with the murderer of her father.

‘The rage, that the intercession of the daughter for her father Guebra Denghel had put the ras into, was seen in the severity of the sentence he passed upon the other two criminals; Kefla Mariam’s eyes were pulled out, Sebaat Laab’s eye-lids were cut off by the roots, and both of them were exposed in the market-place to the burning sun, without any covering whatever. Sebaat Laab died of a fever in a few days; Kefla Mariam lived, if not to see, at least to hear, that he was revenged, after the battle of Serbraxos, by the disgrace and captivity of Michael.

‘I will spare myself the disagreeable task of shocking my readers with any further account of these horrid cruelties; enough has been said to give an idea of the character of these times and people. Blood continued to be spilt as water, day after day, till the Epiphany; priests, laymen, young men and old, noble and vile, daily found their end by the knife or the cord. Fifty-seven people died publicly by the hand of the executioner in the course of a very few days; many disappeared, and were either murdered privately, or sent to prisons no one knew where.

‘The bodies of those killed by the sword were hewn to pieces and scattered about the streets, being denied burial. I was miserable, and almost driven to despair, at seeing my hunting dogs, twice let loose by the carelessness of my servants, bringing into the court-yard the head and arms of slaughtered men, and which I could no way prevent but by the destruction of the dogs themselves; the quantity of carrion, and the stench of it, brought down the hyænas in hundreds from the neighbouring mountains; and, as few people in Gondar go out after it is dark, they enjoyed the streets by themselves, and seemed ready to dispute the possession of the city with the inhabitants. Often when I went home late from the palace, and it was this time the king chose chiefly for conversation, though I had but to pass the corner of the market-place before the palace, had lanterns with me, and was surrounded with armed men, I heard them grunting by *two’s* and *three’s* so near me as to be afraid they would take some oppor-

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tunity of seizing me by the leg; a pistol would have frightened them, and made them speedily run, and I constantly carried two loaded at my girdle; but the discharging a pistol in the night would have alarmed every one that heard it in the town, and it was not now the time to add any thing to people's fears. I at last scarce ever went out, and nothing occupied my thoughts but how to escape from this bloody country by the way of Senmaar, and how I could best exert my power and influence over Yasine at Ras el Feel to pave my way, by assisting me to pass the desert into Atbara.

'The king missing me some days at the palace, and hearing I had not been at ras Michael's, began to inquire who had been with me. Ayto Confu soon found Yasine, who informed him of the whole matter; upon this I was sent for to the palace, where I found the king, without any body but menial servants. He immediately remarked that I looked very ill; which, indeed, I felt to be the case, as I had scarcely ate or slept since I saw him last, or even for some days before. He asked me, in a condoling tone, "What ailed me? that, besides looking sick, I seemed as if something had ruffled me, and put me out of humour." I told him that what he observed was true; that, coming across the market-place, I had seen Za Mariam, the ras's door-keeper, with men bound, one of whom he fell a-hacking to pieces in my presence. Upon seeing me running across the place, stopping my nose, he called me to stay till he should come and dispatch the other two, for he wanted to speak to me, as if he had been engaged about ordinary business: that the soldiers, in consideration of his haste, immediately fell upon the other two, whose cries were still remaining in my ears: that the hyenas at night would scarcely let me pass in the streets when I returned from the palace; and the dogs fled into my house to eat pieces of human carcasses at leisure.

'Although his intention was to look grave, I saw it was all he could do to stifle a laugh at grievances he thought very little of. "The men you saw with Za Mariam just now," says he, "are rebels, sent by Effa Yasous for examples: he has forced a junction with Tecla and Welleta Michael in Samen,

and a road is now open through Woggora, and plenty established at Gondar. The men you saw suffer were those that cut off the provisions from coming into the city; they have occasioned the death of many poor people; as for the hyæna, he never meddles with living people, he seeks carrion, and will soon clear the streets of those immembrances that so much offend you; people say that they are the Falasha of the mountains, who take that shape of the hyæna, and come down into the town to eat Christian flesh in the night." "If they depend upon Christian flesh, and eat no other," said I, "perhaps the hyænas of Gondar will be the worst fed of any in the world." "True," says he, bursting out into a loud laughter, "that may be; few of those that die by the knife anywhere are Christians, or have any religion at all; why then should you mind what they suffer?" "Sir," said I, "that is not my sentiment; if you were to order a dog to be tortured to death before me every morning, I could not bear it. The carcasses of Abba Salama, Guebra Denghel, and the rest, are still hanging where they were upon the tree; you smell the stench of them at the palace-gate, and will soon, I apprehend, in the palace itself. This cannot be pleasant, and I do assure you it must be very pernicious to your health, if there was nothing else in it. At the battle of Fagitta, though you had no intention to retreat, yet you went half a day backward, to higher ground, and purer air, to avoid the stench of the field; but here in the city you heap up carrion about your houses, where is your continual residence."

"The ras has given orders," says he, gravely, "to remove all the dead bodies before the Ephiophany, when we go down to that festival, and wash away all this pollution in the clear running water of the Kahha: but, tell me, Yagoube, is it really possible that you can take such things as these so much to heart? You are a brave man; we all know you are, and have seen it: we have all blamed you, stranger as you are in this country, for the little care you take of yourself; and yet about these things you are as much affected as the most cowardly woman, girl, or child, could be." "Sir," said I, "I do not know if I am brave or not; but if to see men tor-

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lared, or murdered, or to live among dead bodies without concern, be courage, I have it not, nor desire to have it: war is the profession of noble minds; it is a glorious one; it is the science and occupation of kings; and many wise and many humane men have dedicated their whole life to the study of it in every country; it softens men's manners, by obliging them to society, to assist, befriend, and even save one another, though at their own risk and danger. A barbarian of that profession should be pointed at. Observe Ayto Engedan (who came at that very instant into the room); there is a young man," said I, "who, with the bravery, has also the humanity and gentleness of my countrymen that are soldiers."

' Engedan fell on his face before the king, as is usual, while the king went on seriously—"War you want; do you, Yagoube? war you shall have; it is not far distant, and Engedan is come to tell us how near." They then went into a considerable conversation about Gusho, Powussen, and the preparations they were making, and where they were; with which I shall not trouble the reader, as I shall have an occasion to speak of the particulars afterwards as they arise. "I want Confu," says the king; "I want him to send his men of Ras el Feel to Sennaar, and to the baharnagash, to get horses and some coats of mail. And what do you think of sending Yagoube there? he knows their manners and their language, and has friends there to whom he is intending to escape, without so much as asking my leave." "Pardon me, sir," said I, "if I have ever entertained that thought, it is proof sufficient of the extreme necessity I am under to go." "Sir," says Engedan, "I have rode in the Koccob horse; I will do so again, if Yagoube commands them, and will stay with us till we try the horse of Begemder. I have eight or ten coats of mail, which I will give your majesty: they belonged to my father Eshte, and I took them lately from that thief Abou Barea, with whom they were left at my father's death; but I will tell your majesty, I had rather fight naked, without a coat of mail, than that you should send Yagoube to Sennaar, to purchase them from thence, for he will never return."

' Ras Michael was now announced, and we made haste to get away. "I would have Confu, Engedan, and you, come here to-morrow night," says the king, "as soon as it is dark; and do not you, Yagoubé, for your life, speak one word of Sennaar, till you know my will upon it." He said this in the sternest manner, and with all the dignity and majesty of a king.

' We passed the ras in the anti-chamber, attended by a great many people. We endeavoured to slide by him in the crowd, but he noticed us, and brought us before him. We both kissed his hands, and he kept hold of one of mine, while he asked Engedan, "Is Fasil at Ibaba?" to which he was answered, "Yes." "Who is with him," says the ras. "Damtot, Agow, and Maitsha," answered Engedan. "Was you there?" says the ras. "No," answered Engedan; "I am at Tshemera, with few men." He then turned to me, and said, "My son is ill; Ozoro Esther has just sent to me, and complains you visit her now no more. Go see the boy, and don't neglect Ozoro Esther; she is one of your best friends." I enquired if she was at Gondar, and was answered, "No; she is at Koscam." We parted; Engedan went to Koscam to Ozoro Esther's, and I went home to plan my route to Sennaar, and to prepare letters for Hagi Belal, a merchant there, to whom I was recommended from Arabia Felix.

' These circumstances delineate very strongly the character of the Abyssinians, and perhaps of all the African nations during war. The conduct of the young king is one of the many proofs, which establish the truth of the sovereign power of custom and education over every heart. The history of Welleta Selasse is a finished picture of barbarous society, in which the strongest mind always commits the most daring excesses, and the gentlest virtues meet with the greatest oppression.

' The next night, the 1st of January, 1771, according to order, I waited upon the king with Confu and Engedan, and with them Yasiné: measures were then taken for buying their horses and coats of mail; the ras had advanced part of the money, the rest was to be made up by the meery, or king's

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duty, due by the Mahometan provinces, which had not been paid since he went to Tigre. A Mahometan servant of the king was sent for from the custom-house; with him was to go a man from Yasine, and with them I sent my letters by the hand of Soliman, a black of Ras el Feel, a man remarkable for his strength, courage, and size, and very shrewd and discerning, under the appearance of an idiot: Yasine was sent with them to get a safe conduct from his friend Fidele, sheek of Atbara, who was to convoy them to Beyla, and thence to Sennaar.

‘It was not without great dispute and altercation the king would allow me the permission to send letters; at last, seeing he could do no better, it was agreed that, as an immediate engagement between Powussen, Gusho, and ras Michael, was inevitable, I should swear not to attempt to leave him till that affair was settled some way or other; but the king insisted I should also take an oath, that, should he be victorious over or reconciled to the rebels, if the engagement I was under in my own country was not fulfilled, and I recovered my health, I should bring as many of my brethren and family as possible, with their horses, muskets, and bayonets; that, if I could not pass by Sennaar, I should come by the way of the East Indies from Surat to Masuah, which, by how much it was more tedious, was by so much more secure than that of Sennaar.

‘It was about the 20th of January, that a message arrived from Powussen, to tell the ras that he had taken the usurper Socinios prisoner, and held him in irons at the king’s disposal. He upbraided Michael with the cruelties of his executions, and declared his resolution of calling him to an account for these personally at Gondar; he warned him in time, to repass the Tacazze, and retire while it was in his power, to his government of Tigre, where nobody would molest him, and leave the king at liberty to act for himself. Gusho likewise sent a messenger; but what word he brought did not transpire. After seeing the king and ras Michael, both these messengers proceeded to Fasil.

‘Mean time, the king used all the means in his power to induce the iteghe to return to Koscam; for her presence in



Gojam kept alive the spirit of a number of people that were attached to her, who bore very impatiently to see her banished, as she then was, though resident with her daughter Ozoro Welleta Israel, and surrounded by the forces of Aylo her grandson, who was governor of Gojam, and to whom half of that province belonged in property. But the queen was resolute never to trust ras Michael, though it was believed she sent the king a sum in gold privately by Engedan.'

The rebel army under Gusho and Powussen, which was now very numerous, prepared to cut off Michael's retreat to Tigre, while his army suffered much by desertion, in consequence of his cruelty, and his breach of promise, that he was to levy no taxes in Tigre for seven years. The cries of the people that fled from the cruelties of the rebels, at last determined the ras to march out and give them battle. His army consisted of about 40,000 men, generally well-disciplined; while the rebels, whose army was magnified to 50 or 60,000, had not, Mr. Bruce supposes, half the number. All the ladies of the court, and about 10,000 women, accompanied the royal army. In a skirmish Confu, Ozoro Esther's son, was wounded, and our traveller was ordered to attend him to Gondar, where he received intelligence that seemed to imply the impossibility of passing through Senmaar.

Next day Mr. Bruce returned to the army, and was witness to an indecisive battle that took place, in which the king in person was engaged. At night the ras narrowly escaped being assassinated; but the instigators of this plot could not be discovered. The armies on the following day prepared for battle, but a violent thunder storm induced both parties to return to their encampments. However, next day, a serious engagement took place, and the king narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; but it ended by the rebels being driven back. The king lost 3,000 men, and the enemy above 9,000; but the obstinacy of the battle had a bad effect on the king's affairs, as few had confidence in them from that day. After the battle, a filthy and disgraceful ceremony took place. Each chief, according to ancient custom, sat down in his tent door, and each of his followers who had slain a man, presented the fore-

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skin of the man he had slain. 'I believe,' says Mr. Bruce, 'there was a heap of above 400 that day, before Ozoro Esther; and it was monstrous to see the young and beautiful Tecla Mariam sitting upon a stool presiding at so filthy a ceremony; nor was she without surprize, such is the force of custom, that no compliment of that kind was paid on my part; and still more so, that I could not be even present at so horrid and bloody an exhibition.'

The officers were all rewarded for their valour in the battle, and Mr. Bruce was presented with a gold chain. He was, shortly after, slightly wounded, while assisting a party to beat up the quarters of part of the enemy's camp. Two days after this affair, Gusho sent a message to the king, requesting that Mr. Bruce might be permitted to come and bring medicines to his family, who were all ill of a fever. While executing this embassy, he received information that the army would soon be at Gondar, that the king's army would disband, and Michael be deposed. These predictions he told to his majesty in private, who listened to him with great agitation.

Water and food having become scarce, ras Michael was obliged to retire to Gondar, though much chagrined at the circumstance. The retreat took place at night, when the darkness caused great confusion, and every one acted as his fears dictated. Next morning, the rebel army invested Gondar, and, on being summoned, the royal army laid down their arms. During this, the ras continued in the house belonging to his office, visited only by some private friends, but had sent Ozoro Esther to the iteghe's at Koscam, as soon as he entered Gondar. He ate, drank, and slept as usual, and reasoned upon the event that had happened, with great equanimity and seeming indifference. There was no appearance of guards set upon him; but every motion or look was privately, but strictly, watched. The next day, when he heard how ill his disarmed men were treated by the populace, when they were dismissed to Tigre, he burst into tears, and cried out in great agony, "Had I died before this, I had been happy!" He played no more at draughts, by which game formerly he pretended to divine the issue of every affair of consequence, but

gave his draught-board and men to a private friend; at the same time renouncing his pretended divinations, as deceitful and sinful, by the confidence he had placed in them.

The troops of Tigre had been sent home, under the protection of a strong escort, loaded with the curses of the inhabitants of Gondar, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The murderers of the late king, Joas, were led to the market-place, and hewn into pieces with knives. The king was, however, treated with some degree of respect, and evinced the utmost composure and firmness.

On the 1st of June, Gusho and Powussen came both to the house of the ras, where they interrogated him very roughly as to all his past conduct. Till the execution of Joas's murderers, he had constantly dressed himself in his very best apparel, with all the insignia of command. As soon as this was told him, he clothed himself plainly, and constantly in white, with a cowl of the same colour on his head, like the monks, a sign he had retired from the world. It seemed as if this was done through a fondness for life, for by that act he devoted the remainder of his days to obscurity and penitence. From thence Gusho and Powussen went to the king's palace, where they did homage, and took the oaths of allegiance.

It was there resolved that Gusho should be ras, and the other places were all disposed of. From this time forward the king began to have a shew of government, no party having testified any sort of discontent with him; on the contrary, each of the rebel chiefs now waited upon him separately, and had long conference with him; but, what bade fairest to re-establish his authority entirely, was the dissensions that evidently reigned among the leaders of the rebels themselves, whom we, however, shall no longer consider as such, not because their treason had prospered, but because they were now returned to their duty. It was strongly suspected that a treaty was on foot, between Gusho and Michael, by which the latter, in consideration of a large sum, was to put the former again in possession of the province of Tigre: others again said, that Keffa Yasous, at ras Michael's desire, was to be made governor of Tigre, and to have a large sum of gold, which Michael

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was supposed to have concealed there, and which he was to remit to Gusho, whilst he and Michael were to understand each other about the government of the province.

Be that as it may, Powussen, on the 4th of June, without any previous notice given to Gusho, marched into Gondar with 1,000 horse, and, without further ceremony, ordered ras Michael to be placed upon a mule, and, joining the rest of his army, who had all struck their tents, marched away so suddenly to Begemder, that Ozoro Esther, then residing at the queen her mother's house at Koscam, had scarcely time to send her old husband a fresh mule, and some supply of necessary provisions. All the rest of the troops decamped immediately after, the rains beginning now to be pretty constant, and the soldiers desirous to be at home.

A few days after the army of Begemder had left Gondar, Powussen sent the usurper Socinios, loaded with irons, from Agar Salam, a small town in Begemder, where he had been kept prisoner. He was brought before the king in the same equipage he arrived: and being interrogated who he was, answered, with great boldness, that he was Socinios, son to king Yasous, son of Bacuffa; that he had not sought to be made king, but was forced by the iteghe, and Sanuda; this every one knew to be true. Soon after his mother was examined; but denying now what she had formerly sworn, that she ever had any intimate connection with the late king Yasous, Socinios was sentenced to death; but being in his manners, figure, and conversation, perfectly despicable, the king directed he should serve as a slave in his kitchen; whence he was taken, some time afterwards, and hanged for theft.

On the 21st of June, the iteghe arrived from Gojam, and all the people of Gondar flocked to see her without the town. Gusho had met her at Tedda; and, at the same time that he welcomed her, told her, as from the king, that it was his orders that neither palambaras Mammo, nor Ligaba Beccho, were to enter the town with her. This she considered as a very high affront, and the work of Gusho, not the king's orders. She upbraided Gusho with avarice, pride, and malice, declared him a greater tyrant than Michael, without his capacity, for-

bidding him to appear any more before her, and with great difficulty could be prevailed with to go on to Koscam, instead of returning to Gojam. It is impossible to conceive the enthusiasm with which the sight of the old queen inspired all sorts of people. Gusho had no troops; the king as few, being left without a servant in the palace. Then was the season for mischief, had not Fasil been hovering with his army, without declaring his approbation or disapprobation of any thing that had been done, or was doing.

About the end of June, Fasil came to Abba Samuel, without announcing himself before hand, according to his usual custom, and he paid his first visit to the iteghe, then a short one to the king, where Mr. Bruce saw him. 'Fasil,' says our author, 'was very facetious with me, and pretended I had promised him my horse when I returned from Maitsha, which I excused, by observing the horse was out of town. "Well, well," says he, "that shall not save you; tell me where he is and I will send for him, and give you the best mule in the army in exchange, and take my chance of recovering him wherever he is." "With all my heart," replied I: "you will find him perhaps in the valley of Serbraxos, (the name of the place where the armies had been mostly engaged) at the foot of the hill opposite to the south ford of the river Mariam." He laughed heartily at this, shook me by the hand at parting, saying, "Well, well, for all this you shall not want your mule."

The bad conduct of Gusho caused a conspiracy to be formed against him, and he was taken in his flight, put into irons, and carried a prisoner to Gondar, unpitied by either party. Here it may be proper, before we take leave of this troubled drama of Abyssinian politics, to notice some subsequent events not related by Mr. Bruce. The rás, as before mentioned, was carried off by Powussen, who had formed the bold resolution of reinstating him in Tigre, making him his ally, and so confirming himself in spite of Gusho and Fasil in the province of Begemder. Powussen enjoyed that province till his death. Michael governed Tigre till his decease in 1780. The king reigned eight years and was then deposed.

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Mr. Bruce after the queen's return to Koscam continued to reside with her: by his health declining daily, he at last obtained liberty to return home; and, notwithstanding all remonstrances to the contrary, he determined to travel through Sennaar. 'Two Greeks,' says he, 'one of whom only was my servant; and a third, nearly blind, flying from poverty and want; an old janissary, who had come to Abyssinia with the abuna, and a Copt, who left us at Sennaar; these, and some common men who took charge of the beasts, and were to go no further than Tcherkin, were my only companions in this long and weary journey.'

Our traveller, in his route through Abyssinia, had to oppose many stratagem, which appear to have been contrived by the king in order to deter him from pursuing his journey. At last, a *Gege* met him, with an invitation to visit Confu, at his house at Tcherkin. 'I saw here,' says he, 'a great many of my old acquaintance whom I had known at Ozoro Esther's house at Gondar, and who all welcomed me with the greatest demonstrations of joy, as if I had come from a long journey.'

'I was then taken to an inner apartment, where, to my great surprize, instead of Ayto Confu, I saw his mother, Ozoro Esther, sitting on a couch, and at her feet the secretary's daughter, the beautiful Tecla Mariam; and, soon after, the secretary himself, and several others belonging to the court. After having made a profound obeisance, "Ozoro Esther," said I, "I cannot speak for surprize. What is the meaning of your having left Gondar to come into this wilderness? As for Tecla Mariam, I am not surprized at seeing her; I knew she at any time would rather die than leave you; but that you have both come hither without Ayto Confu, and in so short a time, is what I cannot comprehend."—"There is nothing so strange in this," replied Ozoro Esther; "the troops of Bègember have taken away my husband, ras Michael, God knows where; and, therefore, being now a single woman, I am resolved to go to Jerusalem to pray for my husband, and to die there, and be buried in the Holy Sepulchre. You would not

stay with us, so we are going with you. Is there any thing surprizing in all this?"

"But tell me truly," says Tecla Mariam, "you that know every thing, while peeping and poring through these long glasses, did not you learn by the stars that we were to meet you here?"—"Madam," answered I, "if there was one star in the firmament that had announced to me such agreeable news, I should have relapsed into the idolatry of this country, and worshipped that star for the rest of my life." Breakfast now came in; the conversation took a very lively turn, and from the secretary I learned that the matter stood thus:—The king, restoring the villages to the iteghe, according to the stipulation of his last treaty with Powussen, thought that he might so far infringe upon it, from gratitude to ras Michael, as to give part of the number to Ozoro Esther, the iteghe's daughter; and Ayto Confu, going to Tcherkin to hunt, he took his mother along with him to put her in possession; for the iteghe's people were not lambs, nor did they pay much regard to the orders of the king, nor to the iteghe their mistress, at all times, farther than suited their own convenience.

'We now wanted only the presence of Ayto Confu to make our happiness complete; he came about four, and with him Ayto Engedan, and a great company. Seven ladies, relations and companions of Ozoro Esther, came with Ayto Confu; and I confess this to have been one of the happiest moments of my life. I quite forgot the disastrous journey I had before me, and all the dangers that awaited me. I began even to regret being so far in my way to leave Abyssinia for ever.

'There is great plenty of game of every sort about Tcherkin; elephants, rhinoceroses, and a great number of buffaloes, which differ nothing in form from the buffaloes of Europe, or of Egypt, but very much in temper and disposition. They are fierce, rash, and fearless of danger; and, contrary to the practice of any other creature not carnivorous, they attack the traveller and the hunter equally, and it requires address to escape from them. They seem to be, of all others, the creature most given to ease and indulgence. They lie under the

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most shady trees, near large pools of water, of which they make constant use, and sleep soundly all the day long. The flesh of the female is very good when fat, but that of the male, hard, lean, and disagreeable. Their horns are used in various manners by the turners, in which craft the Abyssians are very expert. In the woods there are many civet cats, but they know not the use of them, nor how to extract the civet. The Mahometans only are possessed of this art.

‘ Though we were all happy to our wish in this enchanted house, the active spirit of Ayto Confu could not rest. He was come to hunt the elephant, and hunt him he would. All those that understood any thing of this exercise had assembled from a great distance, to meet Ayto Confu at Tcherkin. He and Engedan, from the moment they arrived, had been overlooking a precipice, adjoining the house, at their servants training and managing their horses in the market-place below. Great bunches of the finest canes had been brought from Kuara for javelins; and the whole house was employed in fitting heads to them in the most advantageous manner. For my part, though I should have been very well contented to have remained where I was, yet the preparations for sport of so noble a kind roused my spirits, and made me desirous to join in it. On the other hand, the ladies all declared, that they thought, by leaving them, we were devoting them to death or slavery, as they did not doubt, if the Shangalla missed us, they would come forward to the mountain, (on which the house was built) and slay them all. But a sufficient garrison was left; and we were well assured that the Shangalla, being informed we were out, and armed, and knowing our numbers, would take care to keep close in their thickets far out of our way.

‘ On the 6th of January, an hour before day, after a hearty breakfast, we mounted on horseback, to the number of about thirty, belonging to Ayto Confu. But there was another body, both of horse and foot, which made hunting their particular business. These men dwell constantly in the woods, and know very little the use of bread, living entirely upon the flesh of the beasts they kill, chiefly that of the elephant or rhinoceros. They are exceedingly thin, light, and agile, both



on horseback and foot; are very swart'ly, though few of them black; none of them woolly-headed, and all of them have European features. They are called Agageer, a name of their profession, not to their nation, which comes from the word Agar, and signifies to hough, or ham-string, with a sharp weapon. More properly it means, indeed, the cutting the tendon of the heel, and is a characteristic of the manner in which they kill the elephant, which is shortly as follows:— Two men, absolutely naked, without any rag or covering at all about them, get on horseback; this precaution is from fear of being laid hold of by the trees or bushes, in making their escape from a very watchful enemy. One of these riders sits upon the back of the horse, sometimes with a saddle, and sometimes without one, with only a switch or short stick in one hand, carefully managing the bridle with the other; behind him sits his companion, who has no other arms but a broad-sword, such as is used by Slavonians, and which is brought from Trieste. His left hand is employed grasping the sword by the handle, and about fourteen inches of the blade is covered with whip-cord. This part he takes in his right hand, without any danger of being hurt by it; and, though the edges of the lower part of the sword are as sharp as a razor, he carries it without a scabbard.

‘As soon as the elephant is found feeding, the horseman rides before him as near his face as possible; or, if he flies, crosses him in all directions, crying out, “I am such a man and such a man; this is my horse, that has such a name; I killed your father in such a place, and your grandfather in such another place, and I am now come to kill you; you are but an ass in comparison of them.” This nonsense he verily believes the elephant understands, who, chafed and angry at hearing the noise immediately before him, seeks to seize him with his trunk or proboscis, and, intent upon this, follows the horse everywhere, turning and turning round with him, neglectful of making his escape by running straight forward, in which consists his only safety. After having made him turn once or twice in pursuit of the horse, the horseman rides close up along-side of him, and drops his companion just behind on

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the off side; and while he engages the elephant's attention upon the horse, the footman behind gives him a drawn stroke just above the heel, or what in man is called the tendon of Achilles. This is the critical moment; the horseman immediately wheels round, and takes his companion up behind him, and rides off full speed after the rest of the herd, if they have started more than one; and sometimes an expert Agageer will kill three out of one herd. If the sword is good, and the man not afraid, the tendon is commonly entirely separated; and if it is not cut through, it is generally so far divided, that the animal, with the stress he puts upon it, breaks the remaining part asunder. In either case, he remains incapable of advancing a step, till the horseman return, or his companions coming up, pierce him through with javelins and lances; he then falls to the ground, and expires with the loss of blood.

The Agageer nearest me presently lamed his elephant, and left him standing. Ayto Engedan, Ayto Confu, Guebra Mariam, and several others, fixed their spears in the other, before the Agageer had cut his tendons. My Agageer, however, having wounded the first elephant, failed in the pursuit of the second, and, being close upon him at entering the wood, he received a violent blow from a branch of a tree which the elephant had bent with his weight, and after passing, allowed it to replace itself, when it knocked down both the riders, and very much hurt the horse. This, indeed, is the great danger in elephant-hunting; for some of the trees, that are dry and short, break, by the violent pressure of so immense a body moving so rapidly, and fall upon the pursuers, or across the roads. But the greatest number of these trees, being of a succulent quality, they bend without breaking, and return quickly to their former position, when they strike both horses and man so violently, that they often beat them to pieces, and scatter them upon the plain. Dextrous, too, as the riders are, the elephant sometimes reaches them with his trunk, with which he dashes the horse against the ground, and then sets his feet upon him, till he tears him limb from limb with his proboscis; a great many hunters die this way. Besides this the soil, at this time of the year, is split into deep chasms, or

cavities, by the heat of the sun, so that nothing can be more dangerous than the riding.

‘The elephant once slain, they cut the whole flesh off his bones into thongs, like the reins of a bridle, and hang these, like festoons, upon the branches of trees, till they become perfectly dry, without salt; and they then lay them by for their provisions in the season of the rains.

‘There now remained but two elephants of those that had been discovered, which were a she-one with a calf. The Agageer would willingly have let these alone, as the teeth of the female are very small, and the young one is of no sort of value, even for food its flesh shrinking much upon drying. But the hunters would not be limited in their sport. The people having observed the place of her retreat, thither we eagerly followed. She was very soon found, and as soon lamed by the Agageers; but when they came to wound her with the darts, as every one did in turn, to our very great surprize, the young one, which had been suffered to escape unheeded and unpursued, came out from the thicket apparently in great anger, running upon the horses and men with all the violence it was master of. I was amazed; and as much as ever I was, upon such an occasion, affected, at seeing the great affection of the little animal defending its wounded mother, heedless of its own life or safety. I therefore cried to them, for God’s sake to spare the mother, though it was then too late; and the calf had made several rude attacks upon me, which I avoided without difficulty; but I am happy to this day, in the reflection that I did not strike it. At last, making one of its attacks upon Ayto Engedan, it hurt him a little on the leg; upon which he thrust it through with his lance, as others did after, and it then fell dead before its wounded mother, whom it had so affectionately defended. It was about the size of an ass, but round, big-bellied, and heavily made; and was so furious, and unruly, that it would easily have broken the leg either of man or horse, could it have overtaken them, and jostled against them properly.

‘We sought about for the buffaloes and rhinoceroses; but though there was plenty of both in the neighbourhood, we

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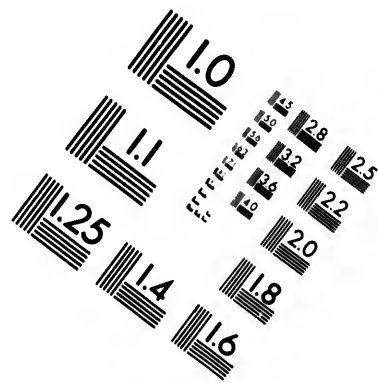
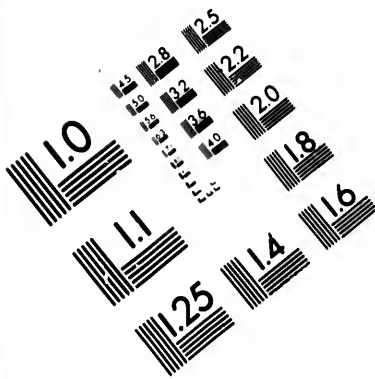
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could not find them; our noise and shouting in the morning having scared them away. One rhinoceros was only seen by a servant. We returned in the evening to a great fire, and lay all night under the shade of trees. Here we saw them separate the great teeth of the elephant from the head, by roasting the jaw-bones on the fire, till the lower, thinner, and hollow part of the teeth were nearly consumed; and then they come out easily, the thin part being of no value.

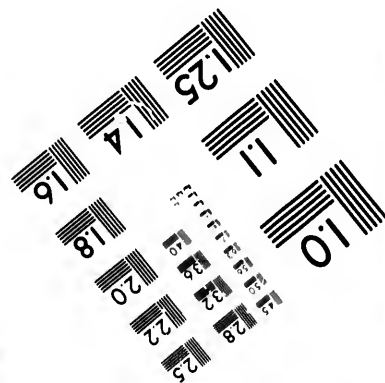
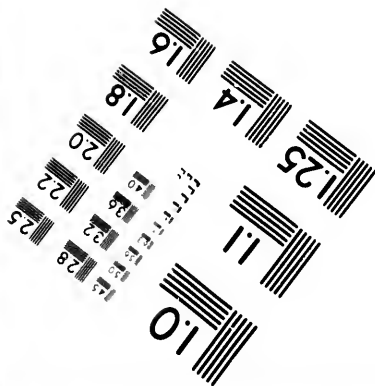
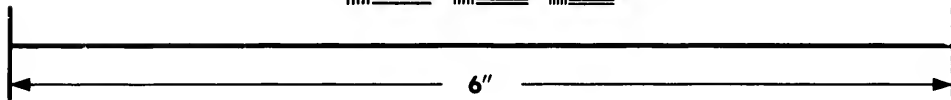
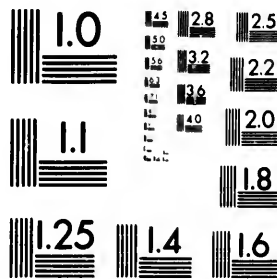
'The next morning, we were on horseback by the wood of day, in search of the rhinoceros, many of which were heard to make a very deep groan and cry as the morning advanced. Several of the Agageers then joined us, and after we had searched about an hour in the very thickest part of the wood, one of them rushed out with great violence, crossing the plain towards a wood of canes that was about two miles distance. But though he ran, or rather trotted, with surprizing speed, considering his bulk, he was, in a very little time, transfixcd with thirty or forty javelins, which so confounded him, that he left his purpose of going to the wood, and ran into a deep hole, ditch, or ravine, a *cul de sac*, without outlet, breaking above a dozen of the javelins as he entered. Here we thought he was caught in a trap, for he had scarce room to turn; when a servant, who had a gun, standing directly over him, fired at his head, and the animal fell immediately, to all appearance dead. All those on foot, now jumped in with knives to cut him up, and they had scarce begun, when the animal recovered so far as to rise upon his knees; happy then was the man who escaped first; and had not one of the Agageers, who was himself engaged in the ravine, cut the sinew of the hind leg as he was retreating, there would have been a very sorrowful account of the foot-hunters that day.

'While we were busy with the rhinoceros, Ammonios had joined us. A message from the king had carried away Azage Kyrillos, the secretary. Two other messengers had arrived from the queen, one to Ayto Confu, and another to Ozoro Esther; and it was Ozoro Esther's commands to her son, to leave the hunting and return. There was no remedy but to obey; Ammonios, however, wanted to have his part of the





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hunting; and the country people told us, that multitudes of buffaloes were to be found a little to the westward, where there were large trees and standing pools of water. We agreed then to hunt homeward, without being over-solicitous about returning early.

‘ Ammonios was a man of approved courage and conduct, who had been in all the wars of ras Michael, and was placed about Ayto Confu, to lead the troops, curb the presumption, and check the impetuosity of that youthful warrior. He was tall, and awkwardly made; slow in speech and motion, so much as even to excite ridicule; about sixty years of age, and more corpulent than the Abyssinians generally are; in a word, as pedantic and grave in his manner as it is possible to express. He spent his whole leisure time in reading the scriptures, nor did he willingly discourse of any thing else. He had been bred a foot-soldier; and, though he rode as well as many of the Abyssinians, yet, having long stirrup-leathers, with iron rings at the end of them, into which he put his naked toe only, instead of stirrups, he had no strength or agility on horseback, nor was his bridle such as could command his horse to stop, or wind and turn sharply among trees, though he might make a tolerable figure on a plain.

‘ A boar, roused on our right, had wounded a horse and a footman of Ayto Confu, and then escapèd. Two buffaloes were found by those on the right, one of which wounded a horse likewise. Ayto Confu, Engedan, Guebra Mariam, and myself, killed the other with equal share of merit, without being in any sort of danger. All this was in little more than an hour, when our sport seemed to be at the best; our horses were considerably blown, not tired, and though we were beating homewards, still we were looking very keenly for more game. Ammonios was on the left among the bushes, and some large, beautiful, tall, spreading trees, close on the banks of the river Bedowi, which stands there in pools. Whether the buffalo found Ammonios, or Ammonios the buffalo, is what we could never get him to explain to us; but he had wounded the beast slightly in the buttock, which, in return, had gored his horse, and thrown both him and it to the

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ground. Luckily, however, his cloak had fallen off, which the buffalo tore to pieces, and employed himself for a minute with that and with the horse, but then left them, and followed the man as soon as he saw him rise and run. Ammonios got behind one large tree, and from that to another still larger. The buffalo turned very awkwardly, but kept close in pursuit; and there is no doubt he would have worn our friend out, who was not used to such quick motion. Ayto Engedan, who was near him, and might have assisted him, was laughing, ready to die at the droll figure a man of Ammonios's grave carriage made, running and skipping about naked, with a swiftness he had never before practised; and Engedan continued calling to Confu to partake of the diversion.

‘The moment I heard his repeated cries, I galloped out of the bushes to the place where he was, and could not help laughing at the ridiculous figure of our friend, very attentive to the beast's motions, which seemed to dodge with great address, and keep to his adversary with the utmost obstinacy. As soon as Engedan saw me, he cried, “Yagoube! for the love of Christ! for the love of the blessed Virgin! don't interfere till Confu comes up.” Confu immediately arrived, and laughed more than Engedan, but did not offer to interfere; on the contrary, he clapped his hands, and cried, “Well done, Ammonios,” swearing he never saw so equal a match in his life. The unfortunate Ammonios had been driven from tree to tree, till he had got behind one within a few yards of the water; but the brush-wood upon the banks, and his attention to the buffalo, hindered him from seeing how far it was below him. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to see him holding the tree with both his hands, peeping first one way, and then another, to see by which the beast would turn. And well he might be on his guard; for the animal was absolutely mad, tossing up the ground with his feet both before and behind. “Sir,” said I, to Ayto Confu, “this will be but an ugly joke to-night, if we bring home that man's corpse, killed in the very midst of us, while we were looking on.” Saying this, I parted at a canter behind the trees, crying to Ammonios, to throw himself into the water, when I should

strike the beast; and, seeing the buffalo's head turned from me, at full speed I ran the spear into the lower part of his belly, through his whole intestines, till it came out above a foot on the other side, and there I left it, with a view to hinder the buffalo from turning. It was a spear, which, though small in the head, had a strong, tough, seasoned shaft, which did not break by striking it against the trees and bushes; and it pained and impeded the animal's motions, till Ammonios, quitting the tree, dashed through the bushes with some difficulty, and threw himself into the river. But here a danger occurred that I had not foreseen. The pool was very deep, and Ammonios could not swim; so that, though he escaped from the buffalo, he would infallibly have been drowned, had he not caught hold of some strong roots of a tree shooting out of the bank; and there he lay in perfect safety from the enemy, till our servants went round, and brought him out of the pool, on the further side.

‘ In the mean time, the buffalo, mortally wounded, seeing his enemy had escaped, kept his eyes intent upon us, who were about forty yards from him, walking backwards to us, with intent to turn suddenly upon the nearest horse; when Ayto Confu ordered two men, with guns, to shoot him through the head, and he instantly fell. The two we first killed were females; this last was a bull, one of the largest, confessedly, that had ever been seen. Though not fat, I guess that he weighed nearer fifty than forty stone. His horns, from the root, following the line of their curve, were about fifty-two inches, and nearly nine, where thickest, in circumference.— They were flat, not round. Ayto Confu ordered the head to be cut off, and cleared of its flesh, so that the horns and skeleton of the head only remained; this he hung up in his great hall among the probosces of elephants, and horns of rhinoceroses, with this inscription in his own language, “*Yagoube, the Kipt, killed this upon the Bedowi.*” Such inscriptions being common among the Abyssinians.

‘ We were now within sight of home, to which we went straight without further hunting. Neither the ridicule nor the condolence of the young men could force one word from Am-

mopios; only when I asked him whether or not he was hurt, he answered from the scripture. "He that loveth danger shall perish in it." But at night, Ozoro Esther, either really or feignedly, expressing herself as displeased with her son Ayto Confu, Ammonios, who loved the young man sincerely, could not bear to be the occasion of this; so that all resolved itself into mirth and joke. What added to the merriment, was, that the messengers from the iteghe brought a large increase to our stock of brandy; and brought also positive orders, both from her and the king, to Ozoro Esther, to determine me, by all possible means, to return to Gondar, or else to repair thither instantly herself.

Having procured some camels for his baggage, our traveller left Tcherkin, on the 15th of January, 1773. On the 17th, he reached Sancaho, an old frontier territory of Abyssinia, dependent on Ayto Confu, though, during Mr. Bruce's stay in Abyssinia, it had been placed under his government. 'Gimbaro, the erbab, or chief of the Sancaho,' says he, 'was the tallest and stoutest man of his nation; about six feet six inches high, and strongly made in proportion; hunted always on foot; and was said, among his people, to have singly killed elephants with one blow of his spear. The features of his face might well be called hideous: he paid his part of the revenue in buffaloes hides, of which the best shields were made; and, with elephants-teeth, and rhinoceros-horns, used for the handles of the crooked knives, which the Abyssinians carry at their girdles. All the inhabitants of Sancaho are hunters of elephants. It is their principal food. Erbab Gimbaro came with Yasine, and brought more than a hundred of the Shanggalla to the king's army at Serbraxos, where the Moors alleged he did not any way distinguish himself. I had, however, taken considerable notice of him; and, at his earnest desire, carried him into the tent, and shewed him the king.

'We encamped on the bottom of the hill on the south-west side of the town, on the banks of the river, which rises in the mountains six miles off to the south, and encompasses the half of the hill where Sancaho stands; after which it turns northward, but was now mostly dry. While we were pitching our

tent, I sent one of Yasmine's men to order Gimbaro to send us the usual quantity of provision for ourselves and camels, and told him also, that my camels were few in number and weak; desiring he would send two, or one at least, which should be stated in his deftar, on account of the rent, for that year. I was astonished to see Yasmine's men return, bringing with them only a woolly-headed black, the Erbab's son, as it seemed, who, with great freedom and pertness, and in very good Amharic, said, "My father salutes you: if ye eat what he eats, ye shall be very welcome." I asked him, "What that was?" He said, "Elephant killed yesterday; and, as for camels ye demand, he tells you he has none; elephants are his camels, and rhinoceroses are his mules."

'Ayto Confu's servants, who heard this message delivered, and who were as desirous of getting over this journey to Ras el Feel as I was, advised me to go with him up the hill to the town, and expostulate with the erbab, who, he said, would be ashamed to refuse. Accordingly, I armed myself with a pair of pistols at my girdle, with a fusil and girdle in my hand; and took with me two servants with their pistols also, each carrying a large ship-blunderbuss. We mounted the hill with great difficulty, being several times obliged to pull up one another by the hands, and entered into a large room about fifty feet long. It was all hung round with elephants heads and trunks, with skeletons of the heads of some rhinoceroses, and monstrous hippopotami, as also several heads of the giraffa. Some large lion skins were thrown on several parts of the room, like carpets; and Gimbaro stood upright at one end of it, naked, only a small cloth about his middle; the largest man I ever remembered to have seen, perfectly black, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, and woolly-headed; and seemed to be a picture of those cannibal giants, which we read of, as inhabiting enchanted castles, in the fairy tales.

'He did not seem to take notice at my first entering the room, nor till I was very near him. He then came awkwardly forward, bowing, endeavouring to kiss my hand, which I withdrew from him, and said in a firm voice, "I apprehend, sir, you do not know me." He bowed and said he did, but

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did not conceive, at the time, it was I that encamped at the brook. "You did know, sir, when you sent your son with Yasine's servant, and you know that you are considerably in my debt. Besides, if you had any gratitude, you would remember the arrears I remitted you, and the presents I made you when at Serbraxos, even though you misbehaved there. Your message to me, while below at the river, was the language of a rebel. Are you willing to be declared in rebellion?" He said, "By no means; he had always been a faithful servant to Ayto Confu, ras Michael, and the king, and had come to Serbraxos upon receiving the first order, and would obey whatever I should command." "Then pay me the meery you owe me, and begin first by bringing me two camels." He said, "he never refused the camels, and the message he sent was but in sport." "And was it sport, too, sir," said I, "when you said you would send me the flesh of elephants to eat? Did you ever know a Christian eat any sort of flesh that a Mahometan killed?" He answered, "No;" and begged my pardon, promised he would send me bread and honey, and the camels should be ready in the morning. "They must be ready to-night," said I, "and before night, too; for I am to dispatch a servant this evening to Ayto Confu to complain of your behaviour, as I do not know what you may meditate against us in our way to Ras el Feel." He begged now, in the most earnest manner, I would not complain; and said, he would have all his spies out to the eastward, that not a Shangalla should pass to molest us, without our being informed of them. Some of his principal people now interfering, I consented to forget and forgive what had passed. We then ate bread and drank beer, to show the reconciliation was sincere, and so the affair ended.

'About six in the evening came two strong camels, and about thirty loaves of bread made of dora; two large wheat loaves for me, as also a jar of wild honey, of excellent flavour, and with these a present to Ayto Confu's servant.

'On the 18th, about six in the morning, erbab Gimbaro, coming down to our tent, brought thirty loaves of dora as before, and four of wheat, for the journey; and we had already

enough of honey, upon which we breakfasted with the erbab, who, to confirm the friendship, took two or three glasses of strong spirits, which put him into excellent humour. His son, too, that he might atone for last night's misbehaviour, brought a better camel than any we had seen, and exchanged it for one of those that came yesterday in the evening. I, on the other hand, gave him a cotton cloth, and some trifles, which made him perfectly happy; and we parted in the most cordial friendship possible, after having made a promise that, at my return, I should stay a week at Sanchah to hunt the elephant and rhinoceros.

'On the 19th, at three quarters past six, we left our station on Tokoor river. From the time we left it, we had been followed by a lion, or rather preceded by one, for it was generally a small gun-shot before us; and wherever it came to a bare spot, it would sit down and grumble as if it meant to dispute the way with us. Our beasts trembled, and were all covered with sweat, and could scarcely be kept on the road. As there seemed to be but one remedy for this difficulty, I took a long Turkish rifled gun, and crawling under a bank as near as possible, shot it in the body, so that it fell from the bank on the road before us, quite dead, and even without muscular motion. It proved to be a large lioness. All the people in this country eat the flesh of lions; as I have seen some tribes in Barbary do likewise. We left the lioness to the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, skin and all; for we were so tired with this day's journey, that we could not be at the pains of skinning her.'

Leaving this place our traveller proceeded to Yasmine's village in Ras el Feel. This country consisted once of thirty-nine villages. All the Arabs of Atbara resorted to them with butter, honey, horses, gold, and many other commodities; and the shekh of Atbara, living upon the frontier of Sennaar, entertained a constant good correspondence with the shekh of Ras el Feel, to whom he sent yearly a Dongola horse, two razors, and two dogs. The shekh of Ras el Feel, in return, gave him a mule and slave; and the effect of this intercourse was to keep all the intermediate Arabs in their duty.

Here Mr. Bruce suffered much from an attack of the dysentery, but was cured by a certain shrub found in this place. While residing here Sheba, the chief of a tribe of the Shangalla, sent his son to see Mr. Bruce, 'who,' says he, 'we thought, came as a spy. However, when he departed I gave him a small present; and we swore mutual friendship, that he was to be ready always to fight against my enemies, and that we were to act kindly by each other, though we were to meet, horse to horse, alone in the desert.'

Yasine exerted himself much to secure Mr. Bruce a good reception from Fidele, shekh of Atbara. The shekh of Beyla, through which place he had also to pass, had corresponded with him at Gondar; and, being afflicted with the stone, had received medicines from him. Having taken leave of his friend Yasine, and adopted every precaution that prudence suggested for his safety, he set out on the 17th of March to Teawa, capital of Atbara.

In travelling over the thick forest that covers this flat country, our traveller and his companions were alarmed by finding their water dried up; and when they reached a well, the fear of dying with thirst was so great, that a man and woman died after drinking. Not two hours had elapsed before the hyenas had smelled the mortality, and began to approach two and three together. After seven days' journey, he arrived at Teawa, which contained about 1,200 men, naked, miserable, and despicable Arabs, and much inferior in courage to those who dwell in tents.

Fidele, the shekh, received Mr. Bruce with much apparent politeness, but his dissimulation was evident; and, on the following day, while receiving the customary presents, his lies were so gross, as to provoke Soliman, the Moor, to charge him openly with deceit. Our traveller, having administered ipecacuanha to the shekh, which gave him much relief from complaints which he felt arising from excessive drinking, was introduced to his harem. One of his wives was daughter to the first minister at Sennaar, and whose good opinion Mr. Bruce imagined might be of some consequence. He acquitted

himself much to the satisfaction of the shekh's wives, and was particularly struck with the beauty of a slave named Aiscach.

On the 31st of March, Fidele unmasked himself, and demanded, with a threat, 500 piastres. To this request Mr. Bruce replied, ‘ “ Well done! out with it, this is but what I knew long to be in your heart. But let me set you right; I have not three ounces of gold in all my possession. It is of no use to me in my country; take all my cases and boxes, and search them; the gold that you find there I freely give you, and without reserve. As for the cloth of gold, which I have, it is a present from the king of Abyssinia to the king of Sennaar, to be delivered with his letter. I have likewise a present to shekh Adelan, with a letter to him; and some other trifles for Sennaar, to people in government: look at them; if you think they are too great, apply to your own use what part of them you please, and account with the king and Adelan for what you take from them, with your reasons for so doing. The little money I may want at Sennaar, Hagi Belal, Metical Aga's servant from Mecca, will furnish me with, and, upon my letter, will take payment for the amount from my countrymen on board the East India ships at Jidda. As for force, do not deceive yourself; if all those cases were gold, it never would be in your power to open one of them. Do not think that I am a girl or a child; consider the danger and difficulties I have passed, under God's protection only, and by my own force and courage: I am well armed, and have brave men about me, so try your force when you please. I dare say you will keep yourself out of danger, to give an account of your brave exploit to the king of Sennaar afterwards.” I then arose, and said, “ Good evening.” The shekh called after me to stay. I said, “ Another time;” and immediately left him.’

One of the shekh's officers followed Mr. Bruce home, in order to intimidate him. Provisions were now sent in very irregularly; and preparations were made to repel an expected attack. In a few days, Fidele requested his intended victim to attend him in the evening. ‘ I had,’ says Mr. Bruce, ‘ this



amongst other objections to wait upon him at night, that he had in secret endeavoured to prevail on Soliman to assist him in murdering me. But I considered at last, that we could not escape from his hands; and that the only way to avoid the danger was to brave it. Providence, indeed, seemed all along to have reserved our deliverance for our own exertions, under its direction, as all the ways we had taken to get relief from others had hitherto, in appearance at least, miscarried. However, it was resolved to go armed, for fear of the worst; but to conceal our weapons, so as to give no umbrage. I had a small Brescian blunderbuss, about 22 inches in the barrel, which had a joint in the stock, so that it folded double. It hung by an iron hook to a thin belt under my left arm, close to my side, quite unperceived, like a cutlass. I likewise took a pair of pistols in my girdle, and my knife as usual. All these were perfectly covered by my burnoose; so that, with a little attention when I sat down, it was impossible to discover my having any weapons about me. Hagi Ismael, the Turk, Soliman, my servant, and two other Moorish servants, took also their fire arms, small and great, and swords, along with them. We all went to the house of the shekh a little before seven o'clock in the evening. I entered the back door into the square where the women's house was; but declined going so far as their apartment without leave, turning to the left hand into the side of the square where he usually staid. I was surprized to meet but one servant, a black boy, in the whole house, and he carried me to the shekh, my servants remaining at the outer-door.

'Fidele was sitting in a spacious room, in an alcove, on a large broad sofa like a bed, with India curtains gathered on each side into festoons. Upon seeing the boy, in a very surly tone he called for a pipe; and, in much the same voice, said to me, "What, alone?" I said, "Yes, what were his commands with me?" I saw he either was, or affected to be, drunk, and whichever was the case, I knew it would lead to mischief; I therefore repented heartily of having come into the house alone.

‘ After he had taken two whiffs of his pipe, and the slave had left the room, “ Are you prepared ? ” says he ; “ have you brought the needful along with you ? ” I wished to have occasion to join Soliman, and answered, “ My servants are at the outer door, and have the vomit you wanted.” “ D——n you and the vomit too,” says he with great passion, “ I want money, and not poison. Where are your piastres ? ” “ I am a bad person,” said I, “ Fidele, to furnish you with either. I have neither money nor poison ; but I advise you to drink a little warm water to clear your stomach, cool your head, and then lie down and compose yourself ; I will see you to-morrow morning.” I was going out. “ Hakim,” says he, “ infidel, or devil, or whatever is your name, hearken to what I say. Consider where you are ; this is the room where Mek Baady, a king, was slain by the hand of my father : look at his blood, where it has stained the floor, which never could be washed out. I am informed you have 20,000 piastres in gold with you ; either give me 2,000 before you go out of this chamber, or you shall die ; I will put you to death with my own hand.” Upon this he took up his sword that was lying at the head of his sofa, and drawing it with a bravado, threw the scabbard into the middle of the room ; and, tucking the sleeve of his shirt above his elbow, like a butcher, said, “ I wait your answer.”

‘ I now stept one pace backwards, and dropt the burnoose behind me, holding the little blunderbuss in my hand, without taking it off the belt. I said, in a firm tone of voice, “ This is my answer : I am not a man, as I have told you before, to die like a beast by the hand of a drunkard ; on your life, I charge you, stir not from your sofa.” I had no need to give this injunction ; he heard the noise which the closing the joint in the stock of the blunderbuss made, and thought I had cocked it, and was instantly to fire. He let his sword drop, and threw himself on his back on the sofa, crying, “ For God’s sake, Hakim, I was but jesting.” At the same time, with all his might, he cried, “ *Brahim ! Mahomet ! El coom ! el coom !* ” (*el coom*, that is, all his servants).—“ If one of your

servants approach me," said I, "that instant I blow you to pieces; not one of them shall enter this room till they bring in my servants with them; I have a number of them armed at your gate, who will break in the instant they hear me fire."

'The women had come to the door. My servants were admitted, each having a blunderbuss in his hand and pistols at his girdle. We were now greatly an overmatch for the shekh, who sat far back on the sofa, and pretended that all he had done was in joke, in which his servants joined, and a very confused, desultory discourse followed, till the Turk, sheriffe Ismael, happened to observe the shekh's scabbard of his sword thrown upon the floor, on which he fell into a violent fit of laughter. He spoke very bad Arabic, mixed with Turkish. And he endeavoured to make the shekh understand, that drunkards and cowards had more need of the scabbard than the sword.

'As no good could be expected from this expostulation, I stopt it, and took my leave, desiring the shekh to go to bed and compose himself, and not try any more of these experiments, which would certainly end in his shame, if not in his punishment. He made no answer, only wished us good-night.'

The shekh of Beyla having heard that Mr. Bruce was detained at Teawa, sent a moullah, or sheriffe, for his protection. He was reputed to have attained such a degree of holiness as to work miracles, and, more than once in his life, to have been honoured with the conversation of angels and spirits, and, at times, to have called the devil into his presence, and reprov'd him. This man discharged his mission with great address, and, with the assistance of Mr. Bruce, succeeded in intimidating Fidele, and rendering him extremely anxious to justify himself. But his fears were much increased when he heard that a caravan of his country had been seized, by one of Ayto Confu's officers, and that this act of hostility was intended as a hint of his displeasure for detaining his friend. Nor were his alarms lessened when Mr. Bruce declared, that on the Friday following, a sign would appear in the heavens indicative of something extraordinary. This was a total eclipse

of the moon, which he knew would take place at the time he predicted.

The shekh, however, still employed many machinations against our traveller; but the messengers that arrived, with threatening letters from the neighbouring princes, prevented him from proceeding to extremities; and, at last, preparations were made for the departure of Mr. Bruce, who made a present of his horse to the shekh, and promised not to complain against him at Sennaar. 'After this,' says our author, 'I was going home, when the younger sheriffe called after me, and said, "I suppose, now you are all at peace, we shall not see the sign that you foretold us was to appear in the heavens to-day." "I should be thought a liar if it did not appear," said I; "do you wish to see it?" "I wish to see it," says he, "if it will do no harm." "Then," replied I, "you shall see it; and it shall do no harm now. I hope it will bring health and happiness, and a good crop to Teawa, and all the kingdom of Sennaar. Go home, while I order my affairs. Something more than two hours after this I will come to you, and it will then appear." They all went away, and, as I thought by their looks, they would have been better satisfied that affair had been forgot, the shekh saying peevishly to the sheriffe, "Let him mind his affairs and his journey; what is the use of these things now?"

'I had rectified my watch by observation. I knew I could not be far wrong, having seen in the ephemerides the hour the eclipse was to begin. I passed a corner of the shekh's house, and went in at the back-door. He was there with his usual friends, the moullah, the sheriffe, the kaiya, and one or two more. The sheriffe asked me where the sign would appear; and the moullah, if there would be any thunder and lightning? I told them there would be nothing disagreeable at all. I went to the door, and saw it was begun. There was to be a total eclipse of the moon. I did not tell them at first, till the moon having arisen, the shade appeared some way advanced upon the disk. "Now! look at that," said I; "in some time after this the moon shall be so totally swallowed up in dark-

ness, that a small light shall only be seen in the edges." They were frightened at the denunciation, rather than at any thing they observed, till a little before the eclipse became total. A violent apprehension then fell upon them; and the women from their apartments began to howl, as they do upon all melancholy occasions of misfortune, or death. They were in the inner square. "Now," continued I, "I have kept my word; it will soon be clear again, and will do no harm to man or beast."

'It was agreed among them that I should not go home till it was totally at an end. I consented to this; and only said to the shekh, that I wished he would let me see my patients before I went away, for that one of them was really ill, and needed advice. He seemed to take it very kindly, and desired me to go in. I was met in the antichamber by Aiscach, and two or three black slaves, who cried out in great terror, "O Hakim! what is this? what are you going to do?" "I am going to do, madam," said I, "one of the most disagreeable things I ever did in my life; I am going to take leave of you." I was immediately surrounded with a number of women, some of them crying, some of them with children in their arms. I went into the room where the two ladies were, whom I quieted and satisfied to the utmost of my power. We parted with reciprocal professions of friendship and regret at separation. I then begged that I might see their slave, who used to bring us meat, with a clean cloth, to wrap up something I had for them. They told me, Sennaar was but a bad place for white people; but promised to send recommendations in my favour, both to Adelan and the king's women, by Adelan's servant, who was to conduct us.

'When I returned to the shekh, the emersion was far advanced, and they all seemed to be regaining their composure, though strong marks of surprize remained in their countenances. After a little conversation, I took my leave, and went home, renewing my assurances that all was forgotten.

'At night, the slave came and brought a clean cotton cloth. I sent a piece of thin India yellow satin, and six handsome crimson and green handkerchiefs, to the beautiful Aiscach;

and, to the best of my power, discharged all our obligations to those that were our friends, and had been kind to us.'

Next morning, Mr. Bruce left this dangerous place, and was advised by the moullah to make no stop on the road, to watch his companions, to drive off all strangers, and to be very active and vigilant. After travelling two days, he reached Beyla, greatly fatigued, with strong symptoms of an aguish disorder. He was most kindly received, by the shekh; his disorder abated; and all his companions gave themselves up to repose and joy. Leaving his kind host, highly delighted with the relief which our traveller's medicines had given him, from the pain he suffered from the stone, he pushed on towards Sennaar. Near the villages of the Nuba, while advancing along the plain, 'we were,' says Mr. Bruce, 'inclosed by a violent whirlwind, or what is called at sea the waterspout. The plain was red earth, which had been plentifully moistened by a shower in the night-time. One of the camels seemed to be nearly in the centre of its vortex. It was lifted and thrown down at a considerable distance, and several of its ribs broken. Although, as far as I could guess, I was not near the centre, it whirled me off my feet, and threw me down upon my face, so as to make my nose gush out with blood. Two of the servants likewise had the same fate. It plaistered us all over with mud, almost as smoothly as could have been done with a trowel. It took away my sense and breathing for an instant, and my mouth and nose were full of mud when I recovered. I guess the sphere of its action to be about 200 feet. It demolished one half of a small hut, as if it had been cut through with a knife, and dispersed the materials all over the plain, leaving the other half standing.

'As soon as we recovered ourselves, we took refuge in a village, for fear only, for we saw no vestige of any other whirlwind. It involved a great quantity of rain, which the Nuba of the villages told us was very fortunate, and portended good luck to us, and a prosperous journey; for they said, that had dust and sand arisen with the whirlwind, in the same proportion it would have done had not the earth been moistened, we should all infallibly have been suffocated.'

At the end of nine days Mr. Bruce reached Sennaar. Here he was kindly received by Adelan, the vizir. Next day, he had an audience of the king, with whom he had an uninteresting conversation. A *cadi*, or judge, who was present, asked some questions respecting the opinions entertained in Europe relative to Gog and Magog. "Our books, said the *cadi*, describe Gog and Magog to be little people, not so big as bees, or like the *zimb*, or fly of Sennaar, that come in great swarms out of the earth, aye, in multitudes that cannot be counted; two of their chiefs are to ride upon an ass, and every hair of that ass is to be a pipe, and every pipe is to play a different kind of music, and those that hear and follow them are carried to hell." "I know them not," said I, "and, in the name of the Lord, I fear them not; were they twice as little as you say they are, and twice as numerous. I trust in God I shall never be so fond of music as to go to hell after an ass, for all the tunes that he or they can play." The king laughed violently. I rose to go away, for I was heartily tired of the conversation. I whispered the Abyssinian servant in Amharic, to ask when I should bring a trifle I had to offer the king. He said, not that night, as I should be tired, but desired that I should now go home, and he would send me notice when to come. I accordingly went away, and found a number of people in the street, all having some taunt or affronting matter to say. I passed through the great square before the palace, and could not help shuddering, upon reflection, at what had happened in that spot to the unfortunate M. du Roule and his companions, though under a protection which should have secured them from all danger, every part of which I was then unprovided with.

After this, Mr. Bruce was plentifully supplied with provisions. At his next audience, he found the king naked, and a servant rubbing him over with very stinking butter or grease, with which his hair was dropping, as if wet with water. In a few days, he was introduced to the prime minister, Adelan, whom he found sitting on the trunk of a palm tree, in the midst of his barracks. His horses were all picqueted in ranks most magnificently disposed. The horses were 400 in num-

ber, uncommonly strong and beautiful, with the riders and armour complete for each of them. This warlike shekh was above six feet high, and rather corpulent; he was about sixty, with the colour and features of an Arab. He received our traveller with great frankness and kindness; and Mr. Bruce proceeds:—

‘ We then went into a large saloon, hung round with mirrors and scarlet damask; in one of the longest sides, were two large sofas covered with crimson and yellow damask, and large cushions of cloth of gold, like to the king’s. Adelan now pulled off his camlet gown and cap, and remained in a crimson satten coat reaching down below his knees, which lapped over at the breast, and was girt round his waist with a scarf or sash, in which he had stuck a short dagger in an ivory sheath, mounted with gold; and one of the largest and most beautiful amethysts upon his finger that ever I saw, mounted plain, without any diamonds, and a small gold ear-ring in one of his ears.

‘ “ Why are you come hither,” says he to me, “ without arms and on foot, and without attendants?” *Yagoube*. “ I was told that horses were not kept at Sennaar, and brought none with me.” *Adelan*. “ You suppose you have come through great dangers, and so you have. But what do you think of me, who am day and night out in the fields, surrounded by hundreds and thousands of Arabs, all of whom would eat me alive if they dared?” I answered, “ A brave man, used to command as you are, does not look to the number of his enemies, but to their abilities; a wolf does not fear ten thousand sheep more than he does one.” *Ad*. “ True; look out at the door; these are their chiefs whom I am now taxing, and I have brought them hither that they may judge from what they see whether I am ready for them or not.” *Yag*. “ You could not do more properly; but, as to my own affairs, I wait upon you from the king of Abyssinia, desiring safe conduct through your country into Egypt, with his royal promise, that he is ready to do the like for you again, or any other favour you may call upon him for.” He took the letter and read it. *Ad*. “ The king of Abyssinia may be assured



I am always ready to do more for him than this. We understand one another as good neighbours ought to do; and what else is peace?" *Yag.* "You know I am a stranger and traveller, seeking my way home. I have nothing to do with peace or war between nations. All I beg is a safe conduct through your kingdom, and the rights of hospitality bestowed in such cases on every common stranger; and one of the favours I beg is, your acceptance of a small present. I bring it not from home; I have been long absent from thence, or it would have been better." *Ad.* "I'll not refuse it, but it is quite unnecessary. I have faults like other men, but to hurt, or ransack strangers, was never one of them."

'I gave him the sheriffe's letter, which he opened, looked at it, and laid it by without reading, saying only, "Aye, Metical is a good man, he sometimes takes care of our people going to Mecca; for my part, I never was there, and probably never shall." I then presented my letter from Ali Bey to him. He placed it upon his knee, and gave a slap upon it with his open hand. *Ad.* "What! do you not know, have you not heard, Mahomet Abou Dahab, his hasnadar, has rebelled against him, banished him out of Cairo, and now sits in his place? But don't be disconcerted at that; I know you to be a man of honour and prudence; if Mahomet, my brother, does not come, as soon as I get leisure I will dispatch you." The servant that had conducted me to Sennaar, and was then with us, went forward close to him, and said, in a kind of whisper, "Should he go often to the king?" "When he pleases; he may go to see the town, and take a walk, but never alone, and also to the palace, that, when he returns to his own country, he may report he saw a king at Sennaar, that neither knows how to govern, nor will suffer others to teach him; who knows not how to make war, and yet will not sit in peace." I then took my leave of him; but there was a plentiful breakfast in the other room, to which he sent us, and which went far to comfort Hagi Ismael for the misfortune of his patron, Ali Bey. At going out, I took my leave by kissing his hand, which he submitted to without reluctance. "Shekh," said I, "when I pass these Arabs in the square, I hope it will not disoblige

you if I converse with some of them out of curiosity." "By no means," replied Adelan; "as much as you please; but don't let them know where they can find you at Sennaar, or they will be in your house from morning till night, will eat up all your victuals, and then, in return, will cut your throat, if they can meet you upon your journey."

'I returned home to Sennaar, very well pleased with my reception at Aira. I had not seen, since I left Gondar, a man so open and frank in his manners, and who spoke, without disguise, what apparently he had in his heart.

'A few days after I had a message from the palace. I found the king sitting alone, apparently much chagrined, and in ill-humour. He asked me in a very peevish manner, "If I was not yet gone?" To which I answered, "Your majesty knows that it is impossible for me to go a step from Sennaar without assistance from you." He again asked me, in the same tone as before, "How I could think of coming that way?" I said, "Nobody imagined in Abyssinia, but that he was able to give a stranger safe conduct through his own dominions." He made no reply, but nodded a sign for me to depart; which I immediately did, and so finished this short, but disagreeable, interview.

'About four o'clock that same afternoon I was again sent for to the palace, when the king told me that several of his wives were ill, and desired that I would give them my advice, which I promised to do without difficulty, as all acquaintance with the fair sex had hitherto been much to my advantage. I must confess, however, that calling these the fair sex is not preserving a precision in terms. I was admitted into a large square apartment, very ill-lighted, in which were about fifty women, all perfectly black, without any covering but a very narrow piece of cotton rag about their waists. While I was musing whether or not these all might be queens, or whether there was any queen among them, one of them took me by the hand and led me rudely enough into another apartment. This was much better lighted than the first. Upon a large bench, or sofa, covered with blue Surat cloth, sat three persons clothed from the neck to the feet with blue cotton shirts.

‘One of these, who, I found, was the favourite, was about six feet high, and corpulent beyond all proportion. She seemed to me, next to the elephant and rhinoceros, the largest living creature I had met with. Her features were perfectly like those of a negro; a ring of gold passed through her under lip, and weighed it down, till, like a flap, it covered her chin, and left her teeth bare, which were very small and fine. The inside of her lip she had made black with antimony. Her ears reached down to her shoulders, and had the appearance of wings; she had in each of them a large ring of gold, somewhat smaller than a man’s little finger, and about five inches diameter. The weight of these had drawn down the hole where her ear was pierced so much, that three fingers might easily pass above the ring. She had a gold necklace, like what we used to call *esclavage*, of several rows, one below another, to which were hung rows of sequins pierced. She had on her ankles two manacles of gold, larger than any I had ever seen upon the feet of felons, with which I could not conceive it was possible for her to walk, but afterwards I found they were hollow. The others were dressed pretty much in the same manner; only there was one that had chains, which came from her ears to the outside of each nostril, where they were fastened. There was also a ring put through the gristle of her nose, and which hung down to the opening of her mouth. I think she must have breathed with great difficulty. It had altogether something of the appearance of a horse’s bridle. Upon my coming near them, the eldest put her hand to her mouth, and kissed it, saying, at the same time, in very vulgar Arabic, “*Kifhalek howajo?*” (how do you do merchant)—I never in my life was more pleased with distant salutations than at this time. I answered, “Peace be among you! I am a physician, and not a merchant.”

‘I shall not entertain the reader with the multitude of their complaints; being a lady’s physician, discretion and silence are my first duties. It is sufficient to say, that there was not one part of their whole bodies, inside and out, in which some of them had not ailments. The three queens insisted upon being blooded, which desire I complied with, as it was an

operation that required short attendance; but, upon producing the lancets, their hearts failed them. They then all cried out for the *tabange*, which, in Arabic, means a pistol; but what they meant by this word was, the cupping instrument, which goes off with a spring like the snap of a pistol. I had two of these with me, but not at that time in my pocket. I sent my servant home, however, to bring one, and, that same evening, performed the operation upon the three queens with great success. The room was overflowed with an effusion of royal blood, and the whole ended with their insisting upon my giving them the instrument itself, which I was obliged to do, after cupping two of their slaves before them, who had no complaints, merely to shew them how the operation was to be performed.

‘ Another night I was obliged to attend them, and gave the queens, and two or three of the great ladies, vomits. I will spare my reader the recital of so nauseous a scene. The ipecacuanha had great effect, and warm water was drunk very copiously. The patients were numerous, and the floor of the room received all the evacuations. It was most prodigiously hot, and the horrid black figures, moaning and groaning with sickness all around me, gave me, I think, some slight idea of the punishment in the world below. My mortifications, however, did not stop here. I observed that, on coming into their presence, the queens were all covered with cotton shirts; but no sooner did their complaints make part of our conversation, than, to my utmost surprize, each of them, in her turn, stript herself entirely naked, laying her cotton shirt loosely on her lap, as she sat cross-legged like a tailor. The custom of going naked in these warm countries abolishes all delicacy concerning it. I could not but observe that the breasts of each of them reached the length of their knees.

‘ This exceeding confidence on their part, they thought, merited some consideration on mine; and it was not without great astonishment that I heard the queen desire to see me in the like dishabille in which she had spontaneously put herself. The whole court of female attendants flocked to the spectacle. Refusal, or resistance, were in vain. I was surrounded with

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fifty or sixty women, all equal in stature and strength to myself. The whole of my clothing was, like theirs, a long loose shirt of blue Surat cotton cloth, reaching from the neck down to the feet. The only terms I could possibly, and that with great difficulty, make for myself were, that they should be contented to strip me no farther than the shoulders and breast. Upon seeing the whiteness of my skin, they gave all a loud cry in token of dislike, and shuddered, seeming to consider it rather the effects of disease than natural. I think in my life I never felt so disagreeably. I have been in more than one battle, but surely I would joyfully have taken my chance again in any of them to have been freed from that examination. I could not but help likewise reflecting, that, if the king had come in during this exhibition, the consequence would either have been impaling, or stripping off that skin whose colour they were so curious about; though I can solemnly declare there was not an idea in my breast, since ever I had the honour of seeing these royal beauties, that could have given his majesty of Sennaar the smallest reason for jealousy; and I believe the same may be said of the sentiments of the ladies in what regarded me. Ours was a mutual passion, but dangerous to no one concerned.

Mr. Bruce one evening narrowly escaped assassination, but he succeeded in throwing down and disarming the wretch. On the king being informed of this circumstance, he only observed 'that the man was drunk, and that the people in that country were not used to see Franks walking in the street.' The king also observed, that Mr. Bruce, he was informed, had 2,000 ounces of gold, besides a quantity of silver, and that he was not a physician but an Indian merchant. These circumstances determined our traveller to keep close at home.

The kingdom of Sennaar was inhabited by Arabs only till the year 1504, when they were conquered by a tribe of negroes, who embraced Mahometanism, that they might trade with Cairo. The great officers can order the king to be put to death when they please, and an officer is appointed to execute this sentence when they chuse to pronounce it; and this strange executioner is received at court without either malice

or jealousy. On the death of a king, his eldest son succeeds by right, and all the collaterals of the royal family are put to death.

No horse, mule, ass, or any beast of burden, will breed, or even live at Sennaar, or many miles around it. Poultry does not live there. Neither dog nor cat, sheep nor bullock, can be preserved a season there. They must go all, every half year, to the sands. Though all possible care be taken of them, they die in every place where the fat earth is about the town during the first seasons of the rains. Several kings have tried to keep lions, but no care could prolong their lives beyond the first rains. Shekh Adelan had two, which were in great health, being kept with his horses at grass in the sands but three miles from Sennaar. Neither rose nor any species of jessamin, grow here; no tree but the lemon flowers near the city; the rose has been often tried, but in vain.

But however unfavourable this soil may be for the propagation of animals, it contributes very abundantly both to the nourishment of man and beast. It is all sown with dora, or millet, the principal food of the natives. It produces also wheat and rice, but these at Sennaar are sold by the pound, even in years of plenty.

The town of Sennaar is very populous, and the houses of the great officers are two stories high. They are built with clay, a little straw being mixed with it. Near the town, the banks of the Nile resemble the pleasant parts of Holland during the summer season. The dress of the natives is simple, consisting only of a long shirt of blue cloth. The husband frequently sells his wife for a slave. War and treason seem to be the only employment of this horrid people, whom Heaven has separated, by almost impassable deserts, from the rest of mankind. Their military force consists of about 14,000 Nuba, who fight naked, and about 1,800 horse, mounted by black slaves, armed with coats of mail, and a broad Sclavonian sword. The heat is excessive. The only exports are gold, ivory, civet, ostrich feathers, and slaves.

Shortly after this, Mr. Bruce was informed that his enemy Fidele had followed him, and had been with the king; and as

a black eunuch, dedicated to the temple of Mecca, was at Senaar on his way to Cairo, and whom Mr. Bruce had cured of a fever, he resolved at all events to accompany this saint. Mr. Bruce continues:—

‘The night of the 25th, which was to have been that of our departure, we sat late in my room up stairs, in the back, or most private part of the house. My little company was holding with me a melancholy council on what had so recently happened, and, in general, upon the unpromising face of our affairs. Our single lamp was burning very low, and suggested to us that it was the hour of sleep, to which, however, none of us were very much inclined. Georgis, a Greek, who, on account of the soreness of his eyes, had staid below in the dark, and had fallen asleep, came running up stairs in a great fright, and told us he had been awakened by the noise of men endeavouring to force open the door; that he hearkened a little, and found there were many of them. Our arms were all ready, and we snatched them up and ran towards the door; but I stopt, and planted them upon the first landing-place in the stair-case, as I wished not to fire till the enemy was fairly in the house, that no excuse might remain for this their violation of hospitality.

‘I stationed Ismael at the outer door of the house, intending that he should fire first, as it would be less odious in him, being a Turk and a sheriffe, than for us Christians. I then went out to the outer gate, and Soliman with me. The entry into the yard was through a kind of porter’s lodge, where servants used to sit in the day-time, and sleep at night. It had a door from the street, and then another into the yard, the latter small, but very strong. They had forced the outer gate, and were then in the lodge, endeavouring to do the same by the inner, having put a handspike under it to lift it up from the hinges. “Are you not madmen,” said I, “and weary of your lives, to attempt to force Adelan’s house, when there are within it men abundantly provided with large fire-arms, that, upon one discharge through the door, will lay you all dead where you now stand?” “Stand by from the door,” cries Ismael, “and let me fire. These black caffres don’t yet know

what my blunderbuss is." They had been silent from the time I had spoken, and had withdrawn the handspike from under the door. "Ullah! Ullah!" cries one of them softly, "how sound you sleep! we have been endeavouring to waken you this hour. The king is ill; tell Yagoube to come to the palace, and open the door instantly." "Tell the king," said I, "to drink warm water, and I will see him in the morning." "Ah! Mahomet," cries Soliman, "is that you? I thought you had had a narrow enough escape in the palace the other day; but stay a little, a servant is gone over the back wall to call the Gindi, and we are here numerous enough to defend this house till morning against all the servants the king has, so do not attempt to break the door, and Yagoube will go to the king with the Gindi."

'At this time one of my servants fired a pistol in the air out of an upper window, upon which they all ran off. They seemed to be about ten or twelve in number, and left three handspikes behind them. The noise of the pistol brought the guard or patrole, in about half an hour, who carried intelligence to the Sid el Coom, our friend, by whom I was informed in the morning, that he had found them all out, and put them in irons; that Mahomet, the king's servant, who met us at Teawa, was one of them; and that there was no possibility now of concealing this from Adelan, who would order him to be impaled.'

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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